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Leo Tactica
The TAKTIKA
OF LEO VI

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

GEORGE DENNIS

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PREFACE

My dissertation director, Raymond-J. Loenertz, OP, once told me that, in old age, one should not undertake a critical edition of a Greek text. Perhaps I should have followed his advice. When I began work on the present edition, however, old age was off in the distant future and I could still distinguish an acute accent from a grave. But, owing to unforeseen circumstances, the work took much longer than I had anticipated and I came to realize the pertinence of Fr. Loenertz's cautionary advice. Despite our best efforts, there surely remain imperfections and mistakes. That they are not too numerous is due largely to the careful, time-consuming work of John Duffy in reading and correcting my typescript. To him I express my heartfelt thanks. My thanks also to John Haldon for his helpful suggestions and, among other things, his corrections of the equine terminology. My sincere thanks go to Alice-Mary Talbot, of Dumbarton Oaks, for her kind and constant support and for expediting the production of this book. My thanks, as well, to Joel Kalvesmaki, a former student, who so efficiently presided over the editorial process, and to Lionel Yaceczko who moved that process along carefully and professionally.

I must, as any scholar must, acknowledge the gracious, professional assistance of the librarians at Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca de El Escorial, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, as well as those at Dumbarton Oaks, The Catholic University of America, and Santa Clara University.

*Los Gatos, California
September, 2009*

George T. Dennis, S.J.

INTRODUCTION

Although he probably never set foot on a battlefield, the Byzantine emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912) appears to have had a lively interest in military matters and the conduct of war. He was after all the supreme commander of the Byzantine or, as he would prefer, Roman armed forces. Successor to Caesar Augustus, Trajan, Constantine, and Justinian, he was expected to be victorious in war and to subject barbarian peoples to the authority of Rome. He soon realized that he could not do this without a solid knowledge of military equipment and practice. This is precisely what Leo set about to acquire. The Byzantines had inherited a voluminous series of military treatises from antiquity: diagrams of battle formations and instructions for improving one's archery, for besieging or defending a city, and for nearly every aspect of warfare. Leo went through all this, summarized it, and presented what he considered to be an elementary handbook for his officers on how to prepare soldiers for war and how to move them about on campaign and on the battlefield. The *Tactical Constitutions*, or *Taktika*, were the result.

Preceded by a prologue and concluding with an epilogue, the twenty Constitutions, or chapters, offer little that is original. But the Byzantines were not interested in original compositions; they revered the authority of the ancients. Apart, then, from sections devoted to the Saracens and to naval warfare, the *Taktika* consist largely of adaptations and paraphrases of previous authors, the most obvious of which are Onasander (first century A.D.), Aelian (second century A.D.), and Maurice (ca. A.D. 600). Leo must have compiled the *Taktika* during his reign as emperor, for he refers to his father, Basil I, as deceased. As with any work attributed to an emperor, it is not clear how much was written by Leo himself (although there are some very personal remarks) and how much by his secretaries or research assistants. At any rate, copies were made and, sometime before the death of his son, Constantine VII, in 959, it was incorporated

into a large volume of Greek military treatises, a sort of military encyclopedia, and deposited in the imperial library. This, or a copy of it, is the mid-tenth-century codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus, 55, 4 (**M**).

This manuscript, written by one hand on good parchment, has been the subject of several detailed studies.¹ Alphonse Dain claims that it exemplifies the first manuscript family, which he designates as the authentic tradition. In its present state, it is made up of 404 folios, mostly quaternions, although some folios are now missing, as will be noted *suo loco*. Each page measures 32.5 × 26 cm., 32 lines to a page. The script is a clear and somewhat elegant minuscule, with the titles in semi-uncial. The ink is dark brown, fading in places, with red ink used for the titles, which are preceded by ornamental bands.

It seems that not many copies were made of **M**, and much of its subsequent history is not clear. Early in the fifteenth century, it was owned by a high-ranking army officer in the service of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, Demetrios Laskaris Leontares, who made use of blank spaces to record births and deaths in his family from 1408 to 1439. His grandson, also named Demetrios, made further notations for the years 1448 to 1450.² After the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, the volume found its way to Thessaly, where it was purchased in 1491 by Janus Laskaris and brought to Florence.

The *Tactical Constitutions*, beginning on folio 281, originally consisted of sixteen constitutions, which were followed by an assortment of maxims; an epilogue; and three treatises on surprise attacks, siege warfare, and naval warfare. These three treatises, as well as a collection of concise sayings, were soon incorporated into the main body of the work, as can be seen in the codex Vindobonensis phil. graecus 275 (**W**), resulting in the following order for the final sections: Constitution XIV, The Day of Battle; XV, Siege Warfare; XVI, The Day after Battle; XVII, Surprise Attacks; XVIII, Customs of Different Nations; XIX, Naval Warfare; XX, Concise Sayings; Epilogue. This is the plan, perhaps the original plan, given in the prologue (lin. 103–19). One should also note that, in the manuscripts, Constitutions III and IV are in reverse order.

In addition to the above changes in the order of the chapters, **W** made a few other changes, mostly minor ones, indicated below. It is, in essence, an expand-

1. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae* (Florence, 1768), 1:218–38; Dain, “Stratégistes,” 382–85, with bibliography; also his *Histoire*, 183–85.

2. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1975), 1:641–49.

ed copy of **M**, a sort of second edition. Although mutilated in the beginning and at the end, and missing several folios, it must be consulted to establish the authentic text of the *Taktika*. **W** is a small (octavo) parchment volume consisting presently of 249 folios. The script is clear, 24 lines to a page, although the ink has faded in several places. Especially in the earlier chapters, there are numerous brief, crudely written marginal notations, perhaps by a later hand, often without diacritical marks (reproduced as such in this edition), meant to clarify certain terms in the text. When **W** was written is not clear, probably early in the second half of the tenth century.

A thorough study of the two manuscripts indicates that **W** may have been copied directly from **M** or, at least, from a manuscript very closely linked to it. The differences between the two are minimal, and a survey of the first fourteen chapters reveals some 220 common errors, such as κουτουβέρνιν and τόλδον (see p. xiii below). And, of course, each manuscript has some unique errors, with **W** having a few more than **M**, including some omissions. Both seem to regard indicative and subjunctive as interchangeable, ο ↔ ω, ει ↔ η. **M** tends to present numerals as such, whereas **W** tends to spell them out, e.g., ιβ' versus δώδεκα. Both prefer ο to ω in words such as κουρσάτορες. In a few instances, **W** has the correct reading whereas **M** does not, but these are usually due to simple scribal corrections of mistakes in **M**. **W** generally adds final ν before a word beginning with κ or τ.

The second family of manuscripts, as identified by scholars, is headed by codex Ambrosianus B 119 sup. (139) (**A**), a parchment manuscript consisting of 347 folios, mostly quaternions, 29.5 × 22.5 cm, with 31 lines to a page.³ The *Taktika* of Leo begins on folio 189. The manuscript has been dated to early in the second half of the tenth century.⁴ The text, however, is not the same as that found in **M** and **W**, but is a paraphrase, with words often transposed. One cannot therefore speak of common or unique errors in **A** with any precision. While it cannot be ignored, it is, for the most part, not very helpful in reconstituting the original text; on occasion, when **M** is faulty or lacking, **A** provides the correct reading. A glance at the apparatus of this edition, however, makes it obvious that **A** has

3. A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1906), 1:157–60. See now B. Leoni, *La Parafrasi Ambrosiana dello Strategicon di Maurizio: l'arte della guerra a Bisanzio* (Milan, 2003).

4. C. Mazzuchi, “Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos (Cod. Ambros. B 119 sup.),” *Aevum* 52 (1978): 267–318.

much more in common with the third manuscript family than with the first, although it is difficult to be more exact about their relationship. Whether it is a paraphrase based directly on **M** or on a common ancestor, or on perhaps a sibling, is not clear.

The third family includes the largest number of manuscripts, but only three are relevant to our study of the text. Codex Vaticanus graecus 1164 (**V**) is a parchment manuscript, 23 × 31 cm, with 33 lines to a page, composed of quaternions, and written in a careful, regular minuscule. Only 281 of its original 392 folios remain. Consisting of ancient and medieval military treatises, its copy of the *Taktika* begins only at the end of Constitution V. This manuscript is very closely related to Parisinus graecus 2442 (**P**) and Neapolitanus graecus 284 (**N**). All three were produced in the same scriptorium, that of Ephrem, in Constantinople, at about the same time, probably around 1020.⁵

P and the codex Barberinianus graecus II 97 (276) (**B**) originally formed one manuscript, but the separation was poorly done and several quaternions were mixed up in both.⁶ It is written in a careful minuscule, "Perlschrift," on parchment, 125 folios in **P** and 240 in **B**, quaternions, 34 × 26 cm, with 36 lines to a page. It was produced perhaps a bit later than **V**. The *Tactical Constitutions* of Leo begin in **B** at folio 130.

The third manuscript from the same scriptorium, also divided in two, is formed by **N** and the codex Scorialensis graecus Y-III-11 (**E**). It is a parchment manuscript, consisting of quaternions, 22.5 × 14 cm, with 38 lines to a page. In their present states, **N** consists of 101 folios that do not include the *Taktika*, and **E** of 308, with the *Taktika* beginning on folio 160. The derivation of this manuscript has been disputed, but there are reasons to think that **N E** was copied from **V**.

Other manuscripts containing complete or partial texts of the *Taktika* continued to be produced through the sixteenth century—Vári counted 88 of them.⁷ They are, however, of no use in reconstituting the original text.

The *Taktika* has been wholly or partially edited before this. A few pages of

5. J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copies byzantins," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958): 208–27; 13 (1959): 177–209.

6. Ibid. See also H. A. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, vol. 2, *Ancien fonds grec: Droit, histoire, sciences* (Paris, 1888), 262.

7. R. Vári, *Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1917–1922) (= **Va**), 1:xv–xxix.

Constitution IV, as found in codex Monacensis graecus 244, were printed in Venice, in 1552. The entire work, as found in three secondary manuscripts, was first published by Joannes Meurs (Leyden, 1612). After some mistakes were corrected and the text compared with **M**, it was again published by J. Lami (Florence, 1745). This edition, in turn, was incorporated by J.-P. Migne into his *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 107, cols. 672–1094 (= **PG**). Finally, a critical edition of the prologue and Constitutions I–XIV (to line 228) was published by Vári (see n. 7). At the top of each page are printed the sources utilized by the author, and at the bottom the paraphrase of Nikephoros Ouranos under the title *recensio constantiniana*. He also published Constitution XVIII, together with a Hungarian translation.⁸

It is clear that any scholarly edition of the *Taktika* must be based on **M**, along with what is found in **W**. And such is the rationale of the present edition. **A**, although a paraphrase, sometimes provides the correct reading or helps to clarify the terminology of **M**. It has therefore been included in the apparatus. For the same reasons, the readings of **V B E**, although of less help, have also been included. We have indicated the folio numbers of **M** in the margin and, where that is missing, those of **W** or **A**. In general, we have retained its arrangement of paragraphs and its orthography, including some inconsistencies, such as τάρφος ↔ τράφος. There are some exceptions, such as the sequence of the books, noted above, and the spelling of some words. For example, instead of κουτουβέρνιν of **MW**, we have preferred κοντουβέρνιν (-ιον) of the other manuscripts (a better reflection of the Latin original *contubernium*), and τούλδον rather than the incorrect τόλδον of **MW**. There are very few other changes and the reasons for them should be clear from the apparatus.

TRANSLATION

Byzantine military writers, just like their modern counterparts, made no effort to write in an imaginative or sophisticated manner. In fact, they explicitly tell us that they have made no pretense of fine writing, of producing literary masterpieces. Leo's *Taktika* is no exception (cf. Epilogue, 70). Intended for practical use, it is written in a straightforward and generally uncomplicated Greek. We have tried to render this in the same kind of English. A very literal,

8. "Böles Leo Hadi Taktikájának XVIII Fejezete" in *A Magyar Honfoglalás Kútfoi*, edited by G. Pauler and S. Szilágyi (Budapest, 1900) (= **Va, Hung.**).

word-for-word translation may have some advantages, but it would not be readable. Sometimes, therefore, we have altered sentence structure, omitted several Greek particles (γάρ, μέν, δέ), and added a few words in < >, all in an effort to make the text easier to read and to understand. We believe that the present translation, while not perfect, is nonetheless an accurate, idiomatic rendition of the Greek original.

Words that have no exact equivalent in English would be awkward if translated literally and so have been left in transliterated Greek, e.g., *bandon*, *tagma*, *pentarch*, *dekarch*, *merarch*. This has special relevance to the names given to the units and officers of the Byzantine army. Company and regiment are not the same as *tagma* or *meros*; a *merarch* is not really a colonel. One exception is the plural of *meros*: "divisions" seems preferable to *mere* or *meros*. In the manuscripts some numbers are written as numerals and others are spelled out. These have been regularized in the translation: round numbers and numbers up to one hundred are spelled out (e.g., ιβ' becomes "twelve"); all others are rendered in Arabic numerals.

In an effort to clarify some terms and to identify some citations or references, we have appended a few brief notes to the translation. An extended commentary by John Haldon is in preparation at Dumbarton Oaks.

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Abbreviation	Texts
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AnonStrat	Anonymous. "Strategy." In <i>Three Byzantine Military Treatises</i> . Edited and translated by G. Dennis, 1–136. CFHB 25. Washington, DC, 1985.
CampOrg	Anonymous. "Campaign Organization and Tactics." In <i>Three Byzantine Military Treatises</i> . Edited and translated by G. Dennis. 241–335. CFHB 25. Washington, DC, 1985. Anonymous. "Chapitres peu connus de l' <i>Apparatus bellicus</i> ." Edited by C. Zuckerman. <i>TM</i> 12 (1994): 359–89. Anonymous. "De arcus usu." In <i>Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller</i> . Edited by H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, 2.2: 198–209. Leipzig, 1855.
Skirmishing	Anonymous. "Skirmishing." In <i>Three Byzantine Military Treatises</i> . Edited and translated by G. Dennis, 137–239. CFHB 25. Washington, DC, 1985.
Arrian	<i>Arriani Tactica et Mauricii Artis militaris libri duodecim</i> . Edited by J. Scheffer. Uppsala, 1664.
Asclepiodotus	"Tactics." In <i>Aeneas Tacticus, Onasander, Asclepiodotus</i> . Edited and translated by the Illinois Greek Club, 229–340. Cambridge, MA, 1928.
DAI	Constantine Porphyrogenitus. <i>De administrando imperio</i> . Vol. 1, Greek text edited by G. Moravcsik. Rev. edition and translation by R. J. Jenkins. CFHB 1. Washington, DC, 1967. Vol. 2, <i>Commentary</i> . Edited by Jenkins. London, 1962.
ImpExp	Constantine Porphyrogenitus. <i>Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions</i> . Edited and translated by J. Haldon. CFHB 28. Vienna, 1990. <i>De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae</i> . Edited by J. Reiske. 2 vols. Bonn, 1929–30.

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ACRONYMS

For bibliographical abbreviations see above, Select Bibliography.

BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BSI	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
LBG	<i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , edited by J.-P. Migne 161 vols. (Paris, 1855–67)
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>

SIGLA

- M *Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus* 55, 4.
- W *Codex Vindobonensis phil. graecus* 275.
- A *Codex Ambrosianus B* 119 sup. (139).
- V *Codex Vaticanus graecus* 1164.
- B *Codex Barberinianus graecus* II 97 (276).
- E *Codex Scorialensis graecus* Y-III-11.
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- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, edited by J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66), 107:672–1094.
- De G. Dennis.
- Du J. Duffy.
- < > suppleta ab editore.
- ci. coniecit.

xxii Sigla

corr.	correxist.
des.	desinit.
fol.	folium.
inc.	incipit.
mg.	in margine.
om.	omisit, omiserunt.
scr.	scripsit.
trsp.	transposuit, transposuerunt.

THE TAKTIKA
OF LEO VI

1. Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τῆς ἁγίας
καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ
5 ἡμῶν, Λέων, ὁ εἰρηνικὸς ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτοκράτωρ, πιστός, εὐσεβής, ἀεισέβαστος,
αὐγουστος.

2. Οὐ βασιλικὴ δορυφορία καὶ ἐξουσία, οὐ τῆς ἐξουσίας δυναστεία καὶ
περιουσία, οὐ τῆς περιουσίας ἐπίδειξις καὶ ἀπόλαυσις, οὐδὲν ὅσα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἐφετῶν καὶ τιμῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν οὕτως εὐφραίνει βασιλείαν ὥς ἡ τῶν
10 ὑπηκόων εἰρήνη καὶ εὐημερία καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἢ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
κρεῖττον κατάστασις τε καὶ ἐπανόρθωσις. ὥσπερ τὸ ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὕτω τὴν
ἡμῶν καρδίαν ἀνιά καὶ λυπεῖ ὥς ἡ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δυσπραγία καὶ τῶν περὶ
αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῶν ἢ δι' ἀμελείας ἐλάττωσις καὶ κατὰπτωσις. εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς
τῆς ἡμῶν ἡζυμένον προνοίας ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀνάνευσις ἄφατον ἡμῖν
15 εὐφροσύνην ἐργάζεται, ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀπόνευσις ἀλγηδὸνα ψυχῆς ἀνυπέρ-
βλητον, τί οὐκ ἂν πάθοιμεν τοσούτων μυριάδων τῆς ἡμῶν μετὰ Θεὸν ἡρτημέ-
νων προνοίας ὧν τὴν φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν χρεωστοῦντες, νύκτωρ μὲν
ἐπαγρυπνοῦμεν, ἡμέρας δὲ διαμελετῶμεν πάσης μὲν ἀηδίας καὶ βλάβης ἐλευθέ-
ρους διατηρεῖσθαι, πάσης δὲ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐημερίας προσηκόντως ἐπαπολαύειν;

3. Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων μικρὰν τινα δεξα-
μένων ἴσως ἐλάττωσιν οὐ τοσαύτην κατανοοῦμεν τὴν βλάβην, τῆς δὲ στρατη-
γικῆς μεθόδου διαπεσοῦσης τοσούτῳ κατόπιν τὰ Ῥωμαίων συνηλάθη πρᾶγμα-
τα, ὅσον ἡ πείρα τοῦ νῦν χρόνου πᾶσιν ἅπαντα κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁρώμενα παρί-
στησι πρόδηλα.

4. Ἔδει μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας, εἰκόνι Θεοῦ καὶ λόγῳ τετιμημένους
τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους περιθάλλειν ἀγάπην καὶ μὴ

1. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the holy,
consubstantial, and worshipful Trinity, our one and only true God, Leo, peaceful
autokrator in Christ, faithful, pious, ever revered Augustus.

2. It is not the imperial pageantry and authority, not the power and extent of
that authority, not the display and enjoyment of all that. It is not any of those
things sought after and esteemed by men that brings such joy to Our Majesty as
does the peace and prosperity of our subjects and the setting aright and the
constant improvement in those matters that affect our citizens. On the contrary,
nothing so grieves and pains our heart as the misfortunes of our subjects and
any decrease or failure <in their attaining> the good things due them, because
of <someone's> negligence. Now, if an improvement in the condition of just one
person who has been entrusted to our care causes us ineffable happiness and the
worsening of his condition brings us unsurpassed grief of soul, what would we
not suffer with so many tens of thousands depending, after God, on our
providence? Mindful of our obligation to take thought and to be concerned
about them, we stay up at night, and during the day we deliberate on how to
preserve them free of all unpleasantness and harm and on how they may enjoy
all the happiness and prosperity that are rightfully theirs.¹

3. When other matters affecting the state deteriorate to some small degree,
we do not consider the damage to be excessive. But everyone can clearly see,
with his own eyes, how the collapse of strategic knowledge has cast all the affairs
of the Romans down to such a degree as we experience at this very moment.

4. For honored by the image and word of God, all men ought to embrace
peace and foster love for one another instead of taking up murderous weapons

M W (mut.) A B E Va PG 107:672

1-6 λέοντος...αὐγουστος M om. ABE 9 ἐφετῶν M ἐπιθυμητῶν ABE 11 τε καὶ
ἐπανόρθωσις MA om. BE 15 δ' M δὲ ABE | ἀλγηδὸνα M ὁδύνην ABE 16 πάθοιμεν M
πάθωμεν ABE 16-17 ἡρτημένων M ἐκκρεμαμένων ABE 17 καὶ MA καὶ τὴν BE |
νύκτωρ M νυκτὸς ABE 22 τοσούτῳ MA τοσοῦτον BE | κατόπιν...συνηλάθη MA τὰ
Ῥωμαίων συνηλάθη κατόπιν BE 23 νῦν MA om. BE

1. Leo and other emperors employ similar words to articulate their overwhelming
concern, "night and day," for the welfare of their subjects. See H. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente
der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Vienna, 1964), 97-99.

χειρας φονίους κατὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν καθοπλίζειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρω-
ποκτόνος διάβολος καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸς διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἰσχύσας κατὰ
τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρεσκεύασεν, πᾶσα ἀ- 283'
νάγκη ταῖς αὐτοῦ γινομέναις διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηχαναῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀντι-
στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πολέμους ἔθνεσι μὴ εὐχειρώτους καθίστασθαι.
ἀλλὰ ταῖς στρατηγικαῖς μεθόδοις τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίζεσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν
φυλάττεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων, δρᾶν δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ὅσα
παθεῖν ἐκείνοι ἂν εἶεν ἄξιοι ὡς ἂν ἐκκοπέντος τοῦ διὰ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐγχειρουμέ-
νου κακοῦ καὶ πάντων τὴν οἰκείαν σωτηρίαν ἀσπαζομένων ἢ εἰρήνην παρὰ πᾶσι
στερχεῖται καὶ πολιτεύοιτο.

5. Ἔως μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ κατὰ πολέμους Ῥωμαίοις ἐν εὐταξίᾳ ὄντα ἐτύγ-
χανε, τῆς τε ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγους χρόνους θείας ἀπέλαυε βοηθείας τὸ κράτος καὶ τῇ
εὐταξίᾳ κερνῶμενος τῶν ἀριστέρων ὁ πόνοσ, τὸ λαμπρὸν τῆς νίκης ἐπὶ πλέον
40 ἐταινιοῦτο. νῦν δὲ τῆς τακτικῆς τε καὶ στρατηγικῆς καταστάσεως ἐπ' οὐκ
ὀλίγους χρόνους ἀμελουμένης, ἵνα μὴ λέγω καὶ εἰς παντελῆ περιελθούσης
λήθην, ὡς μηδὲ αὐτὰ τὰ πρόχειρα τοὺς στρατηγεῖν ἐγχειροῦντας ἐπίστασθαι,
πολλὰ δυσχερῆ διαφόρως ὀρώμεν συμβαίνοντα. τῆς γὰρ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν
προξένου ἐπιστήμης διαπεσούσης, ὅσων δι' αὐτῆς ἡ Ῥωμαίων πάλαι πολιτεία
45 εὐμοίρησε, τοῦναντίον ὀρώμεν τὴν θείαν ἀποῦσαν εὐμένειαν καὶ τὴν συνήθη
τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας νίκην τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀφιπταμένην. κατὰ μικρὸν γὰρ
ἀμελουμένης τῆς κατὰ πολέμους εὐταξίας καὶ γυμνασίας συνημελήθη, ὡς ἔοικε,
καὶ τῶν ἀριστέρων ἢ εὐψυχία. εἴτα ποτὲ μὲν ἀγυμνασίαν ἢ ἀνανδρίαν αἰτιώμεθα
στρατιωτῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπειρίαν ἢ δειλίαν καταμεμφόμεθα στρατηγῶν, ἐνίοτε δὲ
50 <δι'> ἀσάφειαν τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων τακτικῶν διαγνώσεως ἀμελοῦμεν. ταύτην οὖν

44 ab δι' αὐτῆς inc. W

27-28 Ioan. 8:44. 40-78 *Strat.*, praef. 10-35.

27 χειρας φονίους M φονικάς χειρας ABE 28 διάβολος ABE διαβολικός M | ισχύσας MA
ισχυράς BE 33 δρᾶν M πράττειν ABE 34 παθεῖν...εἶεν M ἐκείνοι παθεῖν εἰσὶν ABE
35 πᾶσι M πάντων ABE 36 στερχεῖται M ἀγαπηθῇ ABE 37-38 ὡς...ἐτύγχανε M οἱ
Ῥωμαῖκοι πόλεμοι ἐν εὐταξίᾳ ἐγίνοντο (ἐγένοντο BE) ABE 38 τε...χρόνους M om. ABE |
ἀπέλαυε MAB ἀπελάβε E 38-40 καὶ...ἐταινιοῦτο M om. ABE 39 ἀριστέρων Va
ἀριστείων codd. 40 τε M om. ABE 40-41 ἐπ'...χρόνους M ἐπὶ χρόνους οὐκ ὀλίγους
ABE 42 τὰ ABE om. M 45 εὐμοίρησε MAB εὐμοίρησεν W | τοῦναντίον MW τὸ
ἐναντίον ABE 47 ὡς ἔοικε MW om. ABE 48 ἀγυμνασίαν...αἰτιώμεθα MW αἰτιώμεθα
ἀγυμνασίαν ἢ ἀνανδρίαν ABE 49 ἐνίοτε MW πολλάκις ABE 50 δι' ci. Du om. codd. |
ἀσάφειαν...ἀμελοῦμεν MW τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων τακτικῶν διάγνωσιν ὡς ἀσαφῆ καὶ δύσκολον
παρορώμεν ABE | τακτικῶν WABE om. M

in their hands to use against their own people. But since the devil, the killer of
men from the beginning,² the enemy of our race, has made use of sin to bring
men to the point of waging war against their own kind, it becomes entirely
necessary for men to wage war making use of contrivances of the devil,
developed through men and, without flinching, to take their stand against those
nations that want war. They must then make provision for their security by
military means, employing them to defend themselves against the onslaughts of
the enemy, to take action against them, and to make them suffer what they may
well deserve. In this way, the evil brought about by those wicked people will be
excised. With everyone embracing his own safety, peace will be cherished by all
and will become a way of life.

5. For, so it seems, as long as the armed forces of the Romans were in good
order, the state enjoyed divine assistance for not a few years, and the toil of the
most valorous was mingled with discipline and, for the most part, was crowned
with the splendor of victory. But, for many years now, the pursuit of tactics and
strategy has been neglected, not to say fallen so completely into oblivion that
those assuming the command of an army do not understand even the most
obvious matters.³ We may observe that this leads to quite a number of different
problems. For with the disappearance of this knowledge, productive of so many
good things, and by means of which the commonwealth of the Romans
flourished of old, we behold the opposite; divine favor is absent and the
accustomed triumph of the Roman commonwealth has flown away from its
fighting men. For, along with the gradual neglect of military discipline and
training, the courage of our brave warriors, so it would seem, has also declined.
Sometimes we attribute the cause to the lack of training and the cowardice of
the soldiers; sometimes we place the blame on the inexperience and timidity of
their commanders; and sometimes we neglect the clear teaching of the ancient
tacticians because of its obscurity. Wishing, therefore, with God's help, to restore

2. John 8:44.

3. See *Strat.*, Preface 10-35.

τὴν ὄνησιμωτάτην ἐπιστήμην ἀνασώσασθαι σὺν Θεῷ καὶ οἷαν ἀπωσθεῖσαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡμῶν πολιτείας ἀνακαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι, οὐκ ὠκνήσαμεν σπουδῇ τοσαύτῃ ἀναδέξασθαι μὲν ἰδίως πόνον, κοινὴν δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις χαρίσασθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

- 55 6. Ταῖς γὰρ ἀρχαίαις καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς νεωτέραις στρατηγικαῖς τε καὶ τακτικαῖς ἐμφιλοχωρήσαντες μεθόδοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις καταλογάδην ἐντυχόντες ἱστορίαις, καὶ εἴ τι κατὰ χεῖρας ἔδοξε χρήσιμον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις ἀναγκαίων, ἐκείθεν ἀναλεξάμενοι καὶ οἷον ἐρανισάμενοι, ὅσα καὶ διὰ μετρίας πείρας ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἀνεμάθομεν τῷ κατ' ἡμᾶς καιρῷ καὶ τῇ νῦν καταστάσει πρόσφορά τε καὶ
60 ἀρμόδια, ταῦτα ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν σύντομόν τε καὶ | ἀπλὴν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐπὶ 284 τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχοντα ὡς ἄλλον πρόχειρον νόμον παραδιδόαμεν, ἐν πράξεσι μᾶλλον ἢ λέξεσι τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ χρειῶδες παρεχόμενοι, οἷον εἰσαγωγὴν τινα τακτικὴν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑποστρατήγοις καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐμπειστυμένους χρειᾶς, δι' ὑμῶν ὑπαγορεύοντες ὡς εὐκόλον ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις
65 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων τακτικῶν καὶ ἀρχαίων <θεωρημάτων> τάξει τινὶ καὶ βαθμῷ προῖεναι, φράσεως μὲν ἀκριβοῦς ἢ κόμπου ῥημάτων οὐδεμίαν ποιησάμενοι φροντίδα, πραγμάτων δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ σαφηνείας λόγου καὶ λέξεως ἀπλῆς πεφροντικότες. ὅθεν ταύτας παλαιὰς τῆς τακτικῆς πολλάκις Ἑλληνικὰς μὲν ἐσαφηνίσαμεν λέξεις, Ῥωμαϊκὰς δὲ διερμηνεύσαμεν, καὶ τισιν
70 ἐτέραις στρατιωτικῇ συνηθείᾳ λελεγμέναις ἐχρησάμεθα λέξεσιν ἕνεκεν τῆς σαφοῦς καταλήψεως τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων, μόνον τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων διατάξων ἐξηρημένων διὰ τε τὸ περιττὸν καὶ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀσάφειαν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν εὐσύνοπτον οἱ βουλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν πολλὴν τῶν κατὰ

51 ὄνησιμωτάτην MW ὠφελιμωτάτην ABE | ἀπωσθεῖσαν MW ἀποδιωχθεῖσαν ABE 55 καὶ δὴ MW om. ABE 56 ἐμφιλοχωρήσαντες MW φιλοπόνως ἐντυχόντες ABE 56-57 ταῖς... ἱστορίαις MW τὰς ἄλλας ἱστορίας ἀνερευνήσαντες AB τὰς ἄλλας καταλογάδην ἐντυχόντες E | scr. mg. αρριανου αιλιανου πελοπος ὄνησάνδρου μηνᾶ πολυαίνου συριανοῦ πλουτάρχου W 57 εἴ τι WBE εἴτε MA | κατὰ χεῖρας MW om. ABE | ἔδοξε χρήσιμον MW trsp. ABE 58 ἀναλεξάμενοι MWA ἐπιλεξάμενοι BE | καὶ!... ἐρανισάμενοι MW om. ABE | ὅσα καὶ MW trsp. ABE | διὰ μετρίας MW δι' ὀλίγης ABE 60 σύντομόν ABE συντόμως MW 61 ὡς... νόμον ABE προχείρου τάξιν νόμου MW 62 εἰσαγωγὴν MW εἴσοδον ABE 63 πολεμικὰς MW πολιτικὰς ABE 65 μείζω MW μείζονα ABE | θεωρημάτων ci. Va om. codd. 66 προῖεναι MW προχωρεῖν ABE | φράσεως... ῥημάτων MW κάλλους μὲν λόγου ABE 67 ποιησάμενοι φροντίδα MW trsp. ABE 67-68 σαφηνείας... ταύτας MW (ὅθεν καὶ) συντόμου καὶ εὐκόλου διηγήσεως φροντίσαντες διὰ τοῦτο ABE 68 τῆς... πολλάκις MW λέξεις τῆς τακτικῆς ABE 69-71 καὶ... ἐντυγχανόντων MW καὶ ἐτέραις λέξεσιν ἐχρησάμεθα ἐν στρατιωτικῇ συνηθείᾳ λεγομέναις πρὸς τὸ εὐκόλον εἶναι τὴν διήγησιν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ABE 71-78 μόνον... τάξιν MW om. ABE

this most profitable knowledge and, after it had been almost driven out of our Roman commonwealth, to call it back into being, we have not hesitated, with great seriousness, to take up this task ourselves and, in this way, to graciously bestow a common benefit upon our subjects.

6. After devotedly giving our attention to the ancient, as well as to the more recent, strategic and tactical methods, and having read about further details in other accounts, if we came across anything in those sources that seemed useful for the needs of war, we have, as it were, gathered it up and collected it.⁴ Those things, moreover, that we have learned from our own limited experience of active duty and that are applicable and serviceable in our day and in the present situation, we now pass on to you as best we can. We offer them as a modest assistance in these matters, succinctly, as another *Procheiros nomos*, presenting in practice rather than in words what is useful and worthy of respect. It is a sort of introductory book on tactics for our subcommanders and those who have been entrusted with the responsibilities of combat.⁵ We assure you that this should make it easier for those who wish to advance in an orderly manner and by degrees to a better knowledge of those old tactical authors and ancient theories. We have paid no heed to the strictures of good diction or fine-sounding words. Our concern, rather, has been with practicality, clarity of expression, and simplicity of style. With this in mind, we have frequently clarified the ancient Greek tactical terms and we have translated the Latin ones into their Greek equivalents. We have also employed certain other expressions in common military usage to make it easier for the reader to understand them. The only thing we have done away with are formations that are no longer needed because they are superfluous, useless, and their description is not clear. Thus, those who desire to command troops may have ready access to a great store of experience concerning the requirements for combat and military campaigns. This manual

4. In the margin of W, someone (perhaps the scribe) has written the names of Arrian, Aelian, Pelops, Onasander, Menas, Polyaeus, Syrianus, Plutarch.

5. Subcommander: *hypostrategos*, also lieutenant general (see 4.8-9). At one time all generals were called lieutenant generals, the emperor being considered the one supreme general, with the others as his delegates. In Leo's time, the term was applied to the senior merarch.

πολέμους καὶ ἐκστρατείας ἀναγκαίων τὴν πείραν, οὐ λόγῳ μόνον τὸ χρήσιμον
 75 ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔργοις παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐγγυμασθεῖσαν καὶ
 ἄχρῃς ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔργοις αὐτοῖς οἷς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη δυνάμεως,
 παραπεμφθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς λόγοις δι' ὧν ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ ἀναμνησθε-
 ται τὰ λήθη παραπεμφθέντα καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν πάλιν ἀποκαθίστασθαι τάξιν.

7. Ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσῳ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις τὸ εὐχρηστον ἀναδειχθῇ, χάρις
 80 τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῶν δοτῇρι Χριστῷ, τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ παντός καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, τῷ
 καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις δωρησαμένῳ τὴν χάριν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἕτερος δι' αὐτῆς
 τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ πείρας κρείττονα τούτων ἐφεύρη, χάρις καὶ οὕτως τῷ πανα-
 γάθῳ Θεῷ, συγγνώμη δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς προθυμίας ἔνεκεν.

8. Πάντως δὲ χρή, εἴτε ἐπὶ πλεον εἴτε ἐπ' ἔλαττον, τοὺς βουλομένους στρα-
 85 τηγεῖν ταῖς τακτικαῖς τε καὶ στρατηγικαῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν μελέταις. οὐδὲ γάρ, ὥς
 τινες τῶν ἀπείρων ἔχουσι, διὰ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσους οἱ πόλεμοι κρίνον-
 ται, ἀλλὰ δι' εὐμενείας Θεοῦ καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ τάξεως, ἥς μᾶλλον ἐπιμελητέον
 ἢ συλλογῆς πλήθους ἀκαίρου· ἡ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἄγει τοῖς
 καλῶς αὐτῇ κεχρημένοις, ἡ δὲ καὶ συντριβὴν καὶ ἐπιζήμιον δαπάνην.

9. Ὡς περ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁλκάδα πελάγη διαπορθμεύεσθαι κυβερνητικῆς
 ἐπιστήμης | χωρίς, οὕτως οὐδὲ πολεμίους καταγωνίζεσθαι τάξεως καὶ στρατη- 284
 γίας ἐκτός, δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἰσορροποῦντος πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων περιγεν-
 ἔσθαι σὺν Θεῷ δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πολλῶ πλεον τῷ ἀριθμῷ <ὑπερ>-
 βάλλοντος. ὥς περ οὖν ἄλλον τινὰ πρόχειρον νόμον ἡμῖν, ὥς εἴρηται, στρατη-
 95 γικὸν τὴν παροῦσαν πραγματείαν ὑπαγορεύοντες προσεχῶς τε καὶ ἐπιπόνως
 ἀκούειν ἡμῶν παρακελευόμεθα.

10. Χρεὸν τοίνυν πρότερον μὲν ὑπογράψαι τὴν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικὴν, καὶ τί
 ἐστὶ στρατηγός, εἴτα τίνα καὶ ὅποιον τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ὅπως δέον
 βουλευέσθαι, ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν εἰς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἀρχομένους τοῦ στρατοῦ διαθεῖναι
 100 διαίρεσιν, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τῶν ὅπλων κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου

90–96 *Strat.*, 7.A.1.

79 ἐφ'...ἀναδειχθῇ MW εἰ μὲν χρήσιμα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθησόμενα φανῶσι ABE 82 καὶ
 πείρας MWA om. BE | ἐφεύρη MWA om. BE | οὕτως MWA οὕτω BE 83 δὲ MWA om. BE
 86 τινες...ἔχουσι MW τῶν ἀπείρων ὑπολαμβάνουσι τινὲς A ὑπολαμβάνουσι τινὲς τῶν
 ἀπείρων BE 87 δι' εὐμενείας MW διὰ φιλανθρωπίας ABE | ἐπιμελητέον MW ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
 χρή ABE 88 ἄγει MWBE ἔχει A 90 ὁλκάδα MW πλοῖον ABE | διαπορθμεύεσθαι MW
 διαπερᾶν ABE 90–91 κυβερνητικῆς...χωρίς MW χωρίς κυβερνητικῆς ἐπιστήμης ABE
 92 ἰσορροποῦντος W ἰσορροποιοῦντος M ἴσου ABE 93–94 πλεον...βάλλοντος MW
 πλείονος ABE ὑπερ suppl. Lami (PG) 94 νόμον ABE om. MW 95 προσεχῶς ABE νόμον
 προσεχῶς MW 97 χρεὸν MW χρεία ABE 98 τὸν MWA om. BE

derives its usefulness not only from what has been written down but also from
 the fact that it has been put into practice by ancient authorities and has been
 transmitted down to our own day. Even if it had not been accompanied by those
 actions that had raised the situation of the Romans to great power, at least the
 words that had been consigned to oblivion have been brought back to life,
 remembered, and again restored to their ancient position.

7. To the extent that something useful may be discovered in what we are
 about to say, thanks be to Christ, the giver of all good things, the king of all and
 our God, who has bestowed his favor upon our words. If anyone else, through
 his own diligence and experience, should improve upon these words, likewise,
 thanks be to the all-good God, and may we be pardoned for being so
 enthusiastic.

8. It is absolutely essential, to a greater or less degree, that men who intend
 to command troops should spend their time in tactical and strategic exercises.
 For it is not true, as some inexperienced persons may hold, that wars are
 decided by a multitude of men and courage, but by the favor of God and by
 generalship and discipline; one must be concerned about this rather than assem-
 bling an unreasonable multitude. For the former brings safety and advantage to
 those who make good use of it, while the latter brings trouble and harmful
 expenditure.

9. Just as it is not possible to sail a ship over the sea without knowledge of
 navigation, neither is it possible to overcome the enemy without discipline and
 generalship.⁶ Whereas, with these, and with God's help, not only is it possible to
 prevail over an enemy force of equal strength but also over one which greatly
 outnumbers yours. We submit the present treatise on generalship, as we have
 said, like another *Procheiros nomos* and we earnestly advise you to listen to us
 attentively and very seriously.

10. First, it is necessary to outline the tactics employed in warfare. Then,
 what is a general? Who and what sort of person should he be? How should he
 make his plans? After that, explain the division of the army into officers and the
 troops they command, as well as their equipment, the weapons provided them,

6. Cf. *Strat.* 7.A.1.

τῶν μαχομένων ὅπλισιν, πρὸς τούτοις τὴν πρὸ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγώνων τοῦ
στρατοῦ γυμνασίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ κείμενα ὑπαναγνωσθῆναι ἐπιτίμια. εἴτα
περὶ ὁδοιπορίας εἰπεῖν τῆς τε ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, περὶ τε τοῦ
105 λεγομένου τούλδου καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἀπλίκτων τῆς τε προκατασκευῆς καὶ παραγ-
πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ ἐποφείλεται; καὶ ἔτι περὶ πολιορκίας, εἴτα καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸν
πόλεμον ὀφειλόμενα καὶ τὰς δι' ἐνέδρων ἀδοκίτους ἐφόδους τῶν τε ἡμετέρων
καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις διαφόρων παρατάξεων μελέτας ἐθνικῶν τε
καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῶν. εἴτα πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ περὶ ναυμαχίας διατάζει μετρίως.
110 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν γνώμας τινὰς τακτικάς τε καὶ στρατηγικάς ἰδίως ἐν ἐκθέ-
σει συναγαγεῖν, ὅσας δηλονότι κατὰ χώραν ἐντάξει τὸ εὐσύνοπτον καὶ πρόχει-
ρον τῶν διατάξεων οὐ συγχωρεῖ, ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμώμενον σοφὸν ὄντα καὶ ὁξὺν τῇ
διανοίᾳ τὸν στρατηγὸν σοφώτερον γενέσθαι ἐλπίζομεν.

11. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀρκτέον ἐντεῦθεν. |

105 ad γενέσθαι des. W | inter ff. 2 et 3 remanet fol. pars exigua, in qua legitur: recto: πρὸ
τῆς<...>...ὅσα ἐ<ν>...ἐποφε<ίλεται>...<πολι>ορκίας...πόλ<εμον>...δι' ἐ<νέδρων>...τῶν...
ων...π...τε. verso: <στ>ρατηγοῦ...πολεμικῶν...πολεμικαῖ...<αἱ> δὲ κατὰ...<στρατηγι>κή...
καὶ κι<νῆσεων>...ἀγα<θῶν>...<μελ>έτη...<στρατηγημάτ>ων.

112-113 Prov. 1:5.

101 τῶν! MWAB om. E | πρὸ τῶν MWA πρὸς τὸν BE 102 στρατοῦ Va στρατηγοῦ codd.
103 πολεμία MWAB πολεμία γῆ E 104 καὶ δὴ MW om. ABE 106 ἐποφείλεται W
ὑποφείλεται MABE | τὰ MA om. BE 107 ἐνέδρων M ἐγκρυμμάτων ABE | ἀδοκίτους M
ἀπροδοκίτους A ἀπροδοκίτως BE 108 μελέτας MBE μελέταις A 109 πρὸς M ἐπὶ
ABE | καὶ περὶ ABE om. M | διατάζει μετρίως M εἰπεῖν ABE 110 ἅπασιν M om. ABE
110-112 ἰδίως...συγχωρεῖ M ἐκθεῖναι ABE

and the armament of each one of the fighting men. In addition, the training of
the army before actual combat. Then, the official reading of the penalties in
force. There follows a discussion about the army on the march, both in our own
and in hostile territory, and about the so-called baggage train and, of course,
about preparation and instructions regarding encampments. What must be
done the day before battle and what has to be done on the day of battle? Further,
about siege warfare. Then, what is to be done after battle? What about unexpect-
ed attacks and ambushes both of our own troops and of the enemy? In addition
to these, training in various battle formations, foreign and Roman. Our compi-
lation is then followed by a limited exposition of naval warfare. Concluding all
this, certain tactical and strategic maxims have been collected and set forth
individually, those, that is, that the summary, handbook nature of the chapters
does not permit to insert in their place. We hope that the study of these will lead
the wise and sharp-witted commander to become even wiser.⁷

11. We must first begin here.

Περὶ τακτικῆς καὶ στρατηγοῦ

1. Τακτική ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη πολεμικῶν κινήσεων· κινήσεις δὲ πολεμικαὶ διτταί, αἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, αἱ δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν.
- 5 2. Τακτική ἐστὶ τέχνη στρατηγικὴ παρατάξεων καὶ ὀπλισμῶν καὶ κινήσεων στρατιωτικῶν.
3. Στρατηγικὴ δὲ ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ἀγαθῶν συνάσκησις ἥγουν μελέτη καὶ γυμνασία μετὰ στρατηγημάτων ἥτοι τροπαίων συναθροισμός.
4. Σκοπὸς τῇ τακτικῇ διὰ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐπιβολῶν καὶ πράξεων νικῆσαι
- 10 τοὺς πολεμίους.
5. Χρήσιμον δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ τακτικῇ τὸ δι' εὐτάκτου <ἐπι>θέσεως συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίους.
6. Τέλος τῇ τακτικῇ κατὰ ἐνδεχόμενον ἀνεπιλήπτως διατάζει τὸ στράτευμα.
7. Αἱ δὲ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τέλειαι παρετοιμασίαι δύο εἰσὶν· ἡ μὲν κατὰ γῆν
- 15 πεζικὴ, ἡ δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ναυτικὴ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ναυτικῆς ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. τῶν δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐπὶ πολέμους ἀθροιζομένων ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ μάχιμον ἥγουν πολεμικόν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰς τούτου χρείας συνερχόμενον ἄμαχον. καὶ πολεμικὸν μὲν τὸ παρατασσόμενον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους στρατιωτικόν· ἄμαχον δὲ τὸ λοιπόν, οἷον ἰατρῶν, δούλων, ἐμπόρων, καὶ ἄλλων, ὅσοι διὰ
- 20 τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσιν. τοῦ δὲ μαχίμου μέρους ἥγουν πολεμικοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ πεζικόν, τὸ δὲ καβαλλαρικόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰδίως πεζικόν τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς ἰστάμενον, τὸ δὲ καβαλλαρικόν τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχούμενον. ἦν δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρμάτων ἀπλῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων δρεπανηφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλεφάντων πύργους

M A B E Va PG 107:680

3-25 Aeliani *Tact. Theoria*, 2.1.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MA om. BE | α' MB πρώτη AE 4 διτταί M δύο ABE 5 ἐστὶ MA ἐστὶν BE 9 νικῆσαι De κινήσαι codd. 11 ἐστὶ MA ἐστὶν BE | ἐπιθέσεως De θέσεως codd. 13 ἀνεπιλήπτως M ἀμέμπτως ABE 14 πολέμους A πολεμίους MBE 19 οἷον MA οἶοι BE | ἰατρῶν... ἄλλων De ἰατρῶν δούλων ἐμπείρων καὶ ἄλλων M ἰατροὶ δούλοι ἐμποροὶ καὶ ἄλλοι A ἰατροὶ δούλοι ἐμπείροι καὶ ἄλλοι BE 20 ἐπακολουθοῦσιν M ἐπακολουθοῦσι ABE 21 καβαλλαρικόν ABE καβαλλάριον M 23 καὶ¹ M καὶ ἐπὶ ABE

About Tactics and the General

1. Tactics is the science of movement in warfare. Movements in warfare are twofold, those on land and those on sea.¹
2. Tactics is the military skill <that is concerned with> battle formations, armament, and troop movements.
3. Strategy is how good commanders put their military training into practice, their drilling with stratagems, and putting together ways of defeating <the enemy>.²
4. The aim of tactics is to defeat the enemy by all possible means of assaults and actions.
5. The usefulness of tactics lies in engaging the enemy in combat by means of a well disciplined attack.
6. The purpose of tactics is, inasmuch as possible, to draw up the army in an unassailable formation.
7. Complete preparation for warfare is twofold: infantry on land and naval forces at sea. About naval warfare we will discourse later. Of the mass of men mobilized for warfare on land, one part consists of fighting men or warriors, the other of non-combatants who are to see to their needs. The fighting men are drawn up as an army confronting the enemy. The rest are noncombatants such as doctors, slaves, merchants, and others, all those who follow along to provide services. Of the fighting units, that is, the army in the field, some are infantry and some cavalry. The infantry, specifically, take their stand on the ground, the cavalry are mounted on horses. There was a time when war involved plain chariots and chariots armed with scythes, as well as elephants carrying towers

1. Much of this chapter is derived from Aelian, *Tactical Theory*, 2. See also AnonStrat, 14.

2. AnonStrat, 4-5.

φερόντων πλήρεις ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδείς ἡμῖν λόγος νῦν διὰ τε τὴν
25 ἀχρηστίαν καὶ τὴν παντελῆ ἀργίαν τῶν τοιούτων παρασκευῶν.

8. Τῆς οὖν τακτικῆς μετρίως πως οὕτως ὑπογραφείσης δεῖ καὶ τὸν στρατη-
γὸν ἀναδειχθῆναι. τί τέ ἐστι καὶ τίς ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐγχειρήσεως ἄξιος;

9. Στρατηγὸς τοῖνυν ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀπάσης ἐπαρχίας μείζονα πάντων
ἐξουσίαν ἔχων μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα.

30 10. Στρατηγὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ ὑπὸ χεῖρα στρατιωτικοῦ θέματος κορυφαῖος
ἄρχων, | ἐκ βασιλέως μὲν προχειριζόμενος, τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντας τοὺς μὲν 285
ψήφῳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐκ βασιλέως δὲ καταπεμπομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἐξουσία ἰδίᾳ
προβαλλομένους.

11. Ἴδιον δὲ στρατηγοῦ τὸ κρείττονα εἶναι πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα φρονήσει
35 καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ, τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι τῆς κατ'
αὐτὸν ἐπαρχίας τὰς διοικήσεις, ὅσαι τε στρατιωτικαὶ καὶ ὅσαι ἰδιωτικαὶ καὶ
δημόσιοι, τὸ παραλαβόντα στρατὸν ἄτακτον ἐκτάξαι δεόντως κατὰ τὴν ἀρμό-
ζουσαν τῷ καιρῷ τακτικὴν διάταξιν.

12. Σκοπὸς δὲ στρατηγῷ τὸ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτὸν θέμα αὐξῆσαι καὶ ἀβλαβὲς ἀπὸ τε
40 πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀταξιῶν καὶ στάσεων διαφυλά-
ξαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἢ πολέμῳ ἢ ἐφόδοις ἀδοκῆτοις, ταπει-
νῶσαι, καὶ ἅπερ ποιήσει κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ταῦτα φυλάξασθαι, μὴ παθεῖν ἀπ'
αὐτῶν.

13. Τέλος τῷ στρατηγῷ τῷ εὐδοκιμήσαντι διὰ πάντων τῆς τε θείας καὶ
45 βασιλικῆς ἀπολαύειν εὐνοίας ἢ κατολιγωρήσαντι τῶν πρεπόντων καὶ ἀρμοζόν-
των πραγμάτων τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἐναντίου. οὕτω τοῖνυν καὶ τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
προτυπωθείσης εἰκόνος δεῖ καθάπερ διὰ χρωμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀναζωγραφῆσαι τὴν
τούτου ποιότητα καὶ δεῖξαι φανερώς τίς καὶ ποταπὸς εἶναι ὀφείλει καὶ ὁποῖος
εἶναι ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐξουσίας προχειριζόμενος ἄρχων.

26 οὖν τακτικῆς M trsp. ABE | πως ME om. AB | οὕτως ABE οὕτω M 27 ἐστι MA ἐστὶν
BE | τῆς BE om. MA 28 ὁ ABE om. M | ἐπαρχίας ABE ὑπαρχίας M 30 στρατηγὸς ἐστὶν
ABE ἐστὶ M 31 ἄρχοντας De ἄρχοντες codd. 32 ἑαυτοῦ M αὐτοῦ ABE | κατα-
πεμπομένους ABE καταπεμπόμενος M 33 προβαλλομένους De προβαλλόμενος codd.
34 τὸ κρείττονα MA τῷ κρείττω BE | εἶναι πάντων MA trsp. BE 40 ἀδικημάτων καὶ M om.
ABE 44 τῷ εὐδοκιμήσαντι BE τὸ εὐδοκιμῆσαι τὰ M τὸ εὐδοκιμήσαντα A
45 κατολιγωρήσαντι Va κατολιγωρήσαντα codd. 46 τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἐναντίου Va τεύξασθαι
τοῦ ἐναντίου M τὰ ἐναντία παθεῖν ABE | οὕτω M οὕτως ABE 47 χρωμάτων BE χρημάτων
MA 48 καὶ ποταπὸς εἶναι ABE om. M 48-49 καὶ ὁποῖος εἶναι M om. ABE 49 ὁ MA ὁ
εἰς BE | τῆς τοιαύτης ἐξουσίας M τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν ABE

filled with men. But we will not discuss these now because such armament is no
longer employed and has gone completely out of use.

8. After this more or less brief outline of tactics, it is necessary to present the
general. What is he? Who is fit for such an undertaking?

9. The general is the person who, after the emperor, has greater authority
than anyone else over the entire province subject to him.

10. The general is the chief officer of the military theme under his command.
He is appointed by the emperor; as far as the officers under him are concerned,
some are promoted by his decision, although sent to him by the emperor, and
others directly on his own authority.

11. It is characteristic of the general that he be superior to all under his com-
mand in practical wisdom, bravery, righteousness, and discretion, reserving to
himself the administration of the province assigned to him, including military,
private, and public matters. Having received an undisciplined army, he must
dutifully dispose it for battle according to the tactical formation suited to the
occasion.

12. The goal of the general is to strengthen the theme under his command
and to preserve it free from harm caused by enemies and from other wrong-
doing, especially from disorder and mutiny. He is to bring down the enemy by
every means, whether by battle or by unexpected attacks. Whatever action he
will take against the enemy, he must be on his guard so that he does not suffer
the same thing from them.

13. The ultimate objective of the highly esteemed general is to enjoy in all
things the divine and the imperial favor rather than, by paying little account to
fitting and suitable matters, to arrive at the opposite. So then, having made this
preliminary sketch of the general, we must now paint his qualities as though it
were a portrait in color. We must demonstrate clearly who and what sort of
person he ought to be and what should characterize the officer who has been
entrusted with such authority.

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Β'

Περὶ τοῦ οἷον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγόν

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION II

About the Qualities Required in the General

1. Κελεύομεν τοίνυν εἶναι τὸν στρατηγὸν σώφρονα περὶ τὸ σῶμα, περὶ τὴν
δίαίταν ἐγκρατῇ, νηφάλιον καὶ ἐγρήγορον, λιτὸν καὶ ἀπέριττον περὶ τὰς χρείας,
5 φερέπονον περὶ τοὺς ἐπικόπους καμάτους, νοήμονα καὶ φρόνιμον, μισοῦντα
φιλαργυρίαν, ἔνδοξον περὶ τὴν φήμην, μήτε νέον μήτε γέροντα, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ
πρὸς τὸ λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ, ἂν τύχῃ δέ, καὶ πατέρα παίδων, μὴ
ἐμπορείας φιλοῦντα ἢ τι τοιοῦτον, μηδὲ μικρόψυχον, ὥς καὶ τῶν σμικρῶν
πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἀπλῶς εὐγενῇ τῇ ψυχῇ, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ
10 ἐν ᾧ πασι μεγαλόψυχον.
2. Σώφρονα μὲν ἵνα | μὴ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως κατασυρόμενος ἡδοναῖς ἀπολείπῃ 286
τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν.
3. Ἐγκρατῇ δὲ ἐπειδὴ τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς μέλλει τυγχάνειν. αἱ γὰρ ἀκρατεῖς
καὶ ἀκόλαστοι ὁρμαί, ὅτ' ἂν προσλάβωσι δύναμιν κατ' ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ποιεῖν ἅ
15 βούλονται, ἀκράτητοι γίνονται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας.
4. Νηφάλιον δὲ καὶ ἐγρήγορον ὅπως ἐπαγρυπνῇ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσιν.
ἐν νυκτὶ γάρ, ὅτ' ἂν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡρεμῇ μάλιστα, πολλάκις ἡ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γνώμη
καὶ ἀπευθύνεται καὶ τελειοῦται.
5. Λιτὸν δὲ καὶ ἀπέριττον περὶ τὰς χρείας· καὶ γὰρ καταδαπανῶσιν αἱ πολυ-
20 τελεῖς καὶ πολλαὶ θεραπείαι καὶ χρόνον ἄπρακτον καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἐξόδους εἰς
τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων τρυφήν.

1. We insist that the general should be discreet in bodily matters and
exercise self-control in his mode of life. He should be sober and vigilant, frugal
and unpretentious when it comes to necessities, bearing up under the toil of
heavy labor. He should be endowed with intelligence and practical wisdom, a
man who hates avarice and is of excellent repute, neither a youth nor an old
man. He should be capable of speaking extemporaneously in the midst of his
troops. Let him also be, when it so turns out, a father of children. He should not
be overly fond of commerce or anything of that sort, nor should he be niggardly,
as if setting his heart on petty matters.¹ Quite simply, he should be noble in soul
and, if possible, in body and, in every respect, greathearted.
2. Let him be discreet and not so dragged down by physical pleasures that he
neglects to attend to necessary matters and shows no concern about them.
3. As a man entrusted with such great authority, he will exercise self-control.
Unrestrained and licentious impulses, when combined with the power and
ability to do whatever one wants, become uncontrollable in seeking gratification.
4. Let him be sober and vigilant so that he may remain alert when dealing
with truly important projects. It is often at night, when the soul is more at rest,
that the plans of the general assume their final, definitive shape.
5. Let him be frugal and unpretentious regarding his needs. Very costly and
continual attendance upon the luxurious tastes of commanders wastes time
without accomplishing anything and eats away at necessary expenses.

M W (mut.) A B E Va PG 107:681

3-70 Onas. 1.1-14.

1 β' MBE δευτέρα A 4 νηφάλιον M νηφαλέον ABE | καὶ ἀπέριττον M om. ABE
5 φερέπονον M ὑπομένοντα ABE | περὶ...καμάτους M τοὺς πόνους ABE 6 περὶ...φήμην
M om. ABE 8 ἐμπορείας M πραγματείας ABE | φιλοῦντα M ἀγαπῶντα ABE | σμικρῶν M
μικρῶν ABE 9 τῇ ψυχῇ M τὴν ψυχὴν ABE | τῷ σώματι M τὸ σῶμα ABE 12 περὶ MA om.
BE 14 δύναμιν MA δυνάμ<ε>ις BE | κατ'...ποιεῖν M trsp. ABE 16 νηφάλιον M
νηφαλέον ABE 19 καὶ ἀπέριττον M om. ABE

1. For this chapter cf. Onasander, 1.1-14.

6. Φερέπονον δὲ ἵνα μὴ πρῶτος τῶν στρατευομένων τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἐπιζητῇ, ἀλλὰ γίνεται αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον εἰκὼν πρὸς τὸ γενναίως ὑποφέρειν τοὺς πόνους.

25 7. Νοήμονα δὲ καὶ φρόνιμον· ὅξυν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγόν, πανταχοῦ περιστρέφοντα τὸν σκοπὸν διὰ ταχυτῆτα ψυχῆς. πολλάκις γὰρ ἀνυπονόητοι ταραχαὶ προσπεσοῦσαι παρευθὺ τὸ συμφέρον ἐπινοεῖν ἀναγκάζουσιν.

8. Ἀφιλαργυρον δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀφιλαργυρία τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δοκιμάζεται, ὅτ' ἂν ἀδωροδοκῆτως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως προΐσταται τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ δι' ἀρε-
30 τὴν μόνην δωρεὰν προβάλλεται τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν θέματος. πολλοὶ γὰρ, κἂν ἀνδρεῖοί εἰσι τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ῥωμαλέοι τῷ σώματι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀντιβλέψωσι πρὸς χρυσόν, ἀμαυροῦνται καὶ σκοτίζονται. δεινὸν γὰρ ὄπλον κατὰ στρατηγοῦ <ἡ> φιλαργυρία καὶ δραστήριον εἰς τὸ νικῆσαι τοῦτον καὶ καταβαλεῖν.

35 9. Οὔτε δὲ νέον εἶναι οὔτε γέροντα, ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν νέος ἄπιστον ἔχει καὶ εὐκλόνητον τὸ φρόνημα διὰ τὴν νεότητα, ὁ δὲ γέρων ἀσθενὴς ἐστὶ τῷ σώματι, καὶ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἀσφαλής. ὁ μὲν ἵνα μὴ τι πταίῃ διὰ τὴν ἀλόγιστον τόλμαν ὥσπερ θρασύς, ὁ δὲ γέρων ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀσθένειαν ἐλλείπῃ εἰς τὰ δέοντα τῶν πραγμάτων. κρατίστη δὲ ἐκλογὴ τοῦ μέσου, μήτε νέου ὄντος μήτε
40 γέροντος. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ῥωμαλέον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ γεγηρακότι, τὸ δὲ φρόνιμον καὶ σταθερὸν ἐν τῷ μὴ πάνυ νεάζοντι. οἵτινες γὰρ ἢ ἰσχὺν σώματος ἄνευ φρονήσεως θαυμάζουσι ψυχικῆς ἢ πάλιν ψυχὴν φρόνιμον ἄνευ σωματικῆς δυνάμεως, οὐδὲν ἐνόησαν | πέρας ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ὑστερήσασα δυνάμεις 286 φρόνησις οὐδὲν διανοήθη κρεῖττον ἢ ἐλλείπουσα φρονήσεως δύναμις οὐδὲν
45 ἐτελείωσεν.

37 ad διὰ de novo inc. W | scr. mg. απροσχω W

22 φερέπονον δὲ M ὑπομένοντα τοὺς πόνους ABE 23 γίνεται M γένηται A γίνηται BE
25 δὲ MAB om. E 26 περιστρέφοντα M περιφέροντα ABE | ἀνυπονόητοι ABE
ἀνυπονόηται M 27 ἀναγκάζουσιν M ἀνακάζουσι ABE 28 τοῦ ABE om. M 31 κἂν MA
καὶ BE 33 ἡ ci. Va om. codd. | δραστήριον M ἐνεργέστατον ABE 35 ἔχει MAB ἔχειν E
36 εὐκλόνητον M ἄστατον ABE 37 οὐδέτερος Va οὐδεὶς codd. | τι MAE om. B
39 κρατίστη MW καλλίστη ABE 40 ῥωμαλέον MW ἰσχυρόν ABE 41 σταθερὸν MWBE
σταθερὸν A | νεάζοντι ABE νεάζοντι καὶ μέντοι MW | γὰρ ABE om. MW 43 πέρας MW
τέλος ABE | ἡ MW ἡ φρόνησις ABE 44 οὐδὲν διανοήθη MW οὐδὲν ὠφέλησεν ABE |
ἐλλείπουσα...δύναμις MW δύναμις στερηθεῖσα φρονήσεως ABE 45 ἐτελείωσεν MWA
ἐτελείωσε BE

6. Let him endure toil and not be the first among the soldiers to seek rest. Rather, let him be a model to them in nobly bearing up under hard labor.

7. Let him be intelligent and wise. The general must be sharp-witted, fast-thinking, with his gaze turned in every direction. Unsuspected disorders frequently arise and force him, on the spur of the moment, to come up with a way to remedy the situation.

8. Let him be free of avarice. In particular, the commander's freedom from avarice is tested and proven whenever he presides over affairs in an incorruptible and magnanimous manner and makes appointments to positions of command in his theme freely and on the basis of virtue alone. Many men, even though courageous in spirit and strong of body in facing the foe, find that, when they gaze upon gold, their sight is darkened and they become blind. Avarice is a terrible weapon when used against the general and very effective in defeating and overthrowing him.

9. He should not be a young man or an old man. A young man's mind lacks confidence and is easily confused because of his youth, whereas the old man's body is feeble. Neither of them offers security. The young man is impulsive and may err by reckless daring. The old man is weak physically and may neglect something that has to be done. The ideal choice is between the two, neither young nor old. Vigor and strength characterize the man who has not yet grown old, while wisdom and stability mark the man who is not too young. There are those who marvel at physical strength that exists without mental discretion or, on the other hand, who are impressed by a wise mind but one lacking in bodily strength. In their reasoning these people have not reached a correct conclusion. A mind deficient in physical strength has never conceived anything worthwhile; neither has strength deprived of intelligence ever accomplished anything.

10. Καὶ φιλούμενον δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐδοκιμώτερον ἴσμεν γίνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ μεγάλα τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὠφελήσειεν. ὄντινα γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φιλοῦσι, τούτῳ ἐπιτάττοντι μὲν ταχὺ πείθονται, λέγοντι δὲ καὶ συντιθεμένῳ οὐκ ἀπιστοῦσι, κινδυνεύοντι δὲ συναγωνίζονται. τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ
50 ἀγάπη, τὸ τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλουμένου.

11. Πατέρα δὲ παίδων προκρίνομεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄπαιδα, οὐδὲ τὸν ἄνευ παίδων παραιτούμενοι ἐὰν ἀγαθός ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ παῖδας ἔχων στρατηγός, εἰ μὲν νηπίους, θερμότερος γίνεται περὶ τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν ἐν βίῳ πραγμάτων ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν παίδων φιλίας καὶ εὐπραγίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. εἰ δὲ τέλειοι εἰσι τὴν ἡλικίαν,
55 σύμβουλοι καὶ συστράτηγοι καὶ πιστοὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενόμενοι συγκατορθοῦσι τῷ πατρὶ τὰ μεταχειριζόμενα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας πράγματα· δι' ὧν μᾶλλον δοκεῖ τοῦ ἄπαιδος ὁ παῖδας ἔχων προτιμότερος εἶναι.

12. Λέγειν δὲ καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἱκανόν· ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελεῖν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ στράτευμα, ἐὰν τε γὰρ παρατάσεται πρὸς μάχην στρατηγός, διὰ τῆς
60 τοῦ λόγου παρακελεύσεως, τῶν μὲν γὰρ δεινῶν πολλάκις καὶ αὐτοῦ θανάτου ποιεῖ καταφρονεῖν, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ἡδέων ἐπιθυμεῖν. οὐχ οὕτως γὰρ ἐνηχοῦσα σάλπιγξ ἀκοαῖς ἐξεγείρει ψυχὰς εἰς κίνησιν μάχης ὥς λόγος μετὰ φρονήσεως λεγόμενος προτρέπεται εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐναγωνίους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ ἐξανιστᾷ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐὰν δέ τι συμβῇ πταῖσμα περὶ τὸ στρατό-
65 πεδον, ἡ τοῦ λόγου παρηγορία τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναρρωννύει. καὶ πολὺ δὴ χρησιμώ-
τερός ἐστι στρατηγοῦ λόγος δυνατός ὥστε παραμυθῆσθαι στρατοπέδου συμφοράς, μᾶλλον τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων τὰ τραύματα ἱατρῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεί-
νους μόνους τοὺς τραυματίας θεραπεύουσι ταῖς ἱατρείαις καὶ διὰ χρόνου τάχα πλείονος, ὁ δὲ παρὲν καὶ τοὺς πονοῦντας καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας εὐθυμοτέρους
70 ποιεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμένους ἀνιστᾷ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν καὶ εὐψυχίαν.

59 cum στρατη des. W (fol. desideratur)

50 Ioan. 15:13.

46 φιλούμενον MW ἀγαπώμενον ABE 47 ἴσμεν MW οἶδαμεν ABE | καὶ...ὠφελήσειεν MW om. ABE 48 φιλοῦσι MBE φιλοῦσιν WA 49 συντιθεμένῳ MW ὑπισχνουμένῳ ABE 51 ἡ ἄπαιδα MW om. ABE | ἄνευ παίδων MW μὴ ἔχοντα παῖδας ABE 52 ἀγαθός ἐστι M ἀγαθός ἐστιν W trsp. ABE 53 ἐν MWAB ἐν τῷ E 55 γενόμενοι MW γινόμενοι ABE 57 ἄπαιδος MW παῖδας μὴ ἔχοντος ABE 59 παρατάσεται MW παρατάσσηται ABE 60 γὰρ MBE om. A | αὐτοῦ M αὐτοῦ τοῦ ABE 61 ἡδέων Va ἡθέων M γλυκέων ABE 62 ἀκοαῖς...μάχης M ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐγείρει ψυχὰς εἰς μάχην ABE 64 τι MA om. BE 65 δὴ M om. ABE 67 τραύματα MA πράγματα BE 68 τραυματίας M τραυματισθέντας ABE 70 ἐρρωμένους Va ἐρρουμένους M ἰσχυροὺς ABE

10. We know that a general who is loved by his subjects will be more highly regarded and be very helpful to the men under his command. When men love someone, they are quick to obey his commands, they do not distrust his words and promises and, when he is in danger, they will fight along with him. For love is like this: to lay down one's life on behalf of the person one loves.²

11. We prefer a man who is a father of children rather than a childless one, although I would not turn away a childless one if he is a good man. The general who has children, if they are infants, becomes more enthused and serious about life's concerns as he struggles out of love for his children and their welfare. If they are adults, on the other hand, they become advisors and colleagues in command and faithful servants; they help in bringing to a successful conclusion the tasks on behalf of our common salvation entrusted to their father. For these reasons, it seems better that a man who has children is to be preferred to him who has none.

12. He should be capable of speaking and exhorting in public. I think that this ability is of the greatest benefit to the army. If the general, when he is drawing up his troops for battle, should encourage them by his words, he will often induce them to despise the terrors, even death itself. At the same time, he makes them eager to obtain the good and pleasant rewards. A trumpet blast echoing in one's ears does not stir the soul to move into battle as effectively as a speech, delivered in high spirits, urges one to valor, instills a martial spirit in its hearers, and arouses them to face terrible dangers. Moreover, if some calamity should befall the army, an encouraging speech will give new strength to the men's spirits. A skillful address by the general is far more useful in providing consolation for a defeated army than the care of the doctors for the wounded. For the physicians provide medical treatment only for the wounded, and it might take a long time, whereas the speech immediately raises the morale of the weary and disabled and arouses bravery and courage in the healthy.

2. John 15:13.

13. Ἐνδοξον δέ φαμεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀηδίζεται καὶ ἀσχάλλει ἐν τοῖς ἀδόξοις τὸ πλῆθος ὑποταττόμενον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλων ὑπομένει τὸν χεῖρονα κύριον ἑαυτοῦ ἀναδέχεσθαι καὶ ἡγεμόνα. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸν τοιοῦτον εὕρισκόμενον | στρατηγόν, ὥστε ἔχειν ἀρετὰς τοσαύτας ὅσας εἴρηκα στρατηγοῦ καὶ 287
75 ἔνδοξον εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ τοσαύτη ἀρετὴ ἄσημον ἄνθρωπον διαμένειν ἐπιπολὺ οὐ καταλιμπάνει.

14. Φάμεν δὲ καὶ μήτε πλούσιον, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχη τὰς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀρετάς, προχειρίζεσθαι στρατηγόν διὰ τὰ χρήματα, μήτε τὸν πένητα, ἐὰν ἀγαθός ἐστι, παραιτεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν πενίαν καὶ ἔνδειαν. οὐ μὴν δὲ τὸν πλούσιον ἀποδοκιμά-
80 ζομεν ὅτι πλούσιος, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὰς τῷ στρατηγῷ πρεπούσας μὴ κέκτηται ἀρετάς· οὐδὲ τὸν πένητα αἰρούμεθα ὅτι πένης, ἀλλ' ὅτι στρατηγικὴν τε καὶ γενναίαν ἔχει ψυχὴν. οὐδέτερον γὰρ διὰ τὴν τύχην ἀποδοκιμάζομεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἀμφοτέρους προβαλούμεθα. οὐδὲ πλούσιος ἀγαθὸς ὢν τοσοῦτω διαφέρει τοῦ γενναίου πένητος ὅσον αἱ ἐπάργυροι καὶ κατάχρυσοι πανοπλῖαι
85 τῶν καταχάλκων καὶ σιδηρῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ λαμπρῷ κόσμῳ πλεονεκτοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δραστηρίῳ διαγωνίζονται. πένητα δὲ φημι γενναῖον ἐὰν μὴ χρηματιστής ἐστι καὶ δωρολήπτης· τὸν γὰρ χρηματιστὴν οὐδ' ἂν πλουσιώτατος ὢν τύχη συμφέρει ποτὲ προχειρίζεσθαι στρατηγόν. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ μικρολόγον τινα καὶ ὀβολολόγον περὶ τὰ κέρδη ἢ ἔμπορον ἢ παραπλήσιόν τι τοιοῦτον πράτ-

80 ab ται ἀρετάς de novo inc. W

71-113 Onas. 1.17-25.

71 φαμεν M λέγομεν ABE | ἀηδίζεται...ἐν M ἀγανακτεῖ ABE¹ 71-72 τοῖς...πλῆθος M trsp. ABE 72 ὑποταττόμενον M ὑποτασσόμενον ABE | ἐθέλων M θέλων ABE | ἑαυτοῦ M αὐτοῦ ABE 74 εἴρηκα στρατηγοῦ M εἰρήκαμεν AVa 75 ἄσημον M ἀφανῆ καὶ ἄγνωστον BE 81 ὅτι¹ MW ἐστι ABE 82 οὐδέτερον MW οὐδένα ABE | ἀποδοκιμάζομεν MW ἀποβάλλομεν ABE scr. mg. ἀδόκιμον καὶ ἀποβλητον λογιζόμεθα W 82-83 τὸν τρόπον MW τὴν ἀρετὴν ABE 83 προβαλούμεθα Va προσκαλούμεθα MWA προκαλούμεθα BE | οὐδὲ M ὁ δὲ WABE | τοσοῦτω MW τοσοῦτον ABE 85 σιδηρῶν ABE σιδηρέων MW | αἱ¹ MWAE om. B | ad πλεονεκτοῦσιν scr. mg. ὑπερέχουσιν W 86 ad δραστηρίῳ scr. mg. τῷ δυναμενω ἐνεργεῖν> W | φημι MW λέγω ABE 87-88 χρηματιστής...τύχη MW ἔστιν δωρολήπτης μηδὲ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ κακῶν βουλόμενος τὸν γὰρ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ἐὰν ἐστι ABE 87 ad χρηματιστής scr. mg. χρημάτων ἐπι<μελούμενος> W | ad χρηματιστὴν scr. mg. χρήματα συνάγων W 88-92 μικρολόγον...ἐπιτηδευμάτων MW καταπραγματευόμενον τοῦ οἰκείου λαοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰ κέρδη σπουδάζοντα ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον μικρόφωνον (τοὺς τοιοῦτους μικρόφωνα B τὸν τοιοῦτον μικρόφωνα E) εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὸ κέρδος σπουδάζοντα καὶ περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι ABE 88 ad μικρολόγον scr. mg. aliquid nunc evanidum W 89 τοιοῦτον M τὸν αὐτὸν W

13. We call for a man of good reputation.³ An army becomes disgusted and angry when placed under the command of a man who is not respected. Nobody is willing to submit to or accept a master or a leader who is a worse man than oneself. It is absolutely necessary, in my opinion, that the general be recognized as such a man and that he should possess all those character traits of a general that I have listed, and be of good repute. Truly great virtue does not permit a man to remain unnoticed for long.

14. We say that a wealthy man must not be appointed general because of his riches unless he possesses the virtuous qualities of a general. Neither should a poor man, if he is a good man, be excluded because of his poverty and need. Indeed, we do not reject a rich man because he is rich, but only if he lacks the good qualities befitting a general. Neither do we select a poor man because he is poor, but because he has the noble soul expected of a general. We do not reject either one because of his fortune in life, but we promote both because of their manner of life. A wealthy general who is good differs from a poor but noble one only to the degree that armor inlaid with gold and silver differs from that of bronze and iron. The former has the advantage of brilliant ornamentation, the latter proves superior in action. We consider a poor man to be noble if he is not a dealer in money and greedy for gain. It is better never to promote a financier to the rank of general, even though he be the richest man around. Neither should he be a miserly man or one making a profit with petty cash or a

3. Cf. Onasander 1.17-25.

90 τοντα. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς τοιοῦτους μικρόφρονας εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὸ κέρδος ἐπτοημένους καὶ μεμεριμνημένους περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

15. Ἐὰν δὲ προγόνων ἐστὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ περιδόξων ἀπόγονος ἀγαπᾶν μὲν δεῖ τοῦτο, οὐ μὴν δὲ πάντως ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν τοιαύτην εὐγένειαν ἀποῦσαν· οὐδὲ διὰ
95 ταύτην κρίνειν ἀνάξιον τὸν στρατηγόν, ἐὰν τὸ στρατηγεῖν καλῶς κέκτηται. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ζῷα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων καὶ ἡθῶν ἐξετάζομεν εὐγενῆ ἢ δυσγενῆ, οὕτω χρὴ σκοπεῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐγένειαν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων καὶ κατορθωμάτων. καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ ἀπαίδευτον τοὺς μὲν λιτοὺς στρατιώτας διὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀριστείας καὶ
100 τοὺς ἀγῶνας τιμᾶν, οὐ τοὺς ἐκ προγόνων λαμπροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοχειρία τι λαμπρὸν ἔργον πεποιηκότας, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπιλέγεσθαι, κἂν εἰσιν ἄχρηστοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν, κἂν μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους λαμπρύνεται; προσόντων μὲν δὴ τούτῳ καὶ προγόνων λαμπρῶν εὐτυχὴς ὁ στρατηγός, ἀπόντων δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν, κἂν παρῇ ταῦτα, ἄπρακτος.

105 16. Τάχα δέ τις ἐλπίσει | καὶ κρείττονας ἔσεσθαι στρατηγούς τοὺς οὐκ ἔχον- 287
τας ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων σεμνύνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ γονεῦσι δοξαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔχοντες εὐκλειαν πολλάκις ῥαθυμότερον καὶ ἀμελέστερον διοικοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ μηδεμίαν δόξαν προγόνων ἔχοντες, οὗτοι τὴν ἐκ πατέρων ἐλάττωσιν ἐθέλοντες ἀναπληρῶσαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ προθυμίᾳ φιλοκινδυνότερον ἐπὶ τὰς
110 πράξεις κινοῦνται. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ πενέστεροι ἐπιπονώτερον μᾶλλον τῶν εὐπο-

96–102 Cf. Arist. Pol., 1.6.1255b.

90 μικρόφρονας M μικρόφρονος WABE 93 περιδόξων MW ἐνδόξων ABE | ἀπόγονος MW om. ABE 93–94 δεῖ τοῦτο MW καὶ τοῦτον ABE 94 μὴν... πάντως MW πάντως δὲ ABE | ἀποῦσαν MW ἐὰν μὴ πρόσσεστιν ABE scr. mg. μὴ οὔσαν W 95 κρίνειν ἀνάξιον M κρίνειν ἄξιον W ἀνάξιον κρίνειν ABE | κέκτηται MWA κέχρηται BE 96 καὶ ἡθῶν MW om. ABE 96–97 δυσγενῆ ABE δυσχερῆ MW 97 οὕτω MWAB οὕτως E | τῶν² BE om. MWA 98 ἀπὸ MW ἐκ ABE 100 ἀγῶνας MW τὰ ἀνδραγαθήματα ABE | οὐ MW καὶ μὴ ABE | λαμπροὺς MW λαμπρῶν ABE | αὐτοχειρία MW om. ABE | scr. mg. δια τῶν ἰδίων χειρῶν W 100–101 τι... ἔργον MW ἔργον τι λαμπρὸν ABE 101 δὲ MWA δὲ μὴ BE 103 ad προσόντων scr. mg. ἡγουν εχοντος στρατηγοῦ καὶ προγονους λαμπρ<οὺς> W 104 ad κἂν scr. mg. κἂν εὐγενῆ ὑπαρχῇ W | ad ἄπρακτος scr. mg. ἀδοκιμος W 105 ad τοὺς scr. mg. τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους ἐγκαυχασθαι εἰς εὐγένειαν W 106 ad γονεῦσι scr. mg. οἱ θαρρουντες ἐγκαυχώμεν<οι> εἰς το γενος W 107 ad εὐκλειαν scr. mg. δοξαν W 108 διοικοῦσιν MW διάκεινται ABE 108–109 τὴν... ἐλάττωσιν MW τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἀδοξίαν ABE 109 ἐθέλοντες ἀναπληρῶσαι MW ἀναπληρῶσαι θέλοντες ABE 110 κινοῦνται MW ἔρχονται ABE | καὶ MWA om. BE | πενέστεροι MWA πένητες BE

merchant or man engaged in any business of that kind. Men such as these are bound to have petty minds; they are excited by the prospect of gain and anxious about collecting money, and they are without any noble habits.

15. If the man is descended from illustrious and highly regarded ancestors, then this must be in his favor but, if this is lacking, we should certainly not require such noble birth. Neither should we use this as a criterion to judge a man unworthy of being general if he clearly possesses the ability to assume that position. For just as we evaluate the good or bad pedigrees of animals by their individual performance and disposition, so we must also view the noble lineage of men, not from the perspective of their forefathers, but from that of their own performance and accomplishments.⁴ Is it not improper, even stupid, on the one hand to honor simple soldiers for their individual valor in combat who are not from illustrious families but who have performed a brilliant deed by their own effort, and, on the other hand, to select a general because of his ancestry, even though he is incompetent, and not because of his individual virtue, even if he does not come from an illustrious family? Of course, if a general has a brilliant lineage in addition to these other qualities, he is fortunate. Still, even if he is of good birth, without the virtuous qualities he is useless.

16. Perhaps one might expect that those who cannot take pride in their ancestors would become even better generals, for men who glory in their forefathers and appropriate their good reputation to themselves often prove to be careless and negligent administrators, whereas those who have no ancestral renown desire to make up for the obscurity of their lineage by their own enthusiasm and are moved to undertake more dangerous activities. Just as poor men

4. Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1.6.1255b.

ρωτέρων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου κτήσιν ὁρμῶνται, τὸ ἐλλείπον ἀναναπληρῶσαι τῆς τύχης σπουδάζοντες, οὕτως οἱ μὴ ἐκ πατέρων κληρονομήσαντες δόξαν διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων σπουδάζουσιν οἰκειώσασθαι δόξαν.

17. Διὰ ταῦτα οὖν προχειρίζεσθω μὲν στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός, εὐγενής, πλούσιος, 115 ος, μὴ ἀποδοκιμαζέσθω δὲ πένης μετὰ ἀρετῆς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ λαμπρῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων προγόνων κατάγει τὸ γένος.

18. Κεφάλαιον δὲ εἰπεῖν, χρὴ τὸν στρατηγόν, εἰ δυνατόν εἴη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐπρεπῆ καὶ ῥωμαλέον καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ὀξύτατον καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀνδρεῖον καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ σπουδαῖον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ 120 τὰ θεῖα πράγματα ἐπιμελέστατον, ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατῆ, τῶν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἄπληστόν τε καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπαίνῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεων, συνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ, ἂν δεινόν τε καὶ ὀξύ, ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ κεκρυμμένα στοχάζεσθαι ἐπιτυχέστατον, τάξει δὲ στρατὸν καὶ ὀπλίσαι καὶ κοσμήσαι ἔμπειρον, λόγοις δὲ ἀνιστᾶν τὰ πεπτωκότα φρονήματα 125 τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐλπίδων ἐμπλῆσαι ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐτοιμούς πρὸς κινδύνους παρασκευάσαι δυνατόν, καὶ τὰ συντιθεμένα δὲ ἢ ὁμολογούμενα φυλάξει βεβαιότερον, μὴ ἀλῶναι δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐν λόγοις δυνατῶν, οἷς ἐκείνους παρέλκειν τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐθέλουσιν. εἶναι δεῖ ἀσφαλῆ, χρημάτων δὲ εἰς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς

114–120 †Cf. Onas. 1.1. 114–116 †Onas. 2.1.

111 ad ἐπὶ scr. mg. ἐπὶ το κτήσιν εὐπορίαν W | ἀναναπληρῶσαι MW ἀναπληρῶσαι ABE
112 οὕτως MWAB οὕτω E 113 ἰδίων MWA οἰκείων BE 114 οὖν...μὲν MW μὲν οὖν
προχειρίζεσθω ABE 115 ἀποδοκιμαζέσθω MW ἀποβαλλέσθω ABE scr. mg. ἀποβλητός καὶ
αδοκίμος λογίζεσθω W 117 εἴη MW ἔστιν ABE 118 ῥωμαλέον MW ἀνδρεῖον ABE
118–119 ἀνδρεῖον...φιλότιμον MW γενναῖον ABE scr. mg. τὸν φιλοῦντα et alia evanida W
119 τοῦ θεοῦ MW θεοσεβῆ ABE 120 τῶν μὲν MWA om. BE 121 τῶν...τῆς ABE τῆς
δὲ MW 121–122 ἄπληστόν...πράξεων ABE ἐπαίνου ἀληθοῦς ἐπὶ πράξεσιν ἀγαθαῖς
ἄπληστόν τε καὶ ἀκόρεστον MW 122 συνιδεῖν MW διανοήσασθαι ABE scr. mg. προνοησαι
συμμερον του καιρου W | ἂν MW ὁ BE om. A | scr. mg. δυνατόν W | ὀξύ WABE ὀξύ M
123 στοχάζεσθαι ἐπιτυχέστατον MW εὐστόχως στοχάζόμενον ABE | τάξει δὲ MW ἔμπειρον
δὲ τάξει ABE 124 ἔμπειρον MW om. ABE | λόγοις...ἀνιστᾶν MW δυνατόν δὲ διὰ λόγων
διεγείρειν ABE | τὰ BE om. MWA 125 τοῦ ABE om. MW | πρὸς MW πρὸς τοὺς ABE
126 ad ὁμολογούμενα scr. mg. τὴν κυρωθεῖσαν βουλήν W 127 ἀλῶναι MW παρασύρεσθαι
ABE scr. mg. ἤγουν μὴ ἂ...τᾶσθαι παρὰ δυνάμεων et alia evanida W | παρὰ MW ὑπὸ ABE |
οἷς MW δι' ὧν ABE | παρέλκειν MW παρέλκειν αὐτὸν ABE 128 καθήκοντος MW
προσήκοντος ABE | ἐθέλουσιν MW θέλουσιν ἀλλ' ABE 128–129 ἡδονὰς...ἑαυτοῦ MW
τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονὰς ABE

will endure more than rich men in their quest to obtain a living and in their eagerness to supply what fortune has not provided, so men who have not inherited ancestral glory strive to achieve glory on their own by their own deeds.

17. For the above reasons, then, that man is to be appointed as general who is good, well born, and wealthy, although a qualified poor man is not to be rejected even if he is not descended from illustrious and renowned ancestors.⁵

18. To sum it up, the general must, inasmuch as possible, be physically impressive, strong and hardworking, very quick in action, courageous, respected, serious, and ready to face danger.⁶ He should especially be most attentive to divine matters and his relationship to God. When it comes to bodily pleasures, he should exercise self-control. But in matters of the mind he is insatiable and never satisfied in his efforts to bring about successful actions. While the situation is still unclear, he realizes what has to be done. Clever and quick witted, he is always right on target in estimating what is hidden from what is visible. He is experienced in arming and drawing up an army in battle array. His words are able to resurrect the morale of the army when it is low, fill it with fine expectations, and prepare it to confront dangers. He should be very strict in observing agreements or promises, not swayed by clever speakers who want to drag him away from his duty. He must be steadfast, parsimonious in expenditures on his

5. Cf. Onasander 2.1.

6. Cf. Onasander 1.1.

28 Constitution 2

130 ἑαυτοῦ φείδωλόν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρκῇ, εἰς δὲ σύμπνοιαν τῶν πλησίον καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ δαπάνης ἄφθονόν τε καὶ ἡπλωμένον.

19. Τοιοῦτον τοίνυν ὄντα τὸν προχειριζόμενον στρατηγόν, οἷον ὁ λόγος ὑπέγραψεν τῇ τε φύσει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσί τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι, δεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπειλημμένον ἔτι καὶ χρηστὸν εἶναι, εὐπροσήγορον, ἔτοιμον, ἀτάραχον, μὴ οὕτως ἐπεικῇ τε καὶ πρᾶον ὥστε καταφρονεῖσθαι, μήτε μὴν οὕτω | φοβερὸν ὥστε 288 135 μισεῖσθαι, ἵνα μήτε διὰ μειλιχίας ἐκλύσῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαόν, μήτε διὰ τὸν φόβον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγάπης ἀλλοτριώσῃ.

20. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα χρή τοῦτον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐν ταῖς αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐμπιπτούσαις ἐπικαίροις διοικήσεσι καὶ ὧν παραφυλάττεσθαι, νῦν μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος 140 συνεστείλαμεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πλατεί τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτιθεμένης τακτικῆς καθ' ἑκάστα μνημονεύσομεν, ὅση δύναμις.

21. Τοιοῦτον δὲ ὄντα καὶ οὕτω διατηρούμενον τὸν παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν προχειριζόμενον στρατηγόν, ἐλπίζομεν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπολαύειν 145 εὐμενείας καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντων εὐφημίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐημερίας ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ μόνῳ τῶν ὅλων αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀδιαδόχῳ βασιλεῖ. ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτίσαντες, φέρε τοῦτον οἰονεῖ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς ἡμετέρας παραστή- 146 σάμενοι βασιλείας—τὰ εἰκότα καὶ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατηγικῇ τε καὶ τακτικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ—διὰ τῆς ἐφεξῆς ἡμῶν παρακελεύσεως παραινήσωμεν.

131-136 Onas. 2.2.

129 φείδωλόν τε MW φειδόμενον ABE | ὀλιγαρκῇ MW ἐν ὀλίγοις ἀρκοῦμενον ABE | σύμπνοιαν... πλησίον MW τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ABE 130 τῆς MW εἰς τὴν ABE | δαπάνης MW δαπάνην ABE 132 ὑπέγραψεν MWA ὑπέγραψε BE | τε² MW om. ABE | ἐπιτηδεύμασι MABE ἐπιτηδεύμασιν W | τῆς ἀρχῆς MW εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ABE scr. mg. ἡγουν τα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διοικουντα W 132-133 ἐπειλημμένον MW προχειρισθέντα ABE 133 χρηστὸν MW ἀγαθὸν ABE scr. mg. <μενο>ν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις W 134 τε MW om. ABE | μήτε MWBE μὴ δὲ A | μὴν MW om. ABE | οὕτω MW οὕτως ABE 135 διὰ μειλιχίας Va δι' ἀμελείας MW διὰ τὴν ἀμελείαν ABE | στρατόπεδον MW στράτευμα καὶ εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἀγάγῃ ABE 135-136 καὶ... λαόν MW om. ABE 136 τῆς... ἀλλοτριώσῃ MW μισεῖν αὐτὸν παρασκευάσῃ ABE 137 δ' MW δὲ ABE | χρή MW προσήκει ABE | αἰ... μέρος MW om. ABE 137-138 ἐμπιπτούσαις MW παρεμπιπτούσαις ABE 138 ὧν MW ὅσα ABE | παραφυλάττεσθαι MW παραφυλάττεσθαι χρή ABE 141 οὕτω MW οὕτως ABE 144-145 τῶν ὅλων MW om. ABE 145 οὕτω MW οὕτως ABE | μὲν M μὲν καὶ WABE 146 ἀπαρτίσαντες MW τελειώσαντες ABE scr. mg. τελειωσα<ντες> W | οἰονεῖ MW ὥσπερ ABE | κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς MW πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ABE 147 εἰκότα MW πρέποντα ABE | πρόσφορα MW ἀρμόζοντα ABE scr. mg. τὰ ἀρμαζο<ντα> W | τε MW om. ABE

own pleasures, and satisfied with very little. He must be ungrudging and straightforward in working together with his neighbor, especially in expenditures for the common good.

19. The man to be appointed as general, therefore, should be such as this tractate has sketched regarding his nature, his character, and his way of life.⁷ Having assumed command, he must in addition be trustworthy, approachable, <always> prepared, and unperturbed; he should not be so lenient and gentle as to be despised or so severe as to be hated. Otherwise, his kindness might loosen the discipline of the army and all the troops under his command, and fear of him might turn the army away from loving him.

20. All the other things that he must put into practice in his timely management of the details that always devolve upon him, as well as the things he must be on his guard against, on account of their great number, we have here summarized. In particular sections of this compilation of ours we will, as best we can, discuss them in greater detail.

21. We hope that the general promoted by Our Majesty will indeed be such a man and that he will remain such. We hope that he will enjoy the favor of God and our own goodwill, that he will share in our common salvation and will be highly regarded by everyone, as well as find happiness in his life. May he find all this in Christ, the only eternal and unchanging emperor of all things. Having thus brought to an end our discussion of the condition of the general, let us now advise him and offer the following recommendations—placing him as it were in front of Our Majesty—in those matters that are applicable and relevant to strategic and tactical science.

7. Cf. Onasander 2.2.

22. Πρὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὡς στρατηγέ, πρῶτην σοι ταύτην παρακέλ-
 150 ευσίν τε καὶ παραίνεσιν ποιούμεθα, ὥστε θεοφιλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελίσ-
 θαι καὶ οἷον ὄραν διηνεκῶς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ
 ἀγαπᾶν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον
 ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐκτελεῖν ἐντολὰς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου εὐμένειαν ἐντεῦθεν
 155 προσλαμβάνεσθαι ἵνα—εἰ καὶ τολμηρότερον εἶπω—ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως ὡς
 φίλος φίλῳ τῷ κοινῷ δεσπότη θαρρῶν πεποιθότως προσεύχη καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
 τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων ταύτην παρ' αὐτοῦ φιλιῶς ἐξαπαιτῆς. ἀψευδὴς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ
 εἰπών· θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ποιήσει κύριος καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν
 εἰσακούεται καὶ σώσει αὐτούς.

23. Ἰσθι γὰρ ὅτι θείας εὐμενείας ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἔστι καλῶς κατορθωθῆναι βου-
 160 λὴν κἂν φρόνιμος εἶναι δόξης. οὐκ ἔστι πολεμίων περιγενέσθαι, κἂν ἀσθενεῖς
 ἐκείνοι νομίζωνται, διὰ τὸ πάντα ἐν τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ κεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ
 ἐλάχιστα δοκοῦντα τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν διοικεῖσθαι.

24. Ὡς περ γὰρ κυβερνήτης πλοίου, κἂν πάντῳ ἄριστός ἐστι, τῶν ἀνέμων
 αἰσίως μὴ πνεόντων ἄπρακτον ἔχει τὴν τέχνην. ἐὰν δὲ τούτους προσλάβῃται καὶ
 165 τὴν τέχνην ἔχει συμπράττουσαν, διπλοῦν τὸν δρόμον | τοῦ πλοίου σὺν ἀσφα- 288
 λείᾳ ποιεῖται· οὕτω καὶ ἄριστος στρατηγός, ἐὰν τὴν εὐμένειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνδύ-
 σῃται καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ σὺν ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ χρήσῃται

149–192 *Strat.*, praef.36–69. 152 Deut. 6:5; Matt. 22:37. 157–158 Ps. 144 (145): 19.
 161–162 Matt. 6:25–28; Luc. 12:22–26.

149–150 πρὸ...ποιούμεθα MW παρακελευόμεθα οὖν σοι ὡς στρατηγέ πρῶτην ταύτην
 παρακέλευσιν καὶ παραίνεσιν ABE 150 θεοφιλείας MW πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων
 θεοσεβείας ABE 151 οἷον...θεὸν MW τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ABE
 152–153 καὶ²...ἡμᾶς MW om. ABE 153 ἐντεῦθεν MW ἐκ τούτου ABE 154 εἰ...εἶπω
 MW om. ABE 155 φίλῳ MW φίλῳ εἰ καὶ τολμηρὸν ABE | πεποιθότως MW om. ABE
 156 ἔχων...ἐξαπαιτῆς MW εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχων τὴν αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν ἐπισπάσῃ ABE 157 κύριος
 MWA om. BE 159 ἴσθι MW γίνωσκε ABE scr. mg. <γ>ινωσκε W | ὅτι WABE τι M |
 θείας...ἐκτὸς MW om. ABE | ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W 159–160 βουλὴν MW βουλὴν χωρὶς
 τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας τε καὶ χρηστότητος ABE 160 ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W
 161 προνοία...κεῖσθαι MW τοῦ θεοῦ κεῖσθαι προνοία ABE 161–162 αὐτὰ...πρόνοιαν
 MW παρ' αὐτοῦ διοικεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐλάχιστα ABE 162 διοικεῖσθαι ABE διοικεῖν MW
 163 πλοίου MW om. ABE 164 αἰσίως W αἰτίως M καλῶς ABE scr. mg. ἐπιτηδεύς W
 164–165 καὶ...ἔχει MW ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην ABE 165 συμπράττουσαν MW
 συνεργοῦσαν αὐτῷ ABE 166 οὕτω MW οὕτως οὖν ABE | εὐμένειαν...θεοῦ MW τοῦ θεοῦ
 φιλανθρωπίαν ABE 166–167 ἐνδύσῃται MW ἔχει καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν ABE 167 καὶ¹...
 στρατηγία MW τάξῃ δὲ καλῶς τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ABE | ἐπιμελεία MW ἐπιμελείᾳ τῇ
 στρατηγίᾳ ABE

22. Before everything else, O general, we propose this to you as our very first
 subject of exhortation and advice:⁸ be concerned about the love of God and
 righteousness in such manner that you constantly have God before your eyes.
 Fear him. Love him with all your heart and all your soul and, after him, us.⁹
 Keep his commandments and, in turn, you will receive his favor, so that—if I
 may speak rather boldly—in difficult situations you may with confidence and
 trust pray to our common Lord as a friend to a friend and you may request the
 salvation you hope for from him as from a friend. That one is not a liar who
 said: The Lord will do the will of those who fear him and he will hear their
 prayer and save them.¹⁰

23. For you must realize that, apart from God's favor, it is not possible to
 bring any plan to a successful conclusion, however intelligent you may seem to
 be; it is not possible to overcome the enemy, however weak they may be
 thought. Everything lies in the providence of God, that providence that takes
 care of even those things that appear to be the least.¹¹

24. Aboard ship, now, a helmsman, even the best, finds that his skill is
 useless when the winds are not blowing favorably, but when he has them with
 him and also puts his skill to use, he has no difficulty in doubling the ship's run.
 So it is with the best general. He will be clad with the favor of God and, ever
 alert and diligent, he will make good use of his tactical and strategic skills. He

8. Cf. *Strat.*, Preface 36–69.

9. Deuteronomy 6:5; Matthew 22:37.

10. Psalms 144 (145): 19.

11. Matthew 6:25–28; Luke 12:22–26.

καλῶς, καὶ τὸν πιστευόμενον αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἀσφαλῶς διοικήσει καὶ τῇ ποικίλῃ
γνώμῃ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι δύναται. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια τὰ μὲν
170 διδάξει πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀγαθὸν πέρας ἀποτελέσει. τοιοῦτος
τοῖνυν, εὐσεβὴς μὲν περὶ τὴν πίστιν, δίκαιος δὲ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ὑπάρχων,
ὥσπερ θεμελίῳ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀσαλεύτῳ ἐποικοδομεῖ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ.

25. Πρᾶος γενοῦ καὶ ἀτάραχος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι· τὸ γὰρ ἄγριον τοῦ ἡθους
μισητὸν καὶ φευκτόν. λιτός τε καὶ ἀπλοῦς περὶ τὴν δαίταν καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα· ἡ γὰρ
175 πολυτέλεια καὶ ποικιλία τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ ἐνδυμάτων τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας
εἰς μάταιον ἐξαντλεῖ. ἀγρύπνως δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πράγμασιν
ἐπιβάλλων, καὶ μὴ ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς· ἡ γὰρ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ ἡ ἐπιμονὴ καὶ τὰ
πάνυ δυσχερῆ τῶν πραγμάτων ῥαδίως κατορθοῖ· καὶ ὁ καταφρονῶν πράγματος
καταφρονηθήσεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

180 26. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις καὶ ἀναγκαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων μηδὲν χωρὶς βουλῆς
διαπράττου. εἰ τάχα δὲ καὶ βραδέως βουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ βουλευθὲν συντόμως
καὶ ἀσφαλῶς, ὡς δυνατόν, ἐπιτέλει, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν νοσημάτων οἱ ἱατροί.

27. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἴσως προσφέρου, μηδὲν κατὰ προσωποληψίαν
ἐργαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἴσως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν ὑπεξερχόμενος.

185 28. Μηδὲ χαύνως καὶ ῥαθύμως διάκεισο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ κακίας ἢ ἀμελείας
ἀμαρτανουμένοις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι καλόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ καλόν ἐστὶ τὸ συνεργεῖν
κακία καὶ ῥαθυμία, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν καιρίων καὶ ἀναγκαίων πραγμάτων. μηδὲ
πάλιν δι' ἔνδειξιν αὐστηρίας προπετῶς καὶ ἀδιακρίτως τὰς ἐπεξελεύσεις ποιοῦ.
ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ περιφρόνησιν καὶ ἀπειθειαν φέρει, τοῦτο δὲ μῖσος εὐλογον καὶ

172 Cf. Matt. 7:24. 178–179 Prov. 13:13.

168 καλῶς MW om. ABE 169 γνώμη... ἐχθρῶν MW trsp. ABE | δύναται MW δυνήσεται
AE δυνήσεται B 170 πέρας MW τέλος ABE 172 ἐποικοδομεῖ... ἀγαθὰ MW καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἀγαθὰ ἐποικοδομεῖ ABE 173 ἐντυγχάνουσι MABE ἐντυγχάνουσιν W 174 μισητὸν...
φευκτόν MW καὶ μισεῖται καὶ ἀποστρέφεται ABE | δαίταν... ἔνδυμα MW τροφήν καὶ τὴν
ἐνδυσιν ABE | ad δαίταν scr. mg. τροφήν W | ad ἔνδυμα scr. mg. τὴν ενδυσιν W 175 ad
πολυτέλεια scr. mg. <ἐ>ν ταις τρυφαῖς καὶ <ταῖ>ς ενδύσεσι πολυε<ίδ>ον W | καὶ ἐνδυμάτων
ABE om. MW 176 ἐξαντλεῖ Va ἐξαντλᾷ MW καταναλίσκει ABE 177 ἐπιβάλλων MW
ἐγχειρῶν ABE 178 ad δυσχερῆ scr. mg. <δ>υσκολα W | ῥαδίως MW εὐκόλως ABE quod
etiam scr. mg. W 180 ἐπὶ...μηδὲν MW μηδὲν δὲ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀναγκαίων πραγμάτων
ABE 181 βουλευθὲν MWA βουλευθὲν καὶ δόξαν εἶναι συμφέρον BE | συντόμως MWA
συντόμως ἐπιτελεῖ BE 182 ὥσπερ...ἱατροί MW om. ABE 183 ἀρχομένοις MW
ὑποχειρίοις ABE | ἴσως MW ἴσως πᾶσι A πᾶσιν ἐπίσης BE 184 τοῦ MWA om. BE
185 τοῖς MW τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι τοῖς ABE 186 καλόν¹ MW καλὸς ABE 187 κακία...
ῥαθυμία MW τῇ ῥαθυμῇ καὶ τῇ κακίᾳ ABE | καιρίων W καιρῶν M μεγάλων ABE 188 ad
ἐπεξελεύσεις scr. mg. τας τιμωρίας W 189–190 καί¹...κρεῖττον MW om. ABE

will safely manage the army entrusted to him and will be able to counter the
various machinations of the enemy. The providence of God will teach him those
things that are beneficial and will bring them to a successful conclusion. He
should be the kind of man who is orthodox in his faith and just in his deeds. As
on a firm and unshakable foundation he will build the other good qualities.¹²

25. You should be gentle and untroubled to those you encounter, for a savage
temperament is hateful and to be avoided. You should be plain and simple in
matters of food and clothing. Extravagance and ostentation in food and raiment
squander the funds for necessary items to no purpose. The general should be
tireless and painstaking in attending to necessary matters, not slack or careless;
care and persistence will easily carry him through the most difficult situations.
If he shows no concern for a problem, that problem will show no concern for
him.¹³

26. You should take no action regarding serious, unavoidable problems with-
out deliberation. You may perhaps be slow in coming to a decision, but once you
have made your decision, carry it out quickly and safely, as far as possible, just as
physicians do in treating illness.

27. You should appear even tempered to those under your command, doing
nothing in respect of persons, but going out to meet everyone on an equal basis,
as expected of a just man.

28. You should not be lackadaisical and too easygoing in dealing with those
who have committed offenses out of wickedness or carelessness in order to give
the impression of being a good commander, for it is not good to cooperate with
wicked and careless men, especially in emergencies and perilous situations. On
the other hand, you should not punish hastily and without due investigation in
order to show how strict you are. The first leads to contempt and disobedience,

12. Cf. Matthew 7:24.

13. Proverbs 13:13.

190 τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καρπούς. κρεῖττον γὰρ ὁ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης φόβος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τὴν γύμνωσιν τῆς αἰτίας εὐλογος ἐπεξέλευσις, ἥτις οὐ κόλασις ἀλλὰ σωφρονισμὸς τοῖς εὐφρονοῦσι λογίζεται.

29. Πρὸ πάντων δὲ ἐπὶ πολέμους ὀπλιζόμενος ἀποσκοπεῖ δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου πολέμου καὶ μὴ χεῖρας ἀδίκους ἐπίβαλέ ποτε κατὰ πολεμίων εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνοι διὰ τῆς συνήθους αὐτῶν ἀσεβείας ἐκστρατεύειν ἀπαρξάμενοι τὴν ἡμετέραν καταδράμωσιν. |

30. Ἡμῶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 289 βαρβάρους διὰ Χριστὸν τὸν καθ' ὅλου βασιλέα καὶ Θεὸν ἀσπαζομένων, ἔαν καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τοῦτο φιλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίους ἐγχαλινούμενα ὅροις καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενα καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ κατ' αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας σύστειλον καὶ αἵμασι τὴν γῆν μήτ' ἐμφυλίοις μήτε βαρβαρικοῖς κατάχραине. ἃ γὰρ ἐγκαλέσεις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡγουν μὴ ἀπάρχεσθαι χειρῶν ἀδίκων οὐδὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδικουμένους, ταῦτα ἄρα καὶ αὐτοί, μηδὲν ἐναντίον δρῶντες κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἰρηνεύοντες ἐγκαλέσουσί σοι. δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς αἰεὶ τοὺς, εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν, 205 μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντας, τοῖς εἰρηνεύειν βουλομένοις ἔθνεσι καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὑποχειρίους ἡμῶν, ὡς τὴν εἰρήνην αἰεὶ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμώντας ἀπάντων, συνειρηνεύειν ἐκείνοις καὶ πολέμων ἀπέχεσθαι.

31. Εἰ δέ γε μὴ σωφρονεῖ τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τῆς ἀδικίας ἀπάρξονται τὴν ἡμετέραν κατατρέχοντες γῆν, τότε ἄρα δικαίως αἰτίας προκειμένης ὡς καὶ 210 ἀδίκου πολέμου παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπαρχομένου, θαρσαλέως καὶ σὺν προθυ-

190–192 *Strat.*, praef. 65–68

190 γὰρ ὁ Μ οὖν ὁ W ὁ γὰρ ABE 190–191 τὴν γύμνωσιν MW φανέρωσιν ABE 191 ἐπεξέλευσις ABE ὑπεξέλευσις MW 192 εὐφρονοῦσι MW καλῶς φρονοῦσι ABE 193 ἀποσκοπεῖ MW ἀπόβλεπε A ἀπέβλεπε BE 194 ἐπίβαλέ MW ἐπίβαλλε ABE 196 ἡμετέραν MW ἡμετέραν χώραν ABE | καταδράμωσιν MABE καταδραμοῦνται W 197 εἰρήνην MW εἰρήνην ἀσπαζομένων ABE 198 καθ' ὅλου MW τῶν ὅλων ABE | ἀσπαζομένων MW om. ABE 199 τοῦτο φιλοῦσι M τοῦτο ἀγαπῶσι W ταύτην ἀγαπῶσι ABE | ἐγχαλινούμενα ὅροις MW ὅροις ἐμμένοντα ABE scr. mg. ὥρ<αῖον> W 201 μήτ' MW μήτε ABE | κατάχραине MW καταμόλυνε ABE scr. mg. μὴ μόλυνε W | ἐγκαλέσεις MW ἐγκαλέσεις σὺ ABE 202 ἡγουν... ἀδίκων MW om. ABE | ad ἀπάρχεσθαι scr. mg. μὴ πρῶτος πρὸς πόλεμον ὁρμᾷ W | οὐδὲν... ἀδικουμένους MW ἀδικοῦσι μηδὲν ἀδικομένοις ὑπὸ σου ABE | ἄρα MW om. ABE 203 δρῶντες MW ποιοῦντες ABE idem scr. mg. W | ad ὑπηκόων scr. mg. ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα W | ἡμῶν βασιλείας MW trsp. ABE | ἀλλ' MW om. ABE 204 ἐγκαλέσουσί MABE ἐγκαλέσουσιν W | εἰ... ἡμῶν MW om. ABE 205 ἔθνεσι MBE ἔθνεσιν WA 208 γε... ἀντίπαλον MW οἱ ἐναντίοι μὴ σωφρονοῦσιν ABE scr. mg. κούρσευοντες πολεμιοὶ W 209 κατατρέχοντες γῆν MW γῆν καταβλάπτοντες ABE scr. mg. κούρσευοντες W | ἄρα δικαίως MW εὐλόγου καὶ δικαίας ABE | καὶ MW om. ABE scr. mg. ἐνθάρσως W

the second to well-deserved hatred with its consequences. The better course is to join fear with justice; after proof of guilt, impose a fitting punishment. Reasonable men regard this not as chastisement but as correction.¹⁴

29. Above all, when mobilizing for war, make sure that the cause of this war is just and never take up arms against the enemy unjustly unless they, because of their accustomed impiety, have first initiated hostilities and are invading our land.

30. We must always embrace peace for our own subjects, as well as for the barbarians, because of Christ, the emperor and God of all. If the nations also share these sentiments and stay within their own boundaries and promise that they will not take unjust action against us, then you too refrain from taking up arms against them. Do not stain the ground with the blood of your own people or that of the barbarians. For while you are making accusations against the enemy, saying that they who have not been injured by you should not begin to take up arms unjustly, they may bring the same charges against you, claiming that they have not engaged in any hostile act against the subjects of Our Majesty but have been living in peace with them. We must always, if it is possible on our part, be at peace with all men, especially with those nations who desire to live in peace and who do nothing unjust to our subjects. We must always prefer peace above all else and we should be at peace with those nations and refrain from war.

31. But if our adversary should act unwisely, initiate unjust hostilities, and invade our territory, then you do indeed have a just cause, inasmuch as an unjust war has been begun by the enemy. With confidence and enthusiasm take

14. *Strat.*, Preface 65–68.

μία τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγχείρει πολέμου, ὡς ἐκείνων τὰς αἰτίας παρασχομένων καὶ ἀδίκους χεῖρας κατὰ τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἡμῖν ἀραμένων· καὶ θάρρει τότε ὡς καὶ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης Θεὸν ἔξεις βοηθόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν ἀναδεχόμενος ἀγῶνας πανστρατιᾶ τὴν νίκην ἔξεις. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν προτρεπόμεθα τὴν σὴν
 215 ἐνδοξότητα διὰ πάντων ἀποσκοπεῖν δικαίως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τότε τὰς χεῖρας ὀπλίζειν κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων.

32. Διὰ πάντων δὲ καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν κρεῖττονα σεαυτὸν τῶν ὑποχειρίων ἀναδείξαι διαγωνίζου καὶ κατ' ἐξαίρετον εἰς τε τὴν εἰς Θεὸν πίστιν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρετάς. τοῖς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων φρονήμασι φιλεῖ πως συνδιατί-
 220 θεσθαι τὸ ἀρχόμενον, ὡς ἂν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν· μὴ ἔλαφοι λεόντων ἄρχουσιν ἀλλὰ λέοντες ἐλάφων.

33. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὡς ἐν συνόψει τῆς βασιλικῆς ἡμῶν διατάξεως παραγγέλματα, ἅπερ τὸ τῆς συντομίας χρεῖωδες ἐπὶ πλέον τέως οὐκ ἔᾶ παρεκτείνεσθαι. ἔξεστι δέ σοι ταῖς τε παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθειμέναις ἰδίᾳ γνώμας
 225 ἐν τῷδε τῷ συντάγματι καὶ προσέτι ταῖς κατὰ πλάτος συνειλεγμέναις ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ παραλλήλῳ τῶν τακτικῶν μονοβίβλῳ τὴν ἐκείθεν τῶν ζητουμένων πλείονα καὶ ἀρκοῦσαν πορίσασθαι ὡφέλειαν. |

34. Τοῦτων οὖν ἐχόμενος αὖξιν καὶ προστιθέναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις 289' προθυμήθητι, ἵνα πολλαπλασιάζων τῇ σπουδαίᾳ γνώμῃ τὰ κελευόμενα, πρῶτα
 230 μὲν Θεὸν ἔξης ἐπαινήτην τῶν πράξεων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος, γέρα τῶν πόνων ἐπάξια δι' ἀμφοῖν κομιζόμενος.

220–221 Plut. *Mor.*, 3.187.3; cf. Theognis *Eleg.*, 1.949; 2.1278c.

211 ἐγχείρει MW ἀπάρχου ABE | τὰς αἰτίας MWA ταῖς αἰτίαις BE 212 ὑποτελῶν ἡμῖν MW ὑποχειρίων ἡμῶν ABE | θάρρει MW θάρσει ABE 214 ἀγῶνας MABE ἀγῶνος W | πανστρατιᾶ MW τὴν στρατιάν ABE | τὴν¹... ἔξεις MW νικήσεις ABE 218 εἰς ABE om. MW 219 ad τοῖς scr. mg. <ῆ>γουν οἷος ὁ ἀρχων <ἔ>στι φιλοῦσι καὶ οἱ <ἀρ>χόμενοι MW 219–220 συνδιατίθεσθαι MW συνδιατίθεται ABE 220 ἄρχουσιν MW ἄρχωσιν ABE 222 σοι MWPE τοι A | βασιλικῆς MW om. ABE 223–224 οὐκ ἔᾶ MW οὐ συγχωρεῖ ABE 224 ἐκτεθειμέναις... γνώμας MW ἰδίᾳ ἐκτεθεῖσαι γνώμας ABE 225 συνειλεγμέναις MW συνηθροισμέναις A συνηδροισμέναις BE 227 πορίσασθαι MW συναγαγεῖν ABE 228 ἐχόμενος MWA ἐχόμενα BE 229 ἵνα ABE ὡς ἂν MW | πολλαπλασιάζων MW ἐπαυξάνων ABE | σπουδαία MW σπουδαία σου ABE 230–231 γέρα... ἐπάξια MW τιμὰς ἐπαξίας τῶν πόνων ABE scr. mg. ἀμοιβὰς καὶ τιμὰς W 231 δι' ἀμφοῖν MW ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ABE

up arms against them. It is they who have provided the cause by unjustly raising their hands against those subject to us. Take courage then. You will have the God of justice on your side. Taking up the struggle on behalf of your brothers, you and your whole force will be victorious. For this reason, therefore, we call upon Your Excellency always to make sure that the causes of war are just. Only then take up arms against men who act unjustly.

32. At all times and in all circumstances you should work hard to show yourself superior to those under your command, especially in your faith in God, your reverent worship, and the other virtues. Subjects somehow tend to be affected by the resolute spirit of their leaders. As the proverb has it: Deer ought not to rule over lions, but lions over deer.¹⁵

33. And so, O general, we present you in summary form with these instructions of our imperial constitution, about which the practical form of a summary does not, at this time, permit further elaboration. For questions <that may arise> you can obtain for yourself further and sufficient help both from the precepts that we have set out individually in the present compilation and from those that we have collected in greater detail in the corresponding single volume of the *Tactics*.¹⁶

34. Holding fast to these precepts, then, be eager to add to your successes, so that, by your seriousness of purpose and by building upon these ordinances of ours, you might first have God praising your deeds and then our own authority and, from both, you will receive the rewards merited by your labors.

15. Cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 3.187.3; Theognis, *Elegies* 1.949; 2.1278c.

16. Undoubtedly refers to the *Sylloge tacticorum*.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ βουλευέσθαι

1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸ πάσης πράξεως βουλὴν ἡγεῖσθαι χρεόν—διοίκησις γὰρ ἀπροβούλευτος οὐκ ἀσφαλής, κἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμά τις αὐχὴ πολλάκις κατορ-
 5 θῷσαι τι ὡς ἅμα καὶ βουλευσάμενος καὶ πράξας, ἀλλ' οὐ νόμος τὸ σπᾶνιον—, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων παρακελευόμεθά σοι πάσης πράξεως ἀναγκαίας καὶ μάλιστα πολεμικῆς βουλευέσθαι σε πρότερον μετὰ τῶν δοκούντων σοι ἱκανῶν περὶ ταύτην ἀρχόντων, οἷον τουρμάρχων καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐπὶ βεβαίου λόγου στή, τότε τὸ ἔργον δι' ὅπερ ἐβουλευσω, σπουδῇ καὶ
 10 ἐπιμελείᾳ μεταχειρισάμενος εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, εἴγε μὴδὲν ἀπαντήσοι ἐναντίον, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ εἶωθε, προθυμήθητι. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸ εἶδος τί τέ ἐστίν καὶ ὡς κατορθώσεις ταύτην ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη σοι διατάξομαι. |

2. Βουλὴ ἐστὶ διάσκεψις περὶ τοῦ πράξαι τι ἢ μὴ πράξαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ πράξαι, 295 σιγὴ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν. εἰ δὲ πράξαι, πῶς πράξαι ἡγουν τὸν τρόπον τῆς πράξεως, ποῦ πράξαι ἡγουν τὸν τόπον τῆς πράξεως, πότε πράξαι ἡγουν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς πράξεως, τί πράξαι ἡγουν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ πραττόμενον, τίς πράξαι ἡγουν τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ μέλλον τὴν βουλὴν εἰς πέρας πράξεως ἀγαγεῖν, διὰ τί πράξαι ἡγουν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἡ πράξις ὀφείλει γενέσθαι.

M W A B E Va PG 107:695

1 Constitutionem tertiam constitutio quarta in codd. antecedit. edd. praevious secutus transposui et ego. | πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MA om. WBE | γ' Va PG δ' codd. 3 χρεόν W χρεών M χρὴ ABE scr. mg. χρήσιμον ἀπαιτοῦν W 3-4 διοίκησις...ἀπροβούλευτος MW ἡ γὰρ προβούλευτος (ἀπροβούλευτος A) διοίκησις ABE 4-5 ἐκ...τι MW καυχῶτό (καυχᾶται A) τις συντόμως τι κατορθῶσαι ABE 6 πράξεως ἀναγκαίας MW trsp. ABE 8 περὶ...ἀρχόντων MW ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς εἶναι ABE | ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ MW λοιπῶν ἐπειδὴν ABE scr. mg. ἡγουν ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ κυρωθῇ W 9 δοκοῦν MW κινούμενον ABE | ἐπὶ...στή MW βεβαιωθῇ ὡς συμφέρον ἐστὶ ABE | τὸ...ἐβουλευσω MW om. ABE 9-10 σπουδῇ...ἐπιμελείᾳ MW μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ABE 10 μεταχειρισάμενος MW om. ABE | πέρας MW τέλος A πέλαγος BE scr. mg. εἰς τέλος W | ἀγαγεῖν MW ἄγειν αὐτὸ ABE 10-11 εἴγε...προθυμήθητι (ὡς W ὥστε M) MW om. ABE scr. mg. ὡς πολλάκις συμβαίνει W 13 πράξαι MWA πράξαι πῶς BE | μὴ² MWA om. BE 14 ἡγουν...πράξεως MWA om. BE 16-17 τὸ³...μέλλον MWA τὸ μέλλον πρόσωπον BE 17 πέρας MW τέλος ABE scr. mg. εἰς τέλος W | πράξεως MW om. ABE

About How It Is Necessary to Make Plans

1. Before every action it is necessary to consider a plan. It is not safe to carry out anything that has not been planned ahead of time, even if some individual might claim to have straightened things out several times on the spot, making his plans and putting them into action at the same time.¹ But what happens rarely is not a law. For these reasons, above all else, we strongly recommend to you that before every necessary action, especially a military one, you deliberate about it with those officers whom you consider qualified, such as tourmarchs and those next in rank. When your opinions result in a firm decision, then seriously and carefully take in hand the action that you have been deliberating about and, if you should encounter no obstacle, which is usually the case, exert yourself to bring it to fulfillment. But now I shall set before you the nature of deliberation, what it is and how you can bring it to a successful conclusion.

2. Deliberation is an investigation about whether to do something or not to do it. If the decision is not to do it, there is no further discussion. If to do it, then how to do it or the manner of doing it, where to do it or the place in which it will be done, when to do it or the time of doing it, what to do or the action to be taken, who is to do it or the person who is to bring the planned action to its conclusion, why do it or the reason for which the action ought to be taken.

1. Cf. *infra*, Const. 5, n. 7.

3. Ὁ δὲ βουλευόμενος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρῶτον τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλευθέ-
 20 ραν ἔχέτω τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα περὶ
 οὐ βουλευέται, εἴτε ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἢ τινος ἄλλου πάθους.

4. Εἴτα μὴδὲ μόνον τὸ εὐκόλον δοκοῦν ἐκλέγου καὶ τοῦτο πρόσεχε, ἀλλὰ
 πάντα τὰ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι πρόβλεπε· ἴσως τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν μετὰ τὴν
 ἔναρξιν ὑποβαλλομένων καὶ ἄλλων ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἄλλο τι συμφωρότερον
 25 ὅπερ παρέλιπε.

5. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἰδίως βουλευσασθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρους παραλαβεῖν πρὸς τὴν
 διάσκεψιν βουλευθείης, σεαυτὸν ὁμοίως ἐτοίμασον ἀπαθῇ, ὡς εἴρηται, ὥσπερ εἰ
 καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐβουλευσω, τοὺς δὲ συμβούλους παραλάμβανε ἐμπείρους τοῦ
 πράγματος, προορατικούς καὶ στοχαστικούς, συμπαθεῖς καὶ ὀξεῖς εἰς τὸ νοῆσαι
 30 καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς, οὔτε σοί, τῷ βουλευσομένῳ, ὑπέκοντας κατὰ χάριν, οὔτε τῷ
 κυρίῳ τοῦ πράγματος οὔτε ἀλλήλοις, λέγοντας δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀκεραίου τε
 τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἀπροσκλινεῖς καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπιβολὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν παρέχοντας,
 ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ τὸ συμφωρότερον δοκιμάσαντας.

6. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες ἑαυτοῖς τι ἐνορῶντες ἴδιον συμφέρον ἢ ἐτέροις οὐς ἀγαπῶ-
 35 σιν ἢ κήδονται καὶ ἐπισκοποῦνται τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ πολλάκις οὐκ
 ἐνδιδόντες παρατρέπουσι τὴν γνώμην εἰς ὃ βούλονται.

7. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ κρυπτῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πιστοὺς παραλάμβανε
 καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ μυστηρίων φύλακας καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐτέρων ἐξουσίαν

ad 19-20 ἐλευθέραν scr. mg. ἤγουν ἐλευθέραν ἔχέτω ἀπὸ ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας W 20 τῶν...
 ἀπάντων MW πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ABE 21 τινος ἄλλου MW trsp. ABE 22 τὸ...δοκοῦν
 MW τὸ δοκοῦν εὐκόλον ABE | τοῦτο MW τούτω A τούτων BE 23 ἴσως MWAE om. B |
 αὐτῶν MWAE τῶν B 24 ὑποβαλλομένων...ἄλλων ABE om. MW | ἄλλο τι MW ἄλλα τινὰ
 ABE | συμφωρότερον Va συμφερότερον MW συμφέροντα ABE 25 ὅπερ MW ἅπερ ABE
 26 βουλευσασθαι MWE βουλευσασθαι θέλεις AB 27 βουλευθείης σεαυτὸν MW σεαυτὸν
 μὲν ABE | ad ἀπαθῇ scr. mg. ἵνα μὴδὲν ποιήσης δι' ἔχθραν ἢ φιλίαν W | ὥσπερ MWA καθὼς
 BE 30 βουλευσομένῳ MWE βουλευσαμένῳ A βουλευομένῳ B 31 τε MWBE om. A
 32 ἀπροσκλινεῖς MW μὴ προσπαθοῦντας ABE scr. mg. μὴ ρέποντας πρὸς τινὰς μὴδὲ
 προσπαθοῦντας W | ἐπιβολὴν...παρέχοντας (ἐπιβολὴν A) MWA ἐξ αὐτῶν παρέχοντας
 ἐπιβολὴν BE 33 συμφωρότερον Va συμφερότερον MWA συμφερότερον BE
 34 ἑαυτοῖς...συμφέρον MW ἢ ἴδιον ἑαυτοῖς συμφέρον προορῶντες ABE 34-35 ἀγαπῶσιν
 MWA ἀγαπῶσι BE 35 ἢ...πράγματος MW om. ABE 36 ἐνδιδόντες WABE ἐνδιδόντες
 M | γνώμην MW βουλὴν ABE 37 ἀπορρήτων...κρυπτῶν MW κρυπτῶν καὶ μυστικῶν ABE
 38 τὴν MW om. ABE

3. The person responsible for devising the plan must necessarily begin by
 freeing his mind of everything else, especially whatever may be connected with
 the action that he is deliberating about, whether of enmity or friendship or any
 other feeling he might have.

4. You should not limit your choice to what seems easy and concentrate on
 that, but consider all the possibilities. After getting under way, perhaps the
 course of action itself will give rise to suggestions. Others too may make sugges-
 tions about some other more suitable procedure that you may have neglected.

5. If you do not make plans by yourself but wish to include others in your
 deliberations, you must still keep yourself indifferent, as was said, as though you
 were devising the plans by yourself. To assist in planning, employ men who have
 some experience of the matter, men who can look ahead and form a good
 estimate, who interact well, and who are quick-witted and trustworthy. They
 should not give in to you as you go about your deliberations or to the one in
 charge of the action or to one another simply to curry favor. But they should
 express their opinions and be objective in their views, not inclined one way or
 the other, not presenting any proposals of their own but, at the same time,
 giving their approval to what is more beneficial.

6. There are some who look at what is beneficial only for themselves or for
 others whom they love or care about, and they make this the deciding factor in
 considering the proposal. Frequently, unwilling to give in, they alter the plan to
 what they want.

7. In the case of secret and covert projects, invite men who are trustworthy,
 possessed of self-control, and who can keep secrets. They should not be under

όντας, ἄλλως τε μηδὲ τῆς χρείας ταύτης πλήθους δεομένης διὰ τὸ μυστικώτε-
 40 ρον.

8. Καὶ βουλευοῦ μὲν βραδέως, εἰ μὴ τις χρεία τὸ τάχος ἀπαιτεῖ. τὰ δὲ βου-
 λευθέντα σοι, εἰ μηδὲν ἐμποδίζει, ταχέως ἐπιτέλει.

9. Καὶρὸν δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ τόπον ὁμοίως ἐκλέγου καὶ κατασκευάζει τῷ
 45 ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας ἅμα σοί. καὶ τί μὲν δέον σε πράξαι σκέπτου καὶ
 μετὰ πλειόνων βουλευοῦ, ἃ δὲ πράξαι βουλευσῇ σὺν ὀλίγοις. τὴν δὲ καλλίονα
 γνώμην ἐπιλεξάμενος κάτεχε παρὰ σεαυτῷ, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις καταφανῇς
 καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτος γένηται.

10. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα πλείονας χορηγοῦσι τοὺς σκοποὺς· ἴσως τις περίστασις
 50 ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν φανερά γενήσεται τοῖς συγκεκλημένοις ἐν τῇ βουλῇ,
 συμβαλλομένη τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς συμβουλῆς.

11. Πάντας δὲ χρὴ ρέπειν καὶ συντρέχειν εἰς φιλαλήθη καὶ ἀπαθῇ συζήτησιν
 καὶ κηδεμονίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοῦ συγκαλέσαντος.

12. Τέλος δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἔστω σοι τὸ εὐρεθῆναι εἰ τί πράξεις καὶ πῶς πράξεις
 55 καὶ ποῦ καὶ πότε, εἰ δὲ μὴ πράξεις, καὶ διὰ τί ἄρα οὐ πράξεις.

13. Ἐν οἷς δὲ βουλευσῇ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσι τῇ βουλῇ σκοποῖς συντρέχειν
 δεῖ ἅμα καὶ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον· τούτων γὰρ εἶναι μὴ δυναμένων
 ἀσθενῆς ἢ βουλή καὶ ματαία αὐτόθεν οὔσα κατανοεῖται καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ὄψει ἢ
 αὐτῆς ἀλογία βλέπεται.

60 14. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ συμφέρει σοι ὅπερ ἂν βουλευσῇ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὠφελήσεις
 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ βλάψεις. εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν οὐ δύνασαι τὰ βουλευθέντα πράξαι,

41-42 *Strat.*, 8.1.5. 43-48 *Strat.*, 8.2.23.

39-40 ἄλλως... μυστικώτερον bis scr. MW πλήν οὐδὲ ἡ χρεία αὕτη πλείστους δέχεται διὰ τὸ
 μυστικώτερον εἶναι ABE scr. mg. ἤγουν ὅτι οὐδὲν συμφέρει πολλοὺς εἶναι διὰ τὸ
 φυλάττεσθαι τὸ μυστήριον W 41 εἰ MW ἐὰν ABE | τὸ... ἀπαιτεῖ MW κατεπεῖγν συντόμως
 βουλευσασθαι ABE 43-44 τῷ πράγματι MWAE τῶν πραγμάτων B 44 μὴ... ἀνάφερε
 MW om. ABE | κρίσιν MW κρίσιν μὴ ἐπὶ σοι μόνω ἀνάφερε ABE 47 καταφανῆς MW
 φανερά ABE 48 καὶ... γένηται MW γένηται καὶ εὐκόλως ἐπιβουλευθῇ ABE
 49 χορηγοῦσι... σκοποὺς MW trsp. ABE | ἴσως MW καὶ τάχα ABE 50 φανερά MWA
 φανερά συμβαλλομένη τῇ βουλῇ BE | γενήσεται MABE γένηται W | συγκεκλημένοις...
 βουλῇ MW ἐν τῇ βουλῇ (συμβουλῇ B) συγκαλουμένοις ABE 51 συμβαλλομένη...
 συμβουλῆς MW om. ABE 52 πάντας MWAE πάντα B | ρέπειν... συζήτησιν MW καὶ
 συντρέχειν εἰς ἀπαθῇ καὶ ἀληθῇ (ἀληθῇ καὶ ἀπαθῇ A) συζήτησιν ρέπειν ABE
 53 κηδεμονίαν MW εἰς φροντίδα ABE 54 τὸ εὐρεθῆναι MWA om. BE | εἰ W εἰς M εἰ ὅλως
 ABE 55 εἰ M ἢ WABE | δὲ MW om. ABE 57 εἶναι MW οἶμαι ABE 61 δ' αὖ MW δὲ
 ABE

the authority of others, and there should not be many of them, the better to
 keep matters secret.

8. Take your time in making your plans, unless some necessity requires
 immediate action.² But once you have decided on something, unless there is an
 obstacle, carry it out quickly.

9. In like manner, as was said, select the time and place and make prepara-
 tions appropriate to the action.³ Still, do not refer the decision about these
 things to yourself alone, but to all who are privy to the action together with
 yourself. Investigate and deliberate with a large number about what it is
 necessary for you to do, but make your plans about what you are actually going
 to do with only a few. Once you have opted for the better proposal, keep it to
 yourself lest it become manifest and exposed to counteraction by the enemy.

10. The affairs themselves furnish many points of view. Perhaps some
 circumstance from all the parts will clarify matters for those called together for
 the consultation, contributing to the resolution of the discussion.

11. It is necessary for everyone to be favorably inclined to take an active part
 in the truth-loving and unbiased inquiry, as well as the concern and foresight of
 the one who has called them together.

12. Let the purpose of the deliberation be for you to discover if you will do
 something, how you will do it, and where and when, but if you will not do it,
 then for what reason will you not do it.

13. In the matters on which you are deliberating and in the objectives that
 form part of your deliberation, it is necessary for the possible and the beneficial
 to concur. A deliberation about things that are not possible has no strength and,
 for that very reason, is rejected as useless, and its irrationality is seen at a glance.

14. If whatever you may be deliberating about is not beneficial for you, not
 only will you not be helpful; rather, you will cause harm. Again, if you are not

2. Cf. *Strat.* 8.1.5.

3. Cf. *Strat.* 8.2.23.

ματαία ἢ διάσκεψις εἰς ἀνόνητον τέλος διὰ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν καταντῶσα. μάλιστα δὲ χρὴ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς προχείρως ἐμφορομένας ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι βλάβας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἔτοιμοί εἰσι ταῖς μὲν φροντίσιν εὐφραίνειν ἑαυτούς, τὸ δὲ ἐμπί-
65 πτον τῆς βλάβης μὴ προβλέπειν.

15. Χρησιμωτάτη οὖν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἡ πανταχόθεν περίσκεψις καὶ πάντων τῶν γενέσθαι δυνατῶν ὁ περὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἀναλογισμός. οὐ γὰρ προδώσεις σεαυτὸν προπετεία τυφλῇ οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν πράξεων γλιχόμενος εἰς προδήλους κινδύνους ἐμπέσης.

70 16. Πάλιν δὲ τὸ δειλὸν τοῦ θάρρους χωρὶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀβλαβές· φοβούμενος γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα παραπτώματα καὶ τὰ ἐναντία σοι δοκοῦντα παραλόγως πραγματευόμενος πολλάκις τῶν συμφερόντων σοι πραγμάτων κατημέλησας καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπέστης πράξεως.

17. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν σοι διὰ βραχέων, ὦ στρατηγέ, περὶ βουλῆς διεξελθόντες
75 ἐξῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων τε καὶ πράξεως τακτικῆς ἀπαρξώμεθα.

able to turn your plans into action, deliberating about them serves no purpose and, because of the impossibility, ends up accomplishing nothing. It is particularly necessary to guard against the damages that readily occur in taking action. Many are prepared to find happiness in their thoughts but not to foresee the onset of harm.

15. In these matters, then, the examination of every aspect is absolutely essential, as well as a reconsideration regarding the examination of everything that can possibly occur. For <in that way> you will not give yourself up to blind and headlong haste, nor in your great eagerness for action will you fall into obvious dangers.

16. Again, fear without courage is not without harm. By fearing irrational mistakes and unreasonably busying yourself with matters that you think are contrary to your interests, frequently you will have neglected matters which are really in your best interests and you will have turned away from putting them into action.

17. So then, O general, we have briefly gone through the subject of deliberation, and we will begin next about the tactics of military works and action.

62 ἀνόνητον MW ἀνωφελές ABE idem scr. mg. W 63 ἐμφορομένας MW ἐμφαινομένας ABE 67 γενέσθαι δυνατῶν MW trsp. ABE 68 σεαυτὸν ABE ἑαυτὸν MW | τυφλῇ MW τυφλῇ καὶ ἀπερισκέπτῳ ABE | γλιχόμενος MW om. ABE 70 τοῦ W καὶ MABE 70-75 χωρὶς...ἀπαρξώμεθα MABE om. sed scr. mg. ἦγουν φοβούμενος πάλιν ἀμέτρως τὸ μὴ ἀλόγως περιπεσεῖν εἰς κίνδυνον καὶ ποιῶν W 71 ἄλογα M παράλογα ABE 71-72 πραγματευόμενος MA πραγματευόμενα BE 72 κατημέλησας MA καταμέλησις BE 73 ἀπέστης MAB ἀπάτης E 75 τε M om. ABE | ἀπαρξώμεθα M ἀπαρξόμεθα A ἀπαρξόμενα BE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Δ'

Περὶ διαιρέσεως στρατοῦ καὶ καταστάσεως ἀρχόντων

1. Κελεύομεν τοίνυν τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι κατὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνή-
θειαν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξασθαι, οὓς ἂν δοκιμάσῃς
5 ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν. ἐκλέξῃ δὲ στρατιώτας ἀπὸ παντὸς
τοῦ ὑπὸ σε θέματος, μήτε παῖδας μήτε γέροντας, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρείους, εὐρώστους,
εὐψύχους, εὐπόρους, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐξπεδίτῳ ἦγουν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῦ
φοσσάτου εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν στρατείαν ἀσχολουμένους ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις
ἐτέρους, τοὺς γεωργοῦντας καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμὸν καὶ ἐξόπλισιν τοῦ στρατιώ-
10 του χορηγεῖν δυναμένους, δηλονότι ἐλευθέρους τοὺς οἴκους ἔχοντας τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπασῶν τοῦ δημοσίου δουλειῶν. οὐ γὰρ βουλόμεθα τὸν ἡμέτερον
συστρατιώτην—οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὸν ἀριστεύειν μέλλοντα ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἡμῶν
βασιλείας καὶ τῆς φιλοχρίστου τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον
ἔργοις—πλὴν μόνον τοῦ δημοσίου τέλους ἐτέρα ὑποκεῖσθαι οἰαδήποτε δουλείᾳ.
15 2. Διαιρεῖσθω τοίνυν ὁ πᾶς ὑπὸ σε στρατὸς εἰς τάγματα ἦγουν τὰ λεγόμενα
βάνδα διάφορα καὶ ἔτι ὑποδιαιρεῖσθω εἰς δεκαρχίας, καὶ καταστησάτωσαν εἰς
τὰ λεγόμενα κοντουβέρνια. ταῦτα δὲ γινέσθωσαν καὶ ἀπὸ πέντε πολλάκις καὶ
ἀπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἦγουν κατὰ δεκαρχίαν ἢ ἐν κοντουβέρνιν ἢ δύο.
3. Καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατὸς ὅλος διαιρεῖσθω οὕτως εἰς τάγματα καὶ εἰς δεκαρχίας.
20 ἐπιστήτωσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντες κατὰ βάνδα καὶ δρούγγους καὶ τούρμας καὶ
τὰς ἄλλας δεούσας ἀρχὰς οἱ ἱκανώτατοι ἦγουν ὅσοι καὶ πιστοὶ καὶ εὐγνώμονες
φαίνονται τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἡμῶν πολιτείᾳ, μαρτυροῦνται δὲ καὶ ἀνδρειότεροι. οὐδὲν
δὲ κωλύει καὶ εὐπορωτάτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ εὐγενεῖς κατὰ τε τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν

M W A B E Va PG 107:697

19–29 Onas. 2. 3–5.

1 πολεμικῶν...διάταξις γ' (τρίτη A) MWA διάταξις γ' περὶ πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν BE (περὶ
om. E) | δ' Va PG γ' codd. 6 εὐρώστους MW ισχυροὺς ABE 7 ad εὐψύχους scr. mg.
προθύμους τολμηροὺς W. 10 δηλονότι ἐλευθέρους bis scr. MW trsp. ABE 11 ἀπασῶν
MW πασῶν ABE 12 οὕτω MW οὕτως ABE 16 καταστησάτωσαν MW καταστήτωσαν
ABE 17 κοντουβέρνια MABE κοντουβέρνια W 18 κοντουβέρνιν M κοντουβέρνιν W
κοντουβέρνιον AE κοντουβέρνιον B 20 καὶ τούρμας MW om. ABE 22 ἡμῶν πολιτεία
MWA πολιτεία ὑμῶν B πολιτεία ἡμῶν E 23 αὐτοὺς εἶναι MWAE trsp. B

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION IV

About the Division of the Army and the Appointment of Officers

1. We order Your Excellency, in keeping with the custom going way back to
the beginning, to select the soldiers and their officers whom you judge qualified
to meet the requirements of warfare. Select soldiers from the entire theme under
your command, neither boys nor old men, but men who are brave, vigorous,
courageous, and financially well off. While these men are occupied with their
own military service on the campaign or, rather, the assembling of the army,
they must have others in their households who do the farm work and who are
able to provide the required items for the complete equipping and arming of a
soldier. This means that the heads of those households should be free from all
other services owed the state. For we do not wish our fellow soldier—thus I call
the man who goes forth to strive valiantly in warlike deeds on behalf of Our
Majesty and the Christ-loving commonwealth of the Romans—with the sole
exception of the public tax,¹ to be subject to any imposition whatsoever.
2. Let the entire army under your command be divided into various tagmata,
also called banda. Let it be further divided into dekarchies. Then let the so-
called squads be set up. These may often be composed of five men, as well as of
ten, so that each dekarchy will have one or two squads.
3. In this manner, let the entire army be divided into tagmata and into
dekarchies.² Let officers be put in charge of them according to banda, droungoi,
and tourmai, and the other appropriate units. They should all be extremely com-
petent, faithful, and loyal to our Roman state; they should also give evidence of
bravery that is above average. There is nothing to prevent their being very

1. See "demosion," ODB.

2. Onasander 2.3–5.

25 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν· τὴν μὲν εὐγένειαν ἔχειν, ἵνα εἰσὶ πρόχειροι ἐν ὀξύτητι καιροῦ
τιώταις ἐκ περιουσίας πολλάκις, εἰ δεῖσιν, χορηγεῖν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγη τάχα
χορηγία ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀρχόντων πρὸς τοὺς ὑποταττομένους γινομένη
εὐνούστατα καὶ φίλια πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζει τὰ πλήθη καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι
—καὶ μέχρι καὶ τέλους—ἐν τοῖς, ὡς εἰκός, ἐμπίπτουσι κινδύνους.

30 4. Οἱ δὲ μείζονες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐντιμότατοι καὶ συνεδρεύουσιν τῷ στρατηγῷ, οἱ
δὲ καὶ παρέσονται καὶ μεθέξουσιν σὺν αὐτῷ πάσης βουλῆς καὶ κοινωνήσουσι που
καὶ γνώμης, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ ἀπορρήτου καὶ κρυπτῆς. καὶ γὰρ τις τάχα καὶ ἄριστος
ὦν ἐννοεῖ μὲν τι χρήσιμον, βεβαίως δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μόνος οὐκ οἰκιοῦται. γνώμη
γὰρ ἢ βουλή ἐκάστη, ἡ μὲν ἀβοήθητος οὕσα περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὔρεσιν μόνην
35 ἀποβλέπει, ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἐπιμαρτυρηθεῖσα πιστοῦται καὶ ἀναφαί-
νεται μηδὲν ἔχουσα σφαλερὸν.

5. Πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν εἶναι τὸν στρατηγόν—ἵνα καὶ πάλιν σοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
παραinéσωμεν—μήτε οὕτως ἄστατον τὴν διάνοιαν ἵνα αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ παντελῶς
ἀπιστῇ, μήτε οὕτως αὐθάδη καὶ μονώτατον ὡς μὴ βούλεσθαι παρ' ἐτέρων κάλ-
40 λιον τι νοηθὲν ἀναμαθεῖν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ πάντα
προσέχοντα καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ πιστεύοντα πολλάκις πολλὰ καὶ ἀσύμφορα
πράττειν, ἢ μηδὲν ὀλίγων ἀκούοντα πάντα δὲ ἑαυτῷ καταπιστεύοντα, πολλὰ

30–36 Onas. 3. 1–5.

24 εἰσὶ MWA ὡς BE 25 δύνωνται MABE δύνανται W | τοῖς WABE om. M 26 δεῖσιν
MW δεῖσει ABE | καὶ² MW om. ABE 26–27 τάχα χορηγία MW δόσις ABE
27 ἡγουμένων MW om. ABE | ὑποταττομένους MW ὑποχειρίους ABE 28 εὐνούστατα...
πλήθη MW εὐνοίαν καὶ ἀγάπην τοῦ πλήθους ἀπεργάζεται ABE scr. mg. ἀγαπητικὰ
εὐγνώμονα W 29 καὶ¹ MABE om. W | καὶ τέλους MW θανάτου ABE | ὡς...κινδύνους MW
κινδύνους παρασκευάζει ABE 30 συνεδρεύουσιν MW συγκάθεδρον ἔσονται ABE
31 παρέσονται...σὺν MW συγκοινωνήσουσιν ABE | αὐτῷ MWAB αὐτῶν E | ad
κοινωνήσουσι scr. mg. <ἡ>γουν ἵνα ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμβουλοι καὶ εἰς τὰς κρυφωτέρας βουλὰς
W 32 καὶ¹...τύχοι MW om. ABE | καὶ²...κρυπτῆς MW μυστικῆς τε καὶ ἀποκρύφου ABE |
καὶ⁴...καὶ⁵ MW kân ABE 33 ὦν...χρήσιμον MW ὦν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐννοεῖ μὲν τι καὶ
βουλευέται χρήσιμον ABE | βεβαίως...οἰκιοῦται MW τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν βουλήν βεβαιῶσαι οὐ
δύναται ABE 34 ἢ...ἐκάστη MW om. ABE 34–35 περὶ...ἀποβλέπει MW σφάλλεται
περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὔρεσιν ABE 35 ὑπὸ καὶ MW καὶ ὑπὸ AE καὶ ἀπὸ B 37–38 εἶναι...παρ-
αινέσωμεν MW om. ABE 38 διάνοιαν MW διάνοιαν εἶναι τὸν στρατηγόν ABE 39 καὶ
μονώτατον Va καὶ μονώτατος MW om. ABE 41 προσέχοντα MWA προσέχοντι BE | μηδὲν
MWA μηδένα BE | πιστεύοντα MWA πιστεύοντι BE | πολλάκις MWBE om. A | πολλὰ
MWA om. BE 42 πράττειν MWA πράττεσθαι BE | μηδὲν M μηδὲ WE μὴ δὲ AB | ἑαυτῷ
MWA αὐτῷ BE | καταπιστεύοντα MWA καταπιστεύοντι BE

wealthy or noble as far as their birth and virtue of soul is concerned. If they
should be of noble birth, at crucial moments they will be quick to put into
action what they have been ordered to do; if they should be wealthy, then, when
called for, from their abundance they will often be able to devote some funds to
the soldiers. Even a small expenditure made by a commanding officer for the
benefit of his troops renders the rank and file much better disposed and friendly
toward him and ready to fight along with him, even to the end, in the dangers
likely to confront them.

4. The higher-ranking and most respected officers should sit in council with
the general; they should be at hand and participate with him in every delibera-
tion and somehow share in his decision, even if it might be kept hidden and
secret.³ For an individual, the very best perhaps, may think of something benefi-
cial, but one man alone should certainly not limit himself to his own opinions.
Every decision or deliberation that is unsupported looks only at its author's
ingenuity, but the decision that has the additional testimony of many others is
reliable and may be presented without any uncertainty.

5. It is, therefore, fitting for the general to be—we are still giving you advice
about the same matters—neither so indecisive in mind that he has absolutely no
confidence in himself nor so opinionated and self-centered that he is unwilling
to learn from others anything that has been better thought out. The man who
always pays attention to everyone else and never relies on himself will surely
make many and frequent errors in practice, whereas the one who never listens,

πολλάκις καὶ μεγάλα διαμαρτάνειν. τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων πρότερον μὲν
ἐξονομάσομέν σοι ἀπλῶς τοὺς καθισταμένους ἄρχοντας, εἴθ' οὕτως καὶ τὰ
45 γνωρίσματα αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν συντόμῳ εἰπεῖν διορισόμεθα.

6. Πρώτη κεφαλὴ ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ μεράρχαι καὶ οἱ τουρμάρ-
χαι, εἴτα δρουγγάριοι, εἴτα οἱ κόμητες, ἡγουν οἱ τῶν λεγομένων βάνδων ἄρχον-
τες, εἴτα οἱ κένταρχοι, ἐφεξῆς οἱ δέκαρχοι, ἡγουν οἱ πῶτοι τῶν λεγομένων
ἀκιῶν, εἴτα οἱ πεντάρχαι καὶ ἐφεξῆς οἱ τετράρχαι, οἵτινες καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐσχάτους
50 τοῦ στίχου τοῦ κατὰ τὸ βάθος ἦτοι τὸ πάχος τῆς παρατάξεως τάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς
καὶ οὐραγοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο. ὁ γὰρ ἔσχατος τοῦ ὅλου στίχου ἡγουν τῆς ἀκίας ὡς ἐπὶ
τῆς οὐρᾶς αὐτῆς οὕτως ἴσεται.

7. Καὶ αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ ὀνομασίαι τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι καθ' ἕκαστον
τάγμα ἦτοι βάνδον διωρισμένοι, οἷον βανδοφόροι, σαλπικταὶ ἦτοι βουκινά-
55 τορες, θεραπευταὶ ἢ ἰατροὶ οἱ καὶ δεποτάτοι, καὶ μανδάτωρες καὶ παρακλήτορες,
οἱ διὰ λόγων διεγείροντες τὸν στρατὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, οὓς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν,
νεώτεροι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, τακτικοὶ Ῥωμαῖστί καντάτωρες | ἐκάλουν· καὶ ἕτεροί
τινες πρὸς τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας χρεῖας ἀφωρισμένοι, οἷον σκριβωνες καὶ οἱ λοι-
ποί. πάντα γὰρ τῇ νῦν πολιτείᾳ γνωρίζεται τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παλαιῶν σιγηθέν-
60 των, ἅπερ κατὰ χώραν ὑπομνήσομεν.

8. Στρατηγὸς τοίνυν προσαγορεύεται ὁ τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ κορυφαῖός τε
καὶ ἡγεμών, ὑποστράτηγος δὲ ὁ τὴν δευτέραν τούτῳ τάξιν ἐκπληρῶν. οἶμαι δὲ
ὡς οἱ παλαιότεροι ἡμῶν ὑποστρατήγους μὲν ἐκάλουν τοὺς στρατηγούς διὰ τὸ
στρατηγὸν ἀπάντων κυρίως εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐκ προσώπου δὲ αὐτοῦ εἶναι
65 καθ' ἕκαστον θέμα τὸν στρατηγόν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς
ὑποστράτηγος ἐκαλεῖτο, στρατηγὸς δὲ κυρίως ἐλέγετο ὁ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ
βασιλέως πάντων κεφαλὴ ἀποστελλόμενος, ἔχων ὑποστρατήγους τοὺς τῶν
θεμάτων στρατηγούς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄριστον.

9. Νῦν δὲ ὑποστράτηγος οὐ γνωρίζεται, εἰ μὴ τι ὁ καλούμενος μεράρχης.

70 10. Καὶ τουρμάρχης ἐστὶν ὁ ποτε καλούμενος μεράρχης ἦτοι ὁ τοῦ μέρους
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμπεπιστευμένος.

61–122 *Strat.*, 1.3–5.

46–47 καὶ²... τουρμάρχαι MW om. ABE 49 ad ἀκιῶν scr. mg. τῶν ὀρδίνων W | τὸ MWAE
τοῦ B 54 διωρισμένοι MWAE διωρισμένον B | σαλπικταὶ MWAB σαλπηγηταὶ E | ἦτοι²
MWAE ἡγουν A 55 ἢ MWA om. BE | δεποτάτοι MW διποτάτοι AE δαιποτάτοι B
56–57 οὓς...ἐκάλουν MW om. ABE 60 ἅπερ...ὑπομνήσομεν MW om. ABE 62 τούτῳ
τάξιν MWAE trsp. B | οἶμαι MW ὑπολαμβάνω ABE 64–65 εἶναι²...ἐκαστον MWAE trsp.
B 69 τι MW om. ABE | μεράρχης MWAB μενάρχης E 70 καὶ...μεράρχης MW om. ABE
71 τὴν ἀρχὴν MWA τῆς ἀρχῆς BE

even to a few others, but trusts only himself is likewise bound to make many
costly mistakes. This is how these matters stand. Now, we will first simply give
you the titles of the officers to be appointed; then we will define, in summary
fashion, their characteristics.

6. At the very top is the general and, after him, the merarchs and the tour-
marchs, then the droungarioi, then the counts, that is, the officers of the so-
called banda, then the kentarchs and, in order, the dekarchs, that is, the first of
the so-called files, then the pentarchs and, after them, the tetrarchs who, because
they are lined up last in the row, according to the depth or the thickness of the
battle line, are also called ouragoi, for the last man of the whole row or file is
positioned as though at its tail.

7. These, then, are the titles of the officers, but there are also other men as-
signed to each tagma or bandon. Such are the standard-bearers, the trumpeters
or buglers, the medical attendants or doctors who are also called deputies, the
heralds and the exhorters whose task it is to exhort and arouse the army for
combat, whom those before us, the more recent tactical writers, called by the
Latin term cantatores.⁴ Other men are assigned to various needs as they occur.
Such are the skribones and the rest.⁵ These names, about which the ancient
authors are silent, are those recognized by the modern state and which we will
discuss in due order.

8. First, the head and leader of the whole army is called the general.⁶ The
man who ranks second after him is the lieutenant general. I am aware that our
predecessors used the term lieutenant general for general since the general who
commands everyone is specifically the emperor, and the general for each theme
is his delegate. For this reason the general was called lieutenant general. General
then became the title for that man who was exclusively designated as the dele-
gate of the emperor, the head of all the troops, and the generals of the themes
became his lieutenant generals, all of which is excellent.

9. But, at present, the term lieutenant general is not acknowledged except for
the one called merarch.

10. The tourmarch is the officer formerly referred to as merarch, that is, the
one entrusted with the command of a meros.

4. See *Strat.* 2.19.

5. Also called skribantes, cf. *infra*, n. 7.

6. *Strat.* 1.3–5.

11. Δρουγγάριος δὲ λέγεται ὁ μιᾶς μοίρας ἄρχων, ἥτις ὑπὸ τὸ μέρος τοῦ
τουρμάρχου τάττεται. μέρος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦρμα, τὸ ἐκ τριῶν μοιρῶν ἥγουν
δρουγγῶν συγκείμενον ἄθροισμα, μοῖρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡτοῖ δρουγγος τὸ ἐκ ταγμά-
75 των ἡτοῖ ἀριθμῶν ἢ βάνδων τῶν λεγομένων κομήτων συγκείμενον πλῆθος.

12. Κόμης δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ ἐνὸς τάγματος ἡτοῖ βάνδου ἀφηγούμενος.

13. Κένταρχος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄρχων ἡτοῖ ἑκατοντάρχης, ὅστις
καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν κόμητα τέτακται.

14. Δεκάρχης δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν δέκα πρῶτος, ὥσπερ καὶ πεντάρχης ὁ τῶν
80 πέντε, ὅστις καὶ μέσος ἴσταται τῆς ἀκίας.

15. Τετράρχης δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ καὶ φύλαξ, ὁ λεγόμενος οὐραγὸς καὶ τελευταῖος
ιστάμενος τῆς ἀκίας. ὁ γὰρ πυκνότερος τῶν ἀρχόντων διαμερισμὸς καὶ πλεί-
ονας δεικνύει τοὺς γενναίους καὶ ἀνδρείους στρατιώτας, καὶ εὐχερῶς ὑπακούειν
καὶ ἐκτελεῖν ποιεῖ τὰ κελεύόμενα.

85 16. Καὶ βανδοφόρος μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ βάνδου βαστάζων.

17. Δηποτάτοι δὲ προσηγορεύοντο πάλαι οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι σκριβῶνες,
οἵτινες παρακολουθοῦντες τῇ παρατάξει τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τραυματίας γενο-
μένους ἀναλαμβάνονται ὡς ἰατροὶ καὶ περιποιοῦνται.

18. Μανδάτωρες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὰ μανδάτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων πρὸς τοὺς
90 στρατιώτας ὁξέως διακομίζοντες. |

19. Λοχαγὸς δὲ λέγεται ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ στίχου ἥγουν τοῦ ὀρδίνου κατὰ τὸ
βάθος· ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ πρίμος καὶ πρωτοστάτης.

20. Σεκοῦνδος δὲ λέγεται ὁ δεῦτερος τῆς ἀκίας, ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιστάτης.

21. Οὐραγὸς δὲ λέγεται ὁ ὀπίσω τοῦ ὅλου στίχου ἥγουν τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ
95 ὀρδίνου ἰστάμενος.

22. Κούρσωρες δὲ λέγονται ἥγουν πρόμαχοι οἱ προτρέχοντες τῆς παρα-
τάξεως ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐχθροῖς ὁξέως ἐπιτι-
θέμενοι οὐς καλοῦσι προκλάστας.

23. Διφένσωρες δὲ οἱ τούτους μὲν ἐπακολουθοῦντες, μὴ ἐκτρέχοντες δὲ καὶ
100 λύοντες τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένως περιπατοῦντες πρὸς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν

72 τὸ μέρος MWA τοῦ μέρους BE 73 τάττεται MW τάσσεται ABE 75 ἀριθμῶν...
βάνδων Va ἀνδρῶν codd. 77 ἑκατοντάρχης MWA ἑκατόνταρχος BE 79 δεκάρχης MWA
δέκαρχος BE | καὶ MWA om. BE | πεντάρχης MWAB πένταρχος E 80 ἀκίας MWAB
ἀκακίας E 86 δηποτάτοι MW δαιποτάτοι B διποτάτοι AE | πάλαι MW τὸ παλαιὸν ABE
87 τραυματίας MW τραυματιζομένους ABE 87-88 γενομένους WBE γινομένους M om.
A 91 δὲ AB om. MWE 92 πρωτοστάτης ABE ἐπιστάτης MW 93 ad τῆς ἀκίας scr. mg.
τοῦ ὀρδίνου W 94 δὲ BE om. MWA | λέγεται MWA om. BE 100 πρὸς ἐκδίκησιν MABE
προσεδίκησιν W

11. Droungarios is the term for the commander of one moira, that takes its
position below the meros of the tourmarch. Meros is the tourma that is com-
posed of a grouping of three moirai or droungoi. A moira or droungos is the
total unit made up of tagmata, arithmoi, or banda, <whose commanders> are
called counts.

12. The count is commander of one tagma or bandon.

13. Kentarch is the officer over a hundred men, also called hekatontarch, and
is ranked just below the count.

14. Dekarch is the first over ten men, just as the pentarch is over five and
takes his position in the middle of the file.

15. Tetrarch, also known as the guard, is called ouragos and stands last in the
file. This rather detailed division of officers results in a larger number of noble
and brave soldiers and readily makes for obedience and the implementation of
commands.

16. The standard-bearer is the one who carries the standard of the bandon.

17. The term deputy was previously used for those now called skribones.⁷
They follow behind the battle line and, like doctors, recover and look after those
wounded in battle.

18. Heralds are the men who quickly convey the commands of the officers to
the troops.

19. Group leader is the term for the first man in the row or the line accord-
ing to its depth; he is also referred to as primos and protostates.

20. Sekoundos is the term for the second man of the file, also called
epistates.

21. Ouragos is the term for the man behind the whole row, whose position is
at the end of the line.

22. Assault troops, also called promachoi, are those who move out ahead of
the line when battle is joined and swiftly bear down upon the retreating enemy;
they are also called proklastai.

23. Defenders are those who follow after them, not charging out or breaking

7. Medical corpsmen, cf. *Strat.* 2.9. Deputy (Lat. deputatus). Greek transliteration varies:
δεποτάτος, δηπ-, διπ-, δαιπ-. Skribon, skribas (kribas), is from Lat. scriba, a scribe. Cf. *Sylloge
tacticorum*, 35.1; *LBG*, s.v. (forthcoming). The *Suda* (Σ 696) claims that the Latins use the term
for "foremost among the bodyguards."

κουρσώρων, εἴπερ αὐτούς, ὡς εἰκός, τραπήναι συμβαίη, οὐσπερ δικαίως ἂν τις καλέσῃ ἐκδίκους.

24. Μίνσωρες δὲ λέγονται οἱ τὰ ἄπλικτα ἦτοι τὰ φοσσάτα μετροῦντες καὶ καθιστῶντες οὓς μινσοράτωρας νῦν καλοῦσιν.

105 25. Ἀντικένσωρας δὲ ἄλλους τινὰς ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οὓς, ὡς οἶμαι, νῦν τοῖς μινσοράτωρσι συντάσσοντες ἰδίως οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ προλαμβάνοντες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ τὰς ἐπιτηδεῖας ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἀνερευνῶντες ἐν οἷς τὰ ἄπλικτα γίνεσθαι ὀφείλουσι καὶ ταύτας, ὁποῖα εἰσι, κατανοοῦντες.

110 26. Σκουλκάτωρες δὲ οἱ κατάσκοποι λέγονται οἵτινες μανθάνοντες τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν.

27. Πλαγιοφύλακες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν πλαγίων τῆς πρώτης τάξεως ταττόμενοι.

28. Ὑπερκερασταὶ δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὸ περιλαβεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων κέρας ταττό-

115 μενοι.

29. Ἐνεδροὶ δὲ οἱ πρὸς ἐγκρύμματα κατὰ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐτοιμαζόμενοι.

30. Νωτοφύλακες δὲ οἱ ὀπίσω τῆς παρατάξεως πάσης τασσόμενοι περιπατεῖν.

120 31. Καὶ τοῦλδὸν ἔστιν ἡ ἀποσκευὴ καὶ χρειαῖ πάσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν παῖδες τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα, καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον πρᾶγμα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐπισύρεται.

125 32. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προέλευσις εἰς τινὰς ἄρχοντας διαιρουμένη, οἷον τὸν τε κόμητα τῆς κόρτης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τοῦ θέματος δομέστικον καί, ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξ ἔθους τῆς προελεύσεως αὐτοῦ ὑπηρέτας, οὓς περιττὸν ἡγοῦμεθα καταλέγειν.

101 συμβαίη W συμβαίην M συμβῆ ABE 102 καλέσῃ MW καλέσει ABE 103 οἱ... ἄπλικτα MW om. ABE 104 μινσοράτωρας A μινσοράτορας MW μινσαράτωρας BE 105 παλαιοὶ MWA πάλαι BE | ὡς MWA om. BE | οἶμαι MW ὑπολαμβάνω ABE 108 ὀφείλουσι MABE ὀφείλουσιν W 111 ἀπαγγέλλουσιν WA ἀπαγγέλλουσι M ἀπαγγέλουσι BE 113 ταττόμενοι MW τασσόμενοι ABE 114 περιλαβεῖν MWAE λαβεῖν B scr. mg. κυκλῶσαι W 114-115 ταττόμενοι W τασσόμενοι ABE 116 πρὸς MW πρὸς τὰ ABE 120-121 τοῦτ' ἔστιν M τουτέστιν WAE τουτέστι B 121 ad παῖδες scr. mg. δοῦλοι W | ad ὑποζύγια scr. mg. ἄλογα σαγμάρια W 122 ὑπηρεσίαν WA ὑπερεσίαν MBE 125 εἰς MWAB εἰ E | ὑπηρέτας MABE ὑπηρέτους W 126 περιττὸν MW περισσὸν ABE | καταλέγειν MW καταριθμεῖν ABE

ranks, but marching in good order to provide support for the assault troops in case they should happen to fall back; one might justly call them avengers.

24. Surveyors is the term for those who measure and set up the camps or the encampments and whom they now call minsoratores.

25. The ancient Romans called certain other men antikensores, who, as I am aware, are now lined up with the minsoratores and are not given a special name. When the army is on the march, they go ahead to assess the condition of the roads and to search for ones that are suitable and for places in which to pitch camp.

26. Spies are called skoulkatores; they learn what is going on with the enemy and inform us.

27. Flank guards are the troops assigned to guard the flanks of the first line.

28. Outflankers are the troops assigned to envelop the enemy's wings.

29. Ambushers are the troops prepared to set up ambushes against the battle line of the enemy.

30. Rear guard designates the troops assigned to march behind the entire battle line.

31. The baggage train consists of the supplies and everything else needed for the soldiers, that is, servants, pack animals, and the other beasts, as well as anything else that is brought along for the service of the army.

32. The entourage of the general is composed of certain officers, such as the count of his tent, the domestic of the theme and, to put it succinctly, the rest of the assistants ordinarily in his entourage, but we believe it is superfluous to list them.

38. Καὶ ἔνθα, ὡς εἰκός, παῖδες οὐκ εἰσὶ, τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν εἰς τὰ σαγμάρια ἀφορίζειν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τρία ἢ τέσσαρα σαγμάρια ἄνδρα
ἕνα, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατιωτῶν χρήσιμον μετὰ
σημείου, ᾧτινι τὸ ὅλον τοῦλδον ἡγουν τὰ σαγμάρια ἀκολουθεῖν ὀφείλουσιν.

155 39. Ὅρισεις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀκίας, πόσαι καὶ ποῖαι ὀφείλουσι δεξιᾷ τοῦ βάνδου
τάττεσθαι καὶ πόσαι καὶ ποῖαι ἀριστερᾷ αὐτοῦ.

40. Τάξεις δὲ καὶ τὰ κοντουβέρνια ἢ κατὰ πέντε, ὡς εἴρηται, ἢ δέκα ἄνδρας ἢ
κατὰ τέσσαρας ἢ ὀκτὼ ἢ δεκαῆξ, ὡς ἂν γινώσκῃς τὸ κατὰ καιρὸν χρήσιμον, ἵνα
τῇ συνηθείᾳ δεσμούμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀγωνιζόμενοι
160 χρησιμώτεροι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν γένωνται. | ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς κοινὴν καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν 293
καθ' ἕκαστον κοντουβέρνιον, ὡς ἤδη προδιωρισάμεθα.

41. Φρονιμώτερον δὲ ποιήσεις ἐὰν τάξης, εἰ τύχοι, ἀδελφούς μετὰ ἀδελφῶν
καὶ φίλους μετὰ φίλων, μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς τῆς μάχης παρατάξεσιν. ὅτ' ἂν γάρ ἐστι
τῷ κινδυνεύοντι ὁ πλησίον προσφιλέστατος, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀγαπῶντα φιλοκιν-
165 δυνότερον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλησίον καὶ φιλουμένου ἀγωνίζεσθαι. καὶ δὴ τις αἰδοῦ-
μενος μὴ ἀποδοῦναι χάριν τῷ φίλῳ ὣν πέπονθε φιλικῶν, αἰσχύνεται καταλιπεῖν
τὸν εὐεργετήσαντα καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἄρξασθαι φυγῆς.

42. Τὰ δὲ κοντουβέρνια, ὡς ἤδη εἵπομεν, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων
στρατιωτῶν δεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μηδὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τασσόμενοι ἀσθε-
170 νεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἀδύνατοι, μηδὲ οἱ νεώτεροι ἄτακτοι εὐρεθῶσιν ὡς ἀπείραστοι. οἱ
μὲν γάρ, εἰ καὶ γηραῖοι ἀλλὰ πεπειραμένοι, οἱ δὲ εἰ καὶ νεάζοντες καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι
ἀλλὰ ἄπειροί εἰσιν.

43. Οὕτως οὖν τῶν ταγμάτων ἡγουν βάνδων διαιρουμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτά, χρή
ἐπιστῆναι αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντας τοὺς λεγομένους κόμητας, συνίστασθαι δὲ ἕκαστον
175 τάγμα ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων κατὰ τὸν μέσον τόπον. μήτε δὲ πλεον τετρα-

155-167 Onas. 24. 168-172 *Strat.*, 2.7. 173-209 *Strat.*, 1.4.

152 ἢ MWA εἰς E ἢ εἰ B 154 ἡγουν...σαγμάρια MW om. ABE 155 πόσαι ABE ποιῆσαι
MW 156 τάττεσθαι MW τάσσεσθαι ABE 157 κοντουβέρνια MA κοντουβέρνια W
κουντουβέρνια B κοντοῦ βέρνια E 159 καὶ ABE om. MW 160 αὐτοὺς WABE αὐτοῖς M
161 κοντουβέρνιον MWAE κουντουβέρνιον B | προδιωρισάμεθα MWAE προδιωρισόμεθα B
162 εἰ τύχοι MWE om. AB 165 ad δὴ τις scr. mg. ἡγουν εντρεπομενος την αγαπην ην εχει
προς αὐτὸν ὁ φιλος αὐτοῦ W 165-166 αἰδούμενος MW αἰσχυνόμενος ABE 166 φιλικῶν
MWA φιλῶν BE 167 αὐτὸς Va αὐτοῦ MW om. ABE | ἄρξασθαι φυγῆς MW φυγεῖν ABE
168 κοντουβέρνια MAE κουντουβέρνια W κουντουβέρνια B | ἤδη MW om. ABE 170 εἰσι
MWA ὡσι BE 171 γηραῖοι MW γέροντες ABE 173 ἐφ' ἑαυτά MW om. ABE
175 τριακοσίων MWA τ' BE

38. Then, in the likely event that no servants are present, the poorer soldiers
should be detailed to the pack animals, that is, one man to three or four animals.
Another man from among the soldiers, highly regarded and able to carry the
standard, should be chosen, whom the whole baggage train or the pack animals
must follow.

39. The commander must then determine how many and which files are to
form on the right of the standard and how many and which on the left.⁸

40. Arrange the squads, as was said, by five men, by ten, by four, by eight, or
by sixteen, however you think useful at the time. As a result, bound by close ties
and struggling in battle on behalf of one another, they will prove more efficient
and valiant. They should have common duties in each squad, as we have already
decreed.

41. You will act very wisely if you line up, depending on the situation,
brothers with brothers and friends with friends, especially in combat forma-
tions. For whenever the very close friend is near his friend who is in danger, he
will feel compelled to embrace danger himself to fight on behalf of his friend
next to him. Indeed, a man is ashamed not to return a favor to his friend for
those he has received out of friendship, and he is ashamed to abandon his
benefactor and be the first to take flight.

42. The squads, as we have already said, should be made up of old and young
soldiers so that the old men in formation by themselves may not be weak and
powerless, and the younger men may not turn out to be inexperienced and
disorganized.⁹ The former, even if they are old, have a good deal of experience,
while the latter, even if young and brave, still have no real experience.

43. Once the various tagmata or banda have been properly lined up, it is
necessary to appoint officers, called counts, over them.¹⁰ Each tagma should
consist, on the average, of three hundred men. You should insist that the tagma

8. Onasander 24.

9. *Strat.* 2.7.

10. *Strat.* 1.4.

κοσίων ἀνδρῶν τὸ τάγμα ἔχειν ὀρίσης, κἂν πάνυ πολὺν στρατὸν ἔχεις, μήτε ὑποκάτω τῶν διακοσίων, κἂν ἔστιν ὀλίγος ὁ στρατός.

44. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τάγματα συνάξεις εἰς χιλιάρχιας ἦτοι μοῖρας τὰς λεγομένας δρούγγους, καὶ ἐπιστήσεις αὐτοῖς μοιράρχας χρησίμους ἀνδρεία καὶ φρονήσῃ
180 καὶ εὐταξία, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ εὐγενεία καὶ εὐπορία τοὺς λεγομένους δρουγ-
γαρίους οὓς ποτε χιλιάρχους ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί.

45. Τὰς δὲ μοῖρας ταύτας ἦτοι τοὺς δρούγγους συνάξεις εἰς μέρη ἦγουν τούρμας καὶ ἐπιστήσονται αὐτοῖς γνώμη τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν μεράρχαι, οἱ λεγόμενοι ποτε καὶ στρατηλάται, νῦν δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλούμενοι τουρμάρχαι·
185 καὶ τούτους φρονίμους καὶ εὐτάκτους εἶναι καὶ ἐναρέτους καὶ ἐμπείρους, εἰ δυνατόν, εἰδότας καὶ γράμματα, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ μέσου μέρους, τὸν λεγόμενον ὑποστράτηγον, ὀφείλοντα, εἰ χρεῖα γένηται, ἐν πᾶσι τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τόπον ἀναπληροῦν.

46. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ μέρη τρία συστήναι, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τρεῖς ἐπιστήσονται τουρ-
190 μάρχαι, εἰς ἕκαστος ἰδίου μέρους ἄρχων, ὥστε εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ τὴν ἀνωτάτην τομὴν τρία ἰσάριθμα μέρη ἦγουν τούρμας, τοῦτ' ἔστι | μέσον, ἀριστε- 291
ρόν καὶ δεξιόν· ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ τὴν πᾶσαν τάξιν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ στρατηγῷ τεταγμέ-
νην.

47. Χρὴ δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, μήτε τάγμα πλεόν τῶν τετρακοσίων ἀνδρῶν γίνε-
195 σθαι ἦγουν τὸ τοῦ κόμητος βάνδον, μήτε δρούγγον πλεόν τῶν τρισχιλίων μήτε τούρμαν πλεόν τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων.

48. Εἰ δὲ συμβῇ πλεόν τοῦ λεχθέντος μέτρου εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν, κάλλιόν ἔστι ἔξωθεν τῶν μερῶν ἦτοι τῶν τουρμαρχιῶν ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει καθίστασθαι, ἦγουν ἐν τῇ ὀπισθεν τῆς προμάχου τάξεως παραταγῆναι ἐν ὑποβοηθείᾳ καὶ εἰς
200 φυλακὴν τῶν πλαγίων μερῶν καὶ εἰς νωτοφύλακας καὶ εἰς ἐνέδρας ἦτοι ἐγκρύμ-
ματα καὶ εἰς κυκλώσεις τῶν πολεμίων.

49. Καὶ μήτε τὰς τούρμας μήτε τοὺς δρούγγους μείζους ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ἐπιπολὺ ἐκτεινόμενα ἀπειθῇ πρὸς τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ συγκεχυ-
μένα εὐρεθῶσιν.

205 50. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερόν σοι χρήσιμον παραινέσω, ὥστε μὴ πάντα τὰ τάγματα ἦτοι βάνδα ἐπιτηδεύεις πάντως ἴσα ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν βάνδων

178 συνάξεις MWBE συντάξεις A 180 εὐπορία MW εὐπορία διαφέροντες ABE
182 συνάξεις BE συντάξεις MWA 189 οἷς MWA ὧ BE 191 ἀνωτάτην τομὴν MW
πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην διαίρειν ABE | ἰσάριθμα μέρη MW trsp. ABE | τούρμας PG τούρμαι
codd. | ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W 191-192 ἀριστερόν MWA ἀριστερόν τε BE
198 τουρμαρχιῶν MWAB τουρμαχιῶν E 199 παραταγῆναι Du παραταγῇ codd.
202 μείζους MW μείζονας ABE 205 μὴ MWAB μὴ πάντως ἵνα ποιεῖν E

should not have more than four hundred men, even if you have a very large army, and not below two hundred, even if your army is small.

44. You should bring these tagmata together into chiliarchies or moirai, also called droungoi, and place over them competent moirarchs, noted for bravery, good judgment, discipline and, if possible, also noble birth and wealth. These, whom the ancient authors called chiliarchs, are now called droungarioi.

45. You should bring these moirai or droungoi together into divisions or tourmai and let merarchs be appointed over them, with the approval of Our Majesty. These officers were formerly called stratelatai but now are usually called tourmarchs. They should be men of good judgment, disciplined, virtuous, experienced and, if possible, able to read and write. This is particularly important for the commander of the second meros, called lieutenant general, who has to, if it becomes necessary, assume all the duties of the general.

46. There should be three of these divisions and over them three tourmarchs should be appointed, each one the commander of his own division. As a result, the topmost division of the whole army is that of three divisions or tourmai of equal strength, that is, center, left, and right. These then make up the entire formation that is lined up under the general.

47. It is necessary, as was said, that the tagma, the bandon of the count, should not be more than four hundred men or the droungos more than three thousand or the tourma more than six thousand.

48. But if the army should happen to exceed the aforesaid size, it is better to station those men outside the divisions or tourmarchies in the second line, that is, behind the main battle line as a support force and also to guard the divisions on the flanks, and as rear guards and for ambushes or traps and for encircling the enemy.

49. Do not make the tourmai or the droungoi too large. Otherwise, as they become larger and much more extended, they may end up confused and inattentive to the commands.

50. Let me give you another useful bit of advice. Be sure that you do not bring all the tagmata or banda up to the same strength. Otherwise, the enemy

εὐαρίθμητος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁ στρατὸς γένηται, ὅπερ πολλάκις μεγάλας προξενεῖ τὰς βλάβας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο φυλάττειν, μηδὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς εἵπομεν, πλέον μηδὲ τῶν διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλιγώτερα γίνεσθαι αὐτά.

210 51. Διὸ πολλάκις καὶ καθ' ἑκάστον τάγμα ἐὰν δύο βάνδα εὐτρεπίζης ἀναδείκνυσθαι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου συμβολῆς οὐκ ἄχρηστον εἰς τὸ καταπλῆξαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

52. Χρὴ δὲ ἀφορισθῆναι ἀπὸ ἐκάστου βάνδου εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρεῖας, ὡς εἴρηται, τοὺς μανδάτωρας ἀγρύπνους καὶ συνετοὺς καὶ γοργοὺς καὶ εὐφῶνους, 215 εἰδότας, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ διαφόροις γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, καὶ βουκινάτωρας οἵτινες ἐν καιρῷ τὰ συνήθη σαλπίσουσι, σαμιάτωρας, τοξοποιούς, σαγιττοποιούς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἔθους διατύπωσιν.

53. Προσαφορίσεις δὲ καὶ τινὰς τοὺς ὀφείλοντας τὰ εὐρίσκόμενα τῶν ἀπολλυμένων συνάγειν καὶ ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτῶν.

220 54. Ὡς περ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τούλδου τῶν καβαλλαρίων ἀναγκαῖον ὀρίσαι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἐπιστῆναι ἄρχοντας, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τούλδου ἦτοι τῶν ἀμαξιῶν τῆς πεζικῆς τάξεως ἀφορίσεις τινάς, οἷς ὀφείλουσι πείθεσθαι οἱ τοῦ λεγομένου карагоу.

55. Καραγὸς γὰρ λέγεται ὁ διὰ τῶν ἀμαξιῶν καὶ τριβόλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μη| 291 225 χανῶν γινόμενος περιορισμὸς εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

56. Καὶ καθ' ἑκάστον μέρος ἓνα πρῶτον τὸν ἄρχειν ὀφείλοντα καὶ σημεῖον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων, ἐντεθῆναι εἰς τὰς βοῦς, ἴδιον ἐκάστου ἀριθμοῦ ἵνα εἰσὶν εὐδηλοὶ καὶ φανεραὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις.

57. Καλῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς πεζικῆς τάξεως ἐπεμνήσθημεν. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταύτης τὴν 230 διαίρεσιν ὑπογράψαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ταττομένους ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους καταστήναι καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν δηλῶσαι ὀνομα-

213-312 *Strat.*, 12.B.7-8.

207 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς MW om. ABE | στρατὸς ABE στρατηγὸς MW 208 τετρακοσίων MWA υ' BE 210-211 ἀναδείκνυσθαι MW ἀναφαίνεσθαι ABE 212 πολεμίους MABE ἐναντίους W 214-215 γοργοὺς...εἰδότας MW ἐγρηγόρους καὶ καλλιφῶνους γινώσκοντας ABE 215 διαφόροις γλώσσαις MW trsp. ABE 216 ἐν MW ἐν τῷ ABE | σαλπίσουσι MW σαλπίζουσι BE σαλπίζουσιν A 218 προσαφορίσεις MW ἀφορίσεις AE ἀφορήσεις B 221 οὕτως MW οὕτω ABE | ἦτοι...ἀμαξιῶν MW om. ABE 222 οἱ MWA ὁ BE 223 карагоу MW карагоу ἦτοι τῶν ἀμαξιῶν ABE 224 γὰρ MWA δὲ BE 227 ἵππων MWA ἵππεων BE | ἐντεθῆναι AB ἐντεθεῖναι MW ἐντιθῆναι E 227-228 εἰσὶν...καὶ MW ἐκ τῆς χροῆς τοῦ σημείου AE ἐκ τῆς χρεῖας τοῦ σημείου B 228 ἴδιοις MW ἰδίοις ἑκασταὶ γίνονται AE ἰδίοις ἑκαστοὶ γίνονται B 230 ταττομένους MW τασσομένους ABE | ἄλλους ABE ἄλλως MW

can easily estimate the size of the army by counting standards, often resulting in serious harm. However, carefully observe our prescription that they should not consist of more than four hundred men or fewer than two hundred.

51. If you arrange to have each tagma frequently display two standards at the time when battle is about to be joined, it will be helpful in confusing the enemy.

52. In each bandon men must be set apart for necessary chores, as was said, including two heralds, alert and intelligent, with vigorous, pleasant voices and who, if possible, know how to speak several languages.¹¹ Trumpeters who sound the customary signals at the proper time, weapon makers, bow makers, arrow makers, and the rest according to the customary regulations.

53. You should also assign certain men the duty of collecting whatever lost articles have been found and returning them to their owners.

54. Just as in the cavalry baggage train it was necessary to decree that officers had to be placed in charge, so for the baggage or wagon train of the infantry formation you should designate certain officers whom the men in the baggage train, also called karagos, must obey.

55. Karagos is the term for the barrier formed by the wagons, caltrops, and other devices for the protection of the army.

56. In each division one man should be first in command. Just as with the horses, a special mark should identify the oxen which belong to each arithmos so the men can easily recognize them as their own.

57. It is well that we have kept the infantry in mind. For it is necessary to describe its various units and to appoint the officers assigned to that arm as well as the other leaders, both of higher and lower rank, and to make clear their

11. *Strat.* 12.B.7-8.

σίας, ὅπως τε περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν παρελάβομεν τακτικῶν καὶ ὅπως οἱ νεώτεροι μέχρις ἡμῶν τὴν αὐτῶν ἔκταξιν τε καὶ κατάστασιν παρεπέμψαντο.

58. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολυπληθείας εὐποροῦντες ἴσως στρατευμάτων τῶν
235 ποτε λεγομένων ὀπλιτῶν, νῦν δὲ σκουτάτων καλουμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ ὀνόματος διὰ τὴν ἄγαν τῆς τακτικῆς μελέτης καὶ πράξεως ἀμελείας παρὰ
μικρὸν παρὰ πάντων ἀγνοουμένου, ταῦτα οὖν τὰ τάγματα τῶν σκουτάτων ἀπὸ
δεκαῆξ ἀκιῶν ἐποιοῦν, ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων νς', τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐκάστην ἀκίαν
ἀνδρῶν ις' ὑπὸ τετραγώνῳ ἀριθμῷ. εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἡ φάλαγξ πεζῶν
240 ἀνδρῶν ,δρς', ἣν ἐκάλουν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν ἐφιστάμενον αὐτῇ στρατηγόν.

59. Τὴν δὲ τελείαν παράταξιν ἐποιοῦν ταγμάτων ξδ', ἀκιῶν χιλίων κδ',
ἀνδρῶν μυρίων ,ςτπδ', ψιλῶν δὲ τῶν λεγομένων σαγιττατέρων καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν
καὶ σφενδοβολιστῶν, ἀνδρῶν ,ηροβ' ἡγουν ἡμίσειαν τῶν ψιλῶν εἶναι τὴν τάξιν
τῶν λεγομένων ὀπλιτῶν ἥτοι σκουτάτων. τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς παραταττομένων
245 ἵππέων ἥτοι συμμίκτων τῇ πεζικῇ τάξει ἀνδρῶν καβαλλαρίων ,δρς'. καὶ τούτων
ὁ ἡγούμενος ἐλέγετο στρατηγός.

60. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐμέριζον οὕτως· τὰ δὲ τάγματα τῶν σκουτάτων ἔμ-
προσθεν εἰς πρόμαχον τάξιν παρέτασσον κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ταύτην εἰς δ'
ἴσα μέρη ἐποιοῦν, δεξιόν, ἀριστερόν, μέσον ἀριστερόν, μέσον δεξιόν.

250 61. Τὰ δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν τάγματα ἰδίᾳ, διὰ τὸ γοργοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἐλαφροὺς ἢ
ἔμπροσθεν εἰς ἐπιδίωξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔταττον ἢ εἰς τὰ πλάγια ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου
τῆς πρώτης παραταγῆς ἢ ὡς ἡ χρεία ἡπαίτει, περὶ ὧν κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

232 ὅπως τε MW ὡς ABE 233 μέχρις ἡμῶν MW om. ABE | τε MW om. ABE |
κατάστασιν MW κατάστασιν μέχρις ἡμῶν ABE 234 πολυπληθείας...ἴσως W πολυπληθείας
ὑποποροῦντες ἴσως M πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχοντες ABE 236 ἄγαν...ἀμελείας MW παντελῇ
ἀμέλειαν τῆς τακτικῆς ABE 237 παρὰ MWA παρὰ τοῦ BE | ταῦτα MWA ταῦτ' BE | τὰ
MWBE τὰ τὰ A 238 δεκαῆξ MW ις' ABE | ἀκιῶν MW ἀκιῶν ἡγουν λόχων ABE | νς' MW
σνς' ABE 239 ἐν MWA om. BE 239-240 πεζῶν ἀνδρῶν MW trsp. ABE 240 ,δρς'
MWBE τετρακισχιλίων ἐνενήκοντα A | ἐφιστάμενον αὐτῇ MW ταύτης ἡγούμενον ABE
241 χιλίων κδ' MABE ,κδ' W 242 ,ςτπδ' MW ἑξακισχιλίων τετρακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα
τεσσάρων A ἑξακισχιλίων τετρακοσίων πδ' BE 243 σφενδοβολιστῶν MW σφενδονήτων A
σφενδονιστῶν BE | ,ηροβ' MW ὀκτακισχιλίων ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα δύο A ὀκτακισχιλίων ροβ'
B ὀκτακισχιλίων ἑκατὸν οβ' E | τῶν...εἶναι MWA trsp. BE 245 ,δρς' MW τετρακισχιλίων
ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ A δρς' BE 246 ὁ MWA om. BE | ἐλέγετο MWAE ἐλέγετο ὁ B 248 δ'
MWBE τέσσαρα A 249 ἴσα μέρη MW trsp. ABE | μέσον ἀριστερόν MWA om. BE
250 τάγματα MWA ταγμάτων BE 251 ἔταττον MWA ἔτασσον BE | τὰ MWA om. BE |
ἐπὶ...νώτου MW ὀπίσω ABE 252 παραταγῆς MW παρατάξεως ABE | ἡπαίτει Va ἡπέτει
MW ἀπήτει ABE | κατὰ χώραν MW ἐν τῷ ἀρμόζοντι τόπῳ ABE scr. mg. ἡγουν εἰς τον τόπον
αὐτ<ῆς> W

titles. We have taken the material about this and about their deployment and formation from that which the ancient tactical authors and the more recent ones up to our own time have transmitted.¹²

58. The ancients were fortunate enough to have large numbers of men in their armies, especially those once called hoplites and now called skoutatoi. Actually, nobody even knows those terms because of the grave neglect of the study and practice of tactics. Those authorities formed the tagmata of heavy infantry from sixteen files, 256 men, that is, each file of sixteen men making up a foursquare body of troops. Among those the phalanx of foot soldiers is numbered at 4,096; it was also called a strategia and was commanded by a general.

59. The ancient writers formed the complete battle line of 64 tagmata or 1,024 files, for a force of 16,384 men, in addition to 8,192 light-armed troops, such as archers, javelin throwers, and slingers. They assigned half of the light infantry to the formation of the heavy infantry, <once> called hoplites or skoutatoi. The horsemen lined up in formation with them or mixed in with the infantry formation came to 4,096 cavalry. The leader of these was called general.

60. This is how they divided the units. They stationed the heavy infantry companies in a forward position as a first line of battle against the enemy, and they divided this into four equal divisions, right, left, right center, left center.

61. They stationed the light infantry companies off by themselves, because they were lightly armed and fast, either out in front to pursue the enemy or on the flanks or to the rear of the first battle line or wherever need dictated. We will speak about these in the proper place.

12. Especially Aelian and Arrian.

62. Τοὺς δὲ καβαλλάρους εἰς δύο μέρη διελόντες κατὰ τὰ πλάγια τῆς τῶν πεζῶν παρατάξεως ἔταττον | βοηθοὺς καὶ ὀξέως ἐπιτιθεμένους τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

255 63. Ἵνα οὖν μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγω ἐπὶ λεπτῶ τῶν τε λόχων καὶ τῶν τάξεων καὶ τῶν ἐφισταμένων αὐτοῖς τότε ἀρχόντων τὰς ὀνομασίας διὰ τὴν νῦν αὐτῶν ἀχρηστίαν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις σχεδὸν πού αὐτῶν ἀσάφειάν τε καὶ ἀκαταληψίαν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀκαίρως δαπανῶμεν τὸν καιρὸν, τῶν ἀναγκαι-
260 οτέρων ὡς σαφεστέρων καὶ συντομωτέρων ἐπιλήψομαι. ἐκεῖνα μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ τε τῶν καβαλλάρων διατάγματα καὶ τὰ τῶν πεζῶν, πλήθους ἦν στρα-
τιᾶς, ὥστε καὶ τοσοῦτους καὶ γενναίους κατ' ἀνδρείαν εὐρίσκεσθαι στρατιώτας.

64. Νῦν δέ, ὦ στρατηγέ, εὐαριθμήτων ὄντων καὶ μηδὲ ἴσον ἔχόντων τὸ μέτρον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἔλαττον, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχερὲς ὀρίσαι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ τάγματος οὔτε ἐν τοῖς καβαλλάριοις οὔτε ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς, ἵνα μή, ὡς εἰκός, ἢ <οἱ>
265 περιττεύοντες τοῦ ποσοῦ τῶν σνς' ἀνδρῶν ἀργήσωσιν ἢ πάλιν, ἐὰν ἀκαίρως ἄλλοις τάγμασι προστεθῶσιν, ὡς ἄτακτοι ἀνωφελεῖς εὐρεθῶσιν.

65. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τάγματα ποιεῖν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἀπαντήσῃ ἡ τοῦ πλήθους χρεία καὶ τὸ ποσὸν τῶν προσόντων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν εὐρισκομένου λαοῦ· καὶ βάνδον ἔχειν ἴδιον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ
270 ἄρχοντα ἥτοι κόμητα γενναῖον καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα μάχεσθαι δυνάμενον.

66. Τὰς μέντοι ἀκίας ἑκάστου τάγματος τῶν πεζῶν παραφυλάττειν ἀπὸ δεκαῆς ἀνδρῶν ὀρδινεῦσθαι εἰς τὸν τῆς μάχης κάματον, τὴν δὲ παρατάξιν πρὸς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ εὐρισκομένου στρατοῦ ποιεῖν.

253 διελόντες W ἐλόντες M διαχωρίζοντες ABE 255 λέγω...λεπτῶ ABE λέγων ἐπιλεπτῶ MW | λόχων...τῶν² WABE λόχων τε καὶ M scr. mg. τῶν ὀρδινων W 255-256 καὶ... ἀρχόντων MWA om. BE 256 ἐφισταμένων WABE ἀφισταμένων M 256-257 τὴν... ἀχρηστίαν MW τὸ ἀχρηστα εἶναι αὐτὰ νῦν ABE scr. mg. το εἶναι νῦν ἀνεπύργητον W 257-259 παρὰ...ἐπιλήψομαι MW μὴ δὲ παρὰ τινος τῶν στρατευομένων γινώσκεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαϊότερα καὶ σαφέστερα καὶ συντομώτερα λέξω ABE 257 ad ἀσάφειάν scr. mg. ηγουν δια το ἀδιαγνωστον W 259 ad σαφεστέρων scr. mg. ηγουν ἐκεῖνα ὡς γνωριμώτερα λεγειν W 259-260 ὡς ἔοικε MW om. ABE scr. mg. ὡς φαίνεται W 260-261 στρατιᾶς BE στρατείας MWA 261 κατ' MWAE κατὰ B 262 εὐαριθμήτων MW ὀλίγων ABE scr. mg. ὀλιγων W 263 μᾶλλον...καὶ MW ἀλλὰ καὶ A ἀλλὰ BE | εὐχερὲς MW εὐκολον ABE 264 ad εἰκός scr. mg. ὡς ἐστὶν ἐνδεχομενον W | οἱ ci. Va om. codd. 265 περιττεύοντες MW περισσεύοντες ABE | ἀργήσωσιν MWAE ἀρχήσωσιν B | ἀκαίρως MW om. ABE 266 ὡς... εὐρεθῶσιν MW ἀκαίρως ἀνωφελεῖς εὐρεθῶσιν ὡς ἄτακτοι ABE 268 τὸ ποσὸν MW ἡ ποσότης ABE 269 τὸν MWA om. BE 270 κατὰ χεῖρα MW ἀπὸ χειρὸς ABE 271 μάχεσθαι δυνάμενον MW trsp. ABE 272 παραφυλάττειν MW om. ABE 273 δεκαῆς MW ις' ABE | ὀρδινεῦσθαι MW ὀρδινεῦειν ABE 274 μέτρον MW μέρος ABE

62. They divided the cavalry into two groups and stationed them along the flanks of the infantry line to support it and to launch rapid attacks against the enemy.

63. Now then, in order that I may not have to discuss in detail the nomenclature formerly in use for the files and the formations and the officers who were placed over them, because they are not in use today and practically nobody serving in the armed forces has any clear understanding of them, and in order not to waste time inopportunately, I will touch upon the other essential matters very clearly and succinctly. For, so it seems, those companies of cavalry and infantry existed when the armies were large and the soldiers proved to be numerous, noble, and brave.

64. But now, O general, if our units are small and not even equal in strength, indeed much less, it is not easy to fix a definite number for a tagma, whether among the cavalry or among the infantry—it could end up with a number of men in excess of 256 having nothing to do or, if inappropriately assigned to serve in other tagmata, they might turn out to be disoriented and useless.

65. It is better to form the companies for each unit in accord with the needs of the army and the manpower at hand, depending, of course, on the capabilities of the troops available at that time. Each unit should have its own standard and officer or count, a noble man of sound judgment, brave, and good at hand-to-hand fighting.

66. Make sure that the files of each infantry tagma are sixteen deep, with the men organized according to their duties in combat. Form the battle line in proportion to the numerical strength of the army as it is found there.

- 275 67. Ταύτην δὲ εἰς τέσσαρα ἴσα μέρη διανέμειν, ἐξ ὧσιν ἀπαντήσῃ ταγμάτων
καὶ ἀκίων, ὡς εἴρηται μοι καὶ ἄνωθεν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς δεξιὸν οὐ ἄρχει ὁ δεξιὸς
μεράρχης ἥτοι στρατηλάτης ὃν τουρμάρχην καλοῦμεν, εἰς ἀριστερὸν οὐ ἄρχει ὁ
εὐώνυμος τουρμάρχης, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἕτερα δύο μέσα μέρη ὁμοίως, ἐν οἷς ἴσταται
καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ βάνδον.
- 280 68. Δέον δὲ ἔστιν ἐκ περισσοῦ τῆς παρατάξεως φυλάττειν ὀλίγους καὶ
σκουτάτους καὶ ψιλοὺς ἐν ὑποβοηθείᾳ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἔχειν ἴδιον ἢ παρά σου τότε
καθιστάμενον ἵνα, ἐὰν χρεία γένηται, εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς παραταγῆς ἔξωθεν τῶν
καβαλλαρίων ἢ εἰς τὰς ἀμάξας ἢ εἰς ἑτέρους τόπους μετὰ τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτῶν
ἀρχόντων συντρέχοντες βοηθῶσιν.
- 285 69. Χρὴ δέ, ἐὰν ὀλιγώτερός ἐστιν ὁ στρατὸς τῶν | κδ' χιλιάδων πεζῶν, μὴ 294
ποιεῖν δ' μέρη τὴν παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ γ', ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δὲ μέρει τάσσεσθαι τὸ τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ βάνδον, ᾧ καὶ πείθεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ βάνδα ὀφείλουσιν.
70. Πρότερον δὲ χωρίσεις εἰς ψιλοὺς τοὺς εἰδότας τοξεῦσαι ἢ καὶ μαθεῖν
δυναμένους, καὶ γοργοὺς καὶ νεωτέρους, ἱκανοὺς πηδᾶν ὅπου βούλονται. ἐὰν
290 μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰς κδ' χιλιάδας εἰσὶ τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος, εἰ δὲ ὀλιγώτερος τῶν κδ' χιλιά-
δων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἀριθμῷ καὶ τότε ὀρδινεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς, ὡς που
καὶ ἄνωτέρω εἵπομεν, εἰς δεκαρχίας καὶ ἐπιστῆναι αὐτοῖς δεκάρχας χρησίμους
καὶ ἄρχοντα ἓνα, τὸν λεγόμενον ἀρχισαγιττάτωρα ἡγουν ἀρχιτοξότην.
71. Τὸ δὲ μένον δίμοιρον μέρος ἢ ἥμισυ διανεῖμαι εἰς ἀκίας ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ιη',
295 παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων. ἀκία δὲ λέγονται, ὡς μοι εἴρηται, τὰ λεγόμενα κοντου-
βέρνια. καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο αὐτῶν, τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους ἥτοι τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ις',
εἰς τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας, ὡς εἰκός, χρείας ἀσχολεῖσθαι, τοὺς δεκαεξὶ δὲ

67. Divide this line composed of all the tagmata and files present into four
equal units, as I mentioned above, that is, right under the command of the right
merarch or stratelates, whom we refer to as tourmarch, left under the command
of the left tourmarch, and likewise for the other two middle divisions, in which
the standard of the general is flown.
68. A few soldiers, both heavy and light infantry, not really needed in the
battle line, with their own officer or one to be designated by you at the time,
should be held in reserve so that, if it becomes necessary, together with their
own officers, they may hasten to the support of either of the flanks on the line
beyond the cavalry or the wagons or other places.
69. If the army consists of less than twenty-four thousand foot soldiers, you
must not form the battle line into four divisions but into three. In the center
meros raise the general's standard, which the others should use as a guide.
70. First, for the light-armed troops, you should select men who know how
to shoot with a bow or who are able to learn, young and vigorous men, capable
of leaping wherever they wish. If there are more than twenty-four thousand
men, the archers should be half in each company; if fewer than twenty-four
thousand, then a third. They should be organized, as we mentioned someplace
above, into dekarchies with competent dekarchs placed over them and one
commander known as the chief archer or chief bowman.
71. Divide the remaining half or two thirds into files of eighteen men, both
veterans and recruits. Files, as I have said, are also called squads. Two of those
men, somewhat less qualified, that is, in addition to the other sixteen, should be
assigned to the wagons or to other tasks as needed. Have the remaining sixteen

275 εἰς τέσσαρα MWAB δ' E | διανέμειν MW διαχωρίζειν ABE scr. mg. διαμερίζειν W |
ἀπαντήσῃ MW ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ ABE 276 ὡς... ἄνωθεν MW καθὼς ἄνωτέρω εἴρηται ABE
278 δύο μέσα MW μέσα δύο AB μέσα β' E 280 ad δέον scr. mg. ἀρμόζον W | δέ MWA om.
BE 281 καὶ² MW om. ABE | ἔχειν MW ἔχοντα ABE 282 παραταγῆς MW παρατάξεως
ABE 283 ἰδικῶν MW ἰδίων ABE 284 συντρέχοντες βοηθῶσιν MWAB συντρέχοντος
βοηθῶσι E 285 ἔστιν MWA ὑπάρχη BE 286 δ' MW τέσσαρα ABE | γ' MWBE τρία A
287 ᾧ MW ᾧτινι ABE 288-290 πρότερον... μέρος MW ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τὰς κδ' χιλιάδας
εἰσὶν (ᾧσιν BE) οἱ στρατεύόμενοι τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος χωρίσεις εἰς ψιλοὺς τοὺς εἰδότας τοξεῦσαι ἢ
καὶ μαθεῖν δυναμένους γοργοὺς καὶ νεωτέρους ἱκανοὺς πηδᾶν ὅπου βούλονται ABE
290-291 χιλιάδων MW χιλιάδων εἰσὶν A χιλιάδων εἰσὶ BE 291-292 ὡς... εἵπομεν MW
om. ABE 293 ἄρχοντα MWA ἄρχοντας BE 294 μένον MW ὑπολιμπανόμενον ABE | ἢ
ABE om. MW | διανεῖμαι MW διαμερίσαι ABE | ἀπὸ MWA om. BE 295 τε ABE om. MW |
ὡς... εἴρηται MW om. ABE 295-296 κοντουβέρνια MAE κοντουβέρνια W κοντουβέρνια
B 296 δύο MWAB β' E | ἥτοι... ις' MW ἐκάστης ἀκίας ABE 297 ὡς εἰκός MW om. ABE
| δεκαεξὶ MWBE δὲ ις' A 297-298 δὲ στῆναι MW ἵστασθαι ABE

στῆναι ἐν τῇ παρατάξει καὶ ἐπιστῆναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς λοχαγοὺς λεγομένους, γενναίους καὶ χρησίμους.

300 72. Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν ις' <τοὺς> χρησιμωτέρους ὁκτώ ἔμπροσθεν ἢ ὀπισθεν τῆς ἀκίας ἦτοι τοῦ λόχου καταστῆναι—τὴν γὰρ τῶν ις' ἀνδρῶν ἀκίαν λόχον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί—στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον τόπον καὶ εἰς τὸν δεύτερον καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίτον καὶ εἰς τὸν τέταρτον καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑξκαιδέκατον καὶ εἰς τὸν πεντεκαιδέκατον καὶ εἰς τὸν τεσσαρισκαιδέκατον καὶ εἰς τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον, 305 ἵνα καὶ μέχρι τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν μεριζομένου τοῦ βάθους ἦτοι τοῦ πάχους τῆς ἀκίας ἐν δυνάμει ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ μέτωπον. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς, τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῆς τάξει.

73. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς ις' ὀνομάσαι ἕνα παρ' ἕνα ἀπὸ πρίμων καὶ σεκούνδων ἦτοι πρωτοστατῶν καὶ ἐπιστατῶν. τοὺς δὲ δύο ἐν αὐτοῖς διωνύμους εἶναι, καὶ 310 τὸν μὲν πρῶτον καλεῖσθαι λοχαγὸν καὶ πρίμον ἡγουν πρωτοστάτην, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον δεκάρχην καὶ σεκοῦνδον ἡγουν ἐπιστάτην, καὶ ἐξῆς ὁμοίως ὥστε εἶναι τὸν ὅλον στίχον ἐκ πρωτοστατῶν καὶ ἐπιστατῶν συγκεείμενος.

74. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι εὐχερῶς δύνανται καὶ ἀρμοδίως συνδιάγειν ἀλλήλοις, κάλλιον ἐστὶ μάλλον τούτους εἰς δύο μόνα κοντουβέρνια γίνεσθαι, ἵνα οἱ 315 μὲν πρίμοι ἡγουν οἱ πρωτοστάται εἰσὶ μετὰ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, οἱ δὲ σεκοῦνδοι ἡγουν ἐπιστάται μετὰ τοῦ δεκάρχου· οὕτω μέντοι ὥστε, κἂν ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ | διήρηνται, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν τῇ τάξει ἡνωμένοι ὄντες, οἱ δεκαεὶς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ γνώμῃ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πείθονται· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ ἡ τάξις φυλάττεται καὶ εὐκόλως ἄρχεσθαι δύνανται.

300 ις' MABE δεκαεὶς W | τοὺς ci. Va om. codd. 301 τῆς... ἦτοι MW om. ABE | ad λόχου scr. mg. του ορδινου W 302 αὐτοὺς MABE αὐτοῖς W 303 ἑξκαιδέκατον AE ις' B ἐνκαιδέκατον MW 304 τεσσαρισκαιδέκατον MWAE ιδ' B 304-305 τρισκαιδέκατον MWAE ιγ' B 305 μέχρι MWAB μέχρι τῶν E 306 ἐστὶ καὶ MA ἐστὶν καὶ W ὑπάρχη BE 308 ις' MWBE δεκαεὶς A 309 δύο MWAB β' E | διωνύμους εἶναι MW ἀπὸ δύο (β' BE) ἔχειν ὀνομάτων ABE 310 πρίμον ἡγουν MW om. ABE 311 σεκοῦνδον ἡγουν MW om. ABE | καὶ... ὁμοίως MW om. ABE 313 εὐχερῶς MW εὐκόλως ABE | δύνανται MWA δύνωνται BE | ἀρμοδίως MW ἀρμοζόντως ABE 314 ἐστὶ MAB ἐστὶν WE | δύο μόνα MWA β' μόνα τούτους B β' μόνα E | κοντουβέρνια AE κοντουβέρνια MW κοντουβέρνια B 315 πρίμοι... οἱ! MW om. ABE | εἰσὶ MW ὥσι ABE | τοῦ MWAE om. B | σεκοῦνδοι ἡγουν MW om. ABE 316 οὕτω... ὥστε MW om. ABE | κἂν MW κἂν γὰρ ABE | διήρηνται Va διείρηνται MW διηρημένοι εἰσὶν AB διαιρημένοι εἰσὶν E scr. mg. ηγουν καν εν τη συναναστροφῇ διακεχωρισμενοι ωσιν W 317 τάξει MW παρατάξει ABE | δεκαεὶς MAE ις' WB | καὶ MWBE καὶ τῇ A 318 φυλάττεται MWA φυλάσσεται BE 319 δύνανται MWA δύνωνται BE

take their place in the battle line and appoint courageous and competent men, called group leaders, over them.

72. Of these sixteen, station the eight most competent in the front and in the rear of the file or lochos—the ancients called the file of sixteen men a lochos¹³—station them in positions one, two, three, four; and sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen. In this way, even if the depth or thickness of the file is reduced to four, its front and rear will still be strong. Line up the remaining men, the weaker ones, in the middle of the file.

73. Designate these sixteen men one by one as primoi or sekoundoi or protostatai and epistatai. Two should bear a double designation, that is, call the first one leader and primos or protostates, call the second dekarch and sekundos or epistates. Likewise, in due order, the whole row will be made up of protostatai or epistatai.

74. To make it easier to command them and get them to operate more harmoniously with one another, it is really better to arrange them in two squads. The primoi or protostatai go with the group leader and the sekoundoi or epistatai with the dekarch. In this manner, even though they are separated by this arrangement, still these sixteen soldiers are united in formation and are subject to the decisions and will of the group leader. As a result, good order is maintained and the men can be easily commanded.

13. "Lochos" originally meant an ambush, a group of bandits. Their chief, "lochagos," is here translated as group leader.

320 75. Χρήσιμον δέ ἐστιν, ἐάν ἐστι δυνατόν, μὴ μόνον κατὰ ποιότητα ἡγουν
 εὐψυχίαν ὀρδινεῦν τοὺς ἰς' καθ' ἑκάστην ἀκίαν τῶν σκουτάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ
 ἡλικίαν, ἵνα οἱ μακρότεροι ἔμπροσθεν τασσόμενοι εὐτακτοτέραν τὴν παράταξιν
 ἀποδείξωσιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπαντὰ πρὸς ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν, πάντως, ὥς εἵπομεν,
 325 τοὺς εὐψυχοτέρους καὶ γενναιοτέρους ἑκάστης ἀκίας δέον ἐστὶν εἰς τοὺς
 ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν τόπους τάσσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρους εἰς τὸ μέσον
 αὐτῶν, καθ' ὃν εἰρήκαμεν τρόπον.

76. Ὡστε οὖν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀπὸ ἰς' ἀνδρῶν πεζῶν τὸ βάθος τῶν
 ἀκιῶν ἦτοι τῶν ὀρδίνων ὥρισαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἀρκοῦν
 ἐστὶν, ὅπερ ὑπερβαίνειν οὐ χρή. καὶ ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖς εὐτάκτως καὶ συντόμως
 330 μερίζεται καὶ λεπτύνεται μέχρις ἑνὸς ἀνδρός. τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ
 στρατοῦ διαιρέσεως τε καὶ καταστάσεως καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένων ἀρχόν-
 των μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων διωρισάμεθα. |

75. It is useful, when possible, to arrange the sixteen men in each file of
 heavy infantry not only according to their qualifications and good attitudes but
 also according to stature. By stationing the taller men in front, the whole battle
 line will look much better ordered. But if it cannot be done according to stature
 and bravery, then certainly it is necessary, as we have said, to station the more
 motivated and valiant men of each file in the front and rear positions, with the
 weaker ones in the middle, in the manner we have sketched.

76. For this reason, therefore, the ancients fixed the depth of the infantry
 files or rows in combat at sixteen men. This provides an adequate number of
 troops that should not be exceeded, and in emergencies it can be divided
 quickly and in an orderly fashion and reduced to only one man. These,
 therefore, are what we have determined concerning the division of the army and
 the assignment of both higher and lower ranking officers to be lined up with it.

320 ἐστὶ δυνατόν MW ἐνδέχεται ABE 320-321 ποιότητα...εὐψυχίαν MW ἀνδρίαν ABE
 scr. mg. ευτολμῖαν W 321 καθ'...σκουτάτων MW om. ABE | ἀκίαν WABE ἀκιῶν M
 322 εὐτακτοτέραν Va εὐτακτωτέραν MW (corr. ω in ο W) φοβερωτέραν AE φοβεροτέραν B
 323 ἀπαντὰ πρὸς MW ἐνδέχεται καὶ κατὰ ABE | καὶ ἀνδρείαν MW καὶ κατὰ ἀνδρίαν
 τούτους τάσσεσθαι ABE 324 εὐψυχοτέρους MW προθυμοτέρους ABE | δέον ἐστὶν MW
 om. ABE 325 τάσσεσθαι MW om. ABE 326 εἰρήκαμεν τρόπον MW trsp. ABE
 327 ὥστε...τοῦτο MW διὰ τοῦτο δὲ ABE | ἰς' MABE δεκαεὶς W 327-328 τῶν...ἦτοι MW
 om. ABE 328 ὥρισαν MW ὥρισαντο ABE | ἐν...μάχαις MW om. ABE 329 ὑπερβαίνειν
 MWA βαίνειν BE | εὐτάκτως MWBE συμμέτρως A | καὶ συντόμως MW om. ABE
 331 τούτων M τούτω WBE τοῦτο A

Περὶ ὅπλων

About Weapons

1. Κελεύομεν τοίνυν τῇ ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητι τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους συντεινόντων ὅπλων τε καὶ ἀποσκευῶν πεζικῇ τε καὶ καβαλλαρικῇ στρατιᾷ φροντίσαι, 5 ὥστε ταῦτα διαμένειν ἀδιάληπτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατεπείγουσαν τῷ καιρῷ χρεῖαν ἔτοιμα, τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν—τὸ μὲν διὰ σου αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σε ἀρχόντων μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων—εἰς ὅπλισιν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ ὑπὸ τὸ σὸν θέμα μαχίμου στρατοῦ.

2. Οἷον τοξάρια μετὰ θηκαρίων αὐτῶν, σαγίττας μετὰ κουκούρων, σπαθία 10 ἡκονημένα καὶ σεσαμωμένα, σκουτάρια καὶ ἕτερα σκουτάρια μεγάλα, ἅπερ λέγονται θυρεοί, ἕτερα σκουταρίσκια τῶν πεζῶν τὰ ποτε λεγόμενα πέλται, ἕτερα σκουτάρια σιδηρᾶ, στρογγύλα, σεσαμωμένα, κοντάρια μικρά, ὀκτάπηχα—ἦσαν δὲ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Μακεδόσι κοντάρια ἄχρι πηχῶν δεκαῆξ ἅπερ ἡ 15 νῦν χρεῖα οὐ καλεῖ, τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν μεταχειριζομένων δύναμιν ὅπλον σύμμετρόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον—ρίκτάρια, τζικούρια καὶ ἕτερα τζικούρια ἀμφίστομα, ἐφ' ἓν μέρος οἰονεῖ σπαθίον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον οἶον ξίφος κονταρίου, μετὰ θηκαρίων αὐτῶν δερματίνων καὶ βασταγίων, παραμήρια, μαχαίρας μεγά-
λας μονοστόμους.

3. Λωρίκια μέχρι στραγάλου, ἀνασυρόμενα διὰ λωρίων καὶ κρικελλίων, μετὰ 20 τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν δερματίνων καί, εἰ δυνατόν, πάντα ἀλυσιδωτά, εἰ δὲ μήγε, τινὰ αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ κερατίνης ὕλης ἢ βουβαλείων καταξήρων δερμάτων· ἐπιλω-
ρικά ἱμάτια, κλιβάνια σιδηρᾶ ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὕλης, ὡς εἴρηται, κασσίδας τελείας,

M W A V (mut.) B E Va PG 107:717

9-30 Cf. *Strat.*, 1.2. 12-15 Cf. Anon. *Strat.*, 16.31-39.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MWA om. BE | ε' MWA om. BE 3 ὑμῶν MWAE ἡμῶν B 4 καὶ² MWBE καὶ τῇ A 5 τῷ καιρῷ MW τοῦ καιροῦ ABE 6 τοῦτο MWAB τοῦ E 9 θηκαρίων MWAE θηκάρια B 11 σκουταρίσκια MWA σκουτάρια BE 13 ἦσαν MWAB ἢ ἦσαν E | δεκαῆξ M δέκα καὶ ἐξ W ις' ABE 14 οὐ καλεῖ MW οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ ABE 15 ρίκτάρια MW ριπτάρια ABE | καὶ MWA om. BE 16 ἓν μέρος MWA ἐνὸς μέρους BE | σπαθίον ABE σπαθίου MW 17 μετὰ MWA μετὰ τῶν BE 19 στραγάλου MW ἀστραγάλου ABE 21 καὶ... ὕλης MW ἐκ κεράτων ABE | βουβαλείων Va βουβαλίων MW βουβαλικῶν ABE | καταξήρων δερμάτων MW trsp. ABE

1. Now then, we command Your Excellency to turn your attention to the weapons you must employ in war, as well as to the equipment for the infantry and the cavalry forces.¹ There should be a steady supply of them and they should be ready at hand for whatever pressing needs may arise. You are to see to the armament and service of the combat troops from your theme, some of it by yourself and some by your subordinate officers, higher and lower in rank.

2. Such are bows with their carrying cases, arrows with their quivers, swords sharpened and brightly shining, regular shields as well as the larger ones called thyreoi, other small shields, formerly called peltasts, for the foot soldiers, other shields of iron, round and well polished. <They should have> small spears eight pecheis long. At one time, though, the Romans and the Macedonians had spears up to sixteen pecheis long, but those are not called for in the present circumstances.² A weapon is appropriate and serviceable if it matches the strength of the person who is to wield it. Also small throwing spears, regular axes as well as double-bladed axes, like a sword on one side and like the point of a spear on the other, together with their leather carrying cases and other packs. Daggers. Large, single-bladed swords.

3. Body armor down to the ankles that can be caught up with straps and rings, as well as leather carrying cases for them. If possible, the armor should be made completely of chain mail, but if not, some of it may be of horn or dry cowhide. Surcoats over the armor. Breastplates of iron or of some other material, as mentioned. Full helmets, foot coverings, and gauntlets of iron or some other

1. See also *Strat.* 1.2. On weapons and armament, see T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna, 1988).

2. Eight pecheis is about 3.74 m; sixteen comes to 7.48 m. Cf. also Anon. *Strat.*, 16.

ποδόψελλα, χειρόψελλα σιδηρά ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὕλης, διὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας
 περιτραχήλια ἀλυσιδωτὰ σιδηρά, ἐνδεδυσμένα ἔσωθεν ἀπὸ κεντούκλου καὶ
 25 ἔξωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ ῥινοῦ, νευρικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ κεντούκλων διπλῶν γινόμενα καὶ αὐτὰ
 ἀντὶ λωρικών τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσι σιδηρᾶ, κέντουκλα φαρδέα, ἐνδύοντα τὸν στρατι-
 ώτην μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, σωληνάρια μετὰ μικρῶν σαγιττῶν καὶ κουκούρων αὐτῶν,
 σφενδόβολα, σελλοπούγγια μεγάλα, πυρέκβολα καὶ ἴσκα, λωρόσοκκα, πέδη-
 κλα σεληναῖα σιδηρᾶ μετὰ καρφίων αὐτῶν, ῥινία, σουβλία, προμετώπια | ἵππων,
 30 στηθάρια ἵππων ἢ σιδηρᾶ ἢ ἀπὸ κεντούκλων, περιτραχήλια ἵππων ὁμοίως.

4. Φλάμουλα μεγάλα, φλαμουλίσκια τῶν κονταρίων, βάνδα διαφόρως
 βεβαμμένα, βούκινα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα, δρέπανα, ἀξίνας, φαλκίδια, πελέκια,
 σκέπαρνα, τριβόλους ἀναδεδεμένους σφηκώμασι δεδεμένοις εἰς ἦλους τελείους.

5. Ἀμάξας εὐσταεῖς, φερούσας ἐτοίμως τὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἰς χρεῖαν ἀποσκευ-
 35 ἣν, οἷον τὰ τε εἰρημένα ἔργα, καὶ χειρομύλια καὶ πριόνια καὶ ὄρυγας καὶ σφύρας,
 πτυάρια, κοφίνους, κιλίκια, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς φοσσάτου ἔξωθεν φυλακὴν καὶ
 περιβολὴν ἐπινοηθεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ δι' ἐλαφροτέρας ὕλης μεμηχανημένον.

6. Ἐτέρας ἀμάξας ἔχουσας τοξοβολίστρας, μαγγανικά ἀλακάτια ἐκατέρωθεν
 στρεφόμενα, βαλισταρίους ἐμπείρους ἥτοι μαγγαναρίους λεπτοουργούς, χαλκεῖς
 40 μετὰ τῶν ἐργαλείων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρας ἀμάξας λόγῳ ἄρμαμέντου, ἐτέρας ἀμάξας
 τὰς φερούσας διατροφὰς καὶ τὰ ἐκ περισσοῦ ἄρματα, ὅσα ἡ χρεῖα καλεῖ, καὶ ἔτι
 ὑποζύγια καὶ ἵππους, σαγμάρια, σκευοφόρα καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὄρ-
 γανα, ὅσα ἡ συνήθεια τοῦ φοσσάτου παρακελεύεται.

7. Πρὸς δὲ πολιορκίας καὶ μαγγανικά διάφορα καὶ σκάλας ξυλίνας συστελ-
 45 λομένας καὶ ἕτερα μηχανικά ὄργανα, ὅσα ἐπινοήσεις.

42 ad πάντα inc. V

23 ποδόψελλα A ποδόψελα MW ποδοπέλλα BE | χειρόψελλα Va χειρόπελα MW om. ABE
 24 ἔσωθεν MW ἔσωθεν μὲν ABE | κεντούκλου ABE ἐρίου MW 25 δὲ ἀπὸ ABE om. MW |
 ῥινοῦ De λίνου codd. | κεντούκλων διπλῶν ABE κενδούκλων MW 26 κέντουκλα ABE
 κένδουκλα MW 28 πυρέκβολα MA παρέκβολα BE | ἴσκα MWA ἴσακας BE 29 σουβλία
 ABE σουγλία MW 30 ἢ σιδηρᾶ WABE om. M | κεντούκλων ABE κενδούκλων MW
 32 πελέκια MWAB πελέκας E 34 εὐσταεῖς MW ἐλαφρὰς ABE scr. mg. ἐλαφρας ευκολως
 συντιθεμενας W 35 χειρομύλια MW χειρόμυλα ABE | ὄρυγας MW ὀρύγια ABE
 37 ἐπινοηθεῖ MW ἐπινοηθῇ ABE 38 τοξοβολίστρας MW τοξοβαλλίστρας ABE | ἀλα-
 κάτια MW ἡλακάτια ABE 39 βαλισταρίους MW τοξοβαλλίστας ABE | ἥτοι MW om. ABE
 40 λόγῳ ABE λόγου MW 42 ad ὑποζύγια scr. mg. μουλικά W | σκευοφόρα MWA
 σκευοφόρια BE 42-43 ὄργανα MW ἔργα AVBE

material. Let those who do not have neck pieces of iron chain mail be protected
 by those made of quilted material on the inside and leather on the outside. Men
 who do not have iron body armor should have in its place an outer garment
 made of two layers of quilted material, broad quilting, that the soldier puts on
 with his weapons. Also arrow guides with short arrows and their quivers.³ Slings
 as well, large saddlebags, flint and tinder, lasso with thong, hobble, crescent-
 shaped iron horseshoes with their nails, small files and awls, armor for the heads
 of the horses, breastplates of iron or quilting for the horses, and similar cover-
 ings for their necks.

4. Large pennants, as well as smaller ones for the lances, flags in various
 colors, large and small trumpets, sickles, axes, scythes, hatchets, adzes, caltrops
 tied together with cords and hardened into very sharp points.

5. Light wagons ready to transport the essential equipment that will be
 needed, such as the items mentioned. Also hand mills, saws, picks, hammers,
 shovels, baskets, goatskin matting, and whatever else the commander might
 think of getting ready, using lighter materials, to protect the encampment and
 its perimeter from the outside.

6. Other wagons carrying bow ballistai, windlass artillery called alakatia that
 swivel in both directions, experienced artillery crews, that is, carpenters special-
 ized in artillery, and metal workers with their equipment.⁴ Some wagons for the
 field armory. Others will transport food as well as the extra weapons that might
 be needed. Pack animals, moreover, and horses, other beasts of burden to bear
 equipment and all the other implements that are usually required for an army
 on campaign.

7. Diverse machines for siege warfare, wooden ladders ready for action, and
 as many other mechanical devices as you will think of.

3. Wooden half-tubes (σωληνάρια), through which small arrows were shot. It is difficult to
 describe them more precisely. See Kolias, *Waffen*, 239-253; G. Dennis, "Flies, Mice, and the
 Byzantine Crossbow," *BMGS* 7 (1981): 1-5; D. Nishimura, "Crossbows, Arrow-guides, and the
Solenarion," *Byzantion* 58 (1988): 22-36.

4. See Dennis, "Byzantine Heavy Artillery."

8. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ποταμούς ἢ λίμνας καὶ ναυκέλλια ἤγουν πλοῖα μικρὰ ἢ ἀπὸ βυρσῶν κατασκευασμένα ἢ κατὰ φύσιν φροντίσεις δὲ καὶ ἐτοιμᾶσεις καὶ τὰς λεγομένας τέντας καὶ ἀτεγίας μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐξοπλίσεως, ἐν αἷς καὶ ὑετῶν καὶ καυμάτων, ὅτε χρεῖα, ἔξει ἐλευθερίαν.

50 9. Τοῖς δὲ ναυμάχοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ ναῦς παρασκευάζειν ἐξωπλισμένας, τὰς μὲν μαχίμους, τὰς δὲ ἵππαγωγούς, τὰς δὲ σκευοφόρους, ἅμα τῇ περὶ αὐτὰς ἀπάσῃ χρεῖῳδαι πανοπλία καὶ ἀποσκευῇ παρακελευόμεθα.

10. Τῶν δὲ ἀπηριθμημένων σοι παρασκευῶν ἀνωτέρω, τῶν καὶ ὀφειλόντων τινῶν μὲν παρά σου, τινῶν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σε ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατιωτῶν 55 πορίζεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔξεις εἰς ἀμυναν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν μαχομένων στρατιωτῶν, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην χρεῖαν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν.

11. Καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ὅπλων ἐπιμελήσῃ, ὥς ἂν διαφυλάττωνται πάντοτε λαμπρὰ καὶ τεθηγμένα πρὸς τὴν κατάπληξιν τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα πάντα | προεுτρεπίσεις, ἵνα ἐν ἐτοιμῇ εἰσὶν εἰς χρεῖαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς χεῖρας 297 60 ὀπλίζουσι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴ τὸν παρατάξεως καιρὸν παρασκευῆς καιρὸν ἀναγκάζῃ ποιεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἡμῖν παραλέλειπται διὰ λήθην ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλεις παρασκευάζειν. εἰ δέ τι πλεόν εἰς ὅπλων παρασκευῆν ἐπινοήσεις τῷ Θεῷ χάρις καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀγχινοῖα.

12. Πρὸ δὲ πάντων καὶ μετὰ πάντων φόβον Θεοῦ καὶ διάνοιαν ὀξεῖαν καὶ 65 σπουδαίαν γνῶμην ἐν παντὶ ἔχειν καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ καὶ πράγματι, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔτοιμον εἶναι παρακελευόμεθα.

8. If you come to rivers or lakes, you will take care to get ready the skiffs or small boats, constructed either of leather hides or of ordinary materials, as well as what we call tents and shelters with their equipment in which, when necessary, you will find relief from rain and heat.⁵

9. We command that those generals assigned to fighting at sea are to prepare fully armed ships, some for combat, others to transport horses, and others to transport equipment, together with all their required weaponry and equipment.⁶

10. Of all the preparatory tasks enumerated above some are to be carried out directly by you and others by the officers and soldiers under your command. You will see to weapons that ward off the enemy and others that protect the troops in battle, as well as those that cover their other needs and services.

11. Devote particular attention to the weapons needed in battle. Make sure that they are always maintained polished and sharpened, so as to terrify the enemy. You will prepare all these things beforehand so they will be ready for use by those who, because of their valor, engage the enemy in close combat. By so doing, you will not be forced to turn the time of taking battle stations into a time of preparation.⁷ The other matters that we may have omitted, out of forgetfulness, must necessarily be your responsibility. And if you think of something more regarding the preparation of weapons, thanks be to God and your own shrewdness.

12. We order you, above all and with all, to have the fear of God, a sharp mind, and serious intent in every time, place, and affair, as well as to be ready for every eventuality.

59–61 Cf. γ'.3–5.

47 κατασκευασμένα MWA κατασκευασμένα VBE | ἢ...φύσιν MWVBE om. A 48 τέντας MW τένδας AVBE | ἐν αἷς MW αἷτινες AVBE | ὑετῶν MW βροχὰς AVBE 49 καυμάτων... ἐλευθερίαν MW καύματα ἀπαντήσουσιν AVBE 50 ad ναυμάχοις scr. mg. τοῖς ἐν πλοίοις μαχομενοῖς W ad 50–51 τὰς μὲν scr. mg. πρὸς το μαχεσθαι επιτηδειας W 51 ad ἵππαγωγούς scr. mg. ἵππους φερουσ<ας> W | ad σκευοφόρους scr. mg. τα σκευη και τας χρειας φερουσας W 53 ἀπηριθμημένων MWA ἀπαριθμημένων VBE | ὀφειλόντων MW ὀφειλουσῶν AVBE 58 τεθηγμένα MW ἡκονημένα AVBE | τὴν MW om. AVBE 59 εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν VBE 59–60 τοῖς...πολεμίων MW τῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνιζομένων AVBE 60–61 παρατάξεως...καιρὸν MW καιρὸν τῆς παρατάξεως καιρὸν ἐτοιμασίας καὶ παρασκευῆς A καιρὸν ἐτοιμασίας καὶ παρασκευῆς VBE 61 ταῦτα MWAVE ταῦτας B | ἄλλα MW om. AVBE 61–62 παραλέλειπται...λήθην MW trsp. AVBE 63 ἀγχινοῖα MW φρονήσῃ AVBE scr. mg. ὀξύτητι τῆς διανοιας W 64 πάντων¹ MWVBE πάντα A | πάντων² MW πάντα AVBE | θεοῦ MW θεοῦ ἔχειν AVBE 65 ἔχειν MW om. AVBE

5. Tent: generally written as τέντα in MW, and in modern Greek, instead of the variant τένδα. The *Suda* (T 307) defines it as οἰκία ἐκ λίνων, “a house [made] of linen.”

6. See Const. 19 on naval warfare.

7. Cf. Const. 3, n. 1.

13. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευῆς, ὧ στρατηγέ, καθόσον ἡμῖν
 τέως ἐχωρήγησεν ἡ μνήμη, ὑπεθέμεθα τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι· ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ μὲν
 πεζικῆς καὶ συμμίκτου τάξεως ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. νῦν δὲ ὅπως ὀπλίσης τὸν
 70 καθένα ἄνδρα καβαλλάριον στρατιώτην ἐν τε ταῖς γυμνασίαις καὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐν
 καιρῷ πολέμου, καὶ ὅποια κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον εἶδη φέρειν παρασκευάσεις ἤδη
 ἐροῦμεν.

13. Therefore, O general, we have set before Your Excellency everything that
 our memory has provided for us about the preparation of weapons. Subsequent-
 ly, we will treat of infantry and mixed formations. But for now we shall speak
 about how you are to arm each mounted soldier, both for drill and, ultimately,
 for time of battle, and the necessary equipment you should prepare for them to
 carry.

67 στρατηγέ MW στρατηγέ ὑπερεθέμεθα τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι AVBE 68 ἐχωρήγησεν...
 μνήμη MW trsp. AVBE | τῇ...ἐνδοξότητι MW om. AVBE 69 τάξεως MWA παρατάξεως
 VBE 69-70 τὸν καθένα MW ἕκαστον AVBE 70 τέλειον MAVBE τέλεον W
 71-72 παρασκευάσεις...ἐροῦμεν MWA om. VBE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Σ'

Περὶ ὀπλίσεως καβαλλαρίων καὶ πεζῶν

1. Δεῖ τοίνυν ὀπλισθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια <ἐν> τῷ καιρῷ εἴτε παραχειμαδίου εἴτε φοσσάτου παρασκευ-
5 ἄζεσθαι, τὰ πρὸς <τὰς> ἀναγκαίης χρείας τῆς ἐκστρατείας, καὶ ἔχειν <αὐτὰ> πάντας ἀναλόγως ἀρχοντάς τε καὶ ἀρχομένους, πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου ποιότητά τε καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρχοντας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τε τουρμάρχου καὶ μέχρι

κεντάρχου καὶ τετράρχου καὶ κατεξαίρετον σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σε προέλευσιν.
2. Ἐχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς δεῖν τὸν καθένα ἄνδρα ὅπλισιν τοιαύτην· ζάβας τελείας
10 μέχρι τοῦ ἀστραγάλου, ἀνασυρομένας δὲ διὰ λωρίων καὶ κρικελλίων, μετὰ τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κασσίδας σιδηρᾶς, στιλπνάς, διὰ παντὸς ἐχούσας ἄνωθεν εἰς τὰς κορυφὰς τουφία μικρά. τοξάρια δὲ ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτήν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπαλώτερα, ἔχοντα θηκάρια πλατέα, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ δυνατόν ἐστι τεταμένα χωρεῖν τὰ τοξάρια ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κόρδας
15 ἐκ περισσοῦ ἐν τοῖς πουργίοις αὐτῶν, κούκουρα μετὰ σαγιττῶν καὶ | σκεπασμά-
των αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια, χωροῦντα ἀπὸ λ' ἢ μ' σαγιττῶν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοξοζωνίοις ῥινία καὶ σουβλία. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κοντάρια καβαλλαρικὰ μικρά, ἔχοντα λωρία κατὰ τὸ μέσον, μετὰ φλαμούλων. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ σπαθία ἀποκρεμάμενα τῶν ὤμων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τάξιν, καὶ ἕτερα παραμήρια ἥτοι μαχαίρας διεζωσμέ-

20 νους.

M W A V B E Va PG 107:721

1-95 *Strat.*, 1.2.

1 διαταξίς MWA τάξις VBE | ζ' MWVBE ἔκτη A 3 αὐτῶν MWVBE om. A 4 ἐν ci. Va om. codd. 5 τὰς ci. Va om. codd. | ἐκστρατείας MWA ἐγκρατείας VBE 5-6 αὐτὰ πάντας Va ἅπαντας codd. 9 αὐτοὺς MW om. AVBE | καθένα MW ἕκαστον AVBE 10 δὲ MW om. AVBE 11 στιλπνάς MW λαμπράς A καὶ λαμπράς VBE | διὰ παντὸς MW om. AVBE 14 ἐστι MA ἐστὶν W ἢ VBE | τεταμένα AVE τεταγμένα MBW | αὐτοῖς AVBE ἑαυτοῖς MW 16 ἐπιτήδεια MWA ἐπιτηδείων VBE | λ' MWVBE τριάκοντα A | μ' MW τεσσαράκοντα AVBE 17 σουβλία AVBE σουγλία MW | δὲ MWA τε VBE | καβαλλαρικὰ μικρά MWA trsp. VBE

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION VI

About Armament for the Cavalry and the Infantry

1. Now then, it is necessary for the soldiers to receive their armament from their own officers.¹ While in winter quarters or in camp they are to be provided with the proper equipment they will need on campaign. All the soldiers, both officers and enlisted men, should have equipment corresponding to their rank and strength, particularly the officers from tourmarch to kentarch and tetrarch, with special attention to yourself and the troops marching along with you.

2. Each man should have the following armament. Full coats of mail reaching to their ankles, fastened with thongs and rings, along with their carrying cases. They should also have iron helmets, polished and always with small plumes on their crests. Each man should have a bow suited to his own strength and not above it, more indeed on the weaker side, and cases broad enough so that, when necessary, the strung bows can fit in them. They should also have spare bow strings in their saddle bags, suitable quivers, too, with their covers, holding about thirty or forty arrows. Small files and awls in their baldrics. They should also have short cavalry lances with small thongs in the middle of the shaft and with pennons. In addition, they should have swords hanging from their shoulders, in the Roman manner, as well as daggers or large knives on their belts.²

1. Cf. *Strat.* 1.2. On weaponry, see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*.

2. Kolias, 133-160. In the 'Roman manner' the soldier carried his sword on his left side.

3. Ὅσοι δὲ μὴ οἶδασι τοξεύειν νεώτεροι, ἐχέτωσαν κοντάρια μετὰ σκουταρίων τελείων· εἰ δὲ καὶ χειρομάνικα σιδηρᾶ, ἃ λέγεται χειρόψελλα, τινὲς κτήσονται, λίαν χρησίμον. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ μικρὰ τουφία κατὰ τῶν ὀπισθελλινῶν τῶν ἵππων καὶ φλάμουλα μικρὰ ἐπάνω τῶν ζαβῶν κατὰ τῶν ὤμων. ὅσον γὰρ ἐστὶν
25 εὐσχημος ἐν τῇ ὀπλίσει αὐτοῦ ὁ στρατιώτης, τοσοῦτον καὶ αὐτῷ προθυμία προσγίνεται καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δειλία.

4. Εἰ δυνατόν δὲ καὶ θώρακας ἔχειν, οἵτινες καλοῦνται νῦν κλιβάνια, καὶ αὐτὰ στιλπνὰ καὶ λαμπρά· καὶ περικνημίδας, ἅτινα λέγεται νῦν ποδόψελλα, καὶ πτερνιστήρας ἐνίοτε. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ἐπιλώρικα, ὅτε χρεια, ἐπενδύμενα.

30 5. Πάντας δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους Ῥωμαίους ἄχρι μ' ἐτῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι, εἴτε κατὰ λόγον οἶδασι τοξεύσαι, εἴτε καὶ μετρίως, τοῦ πάντως τοξοφάρετρα φορεῖν. τῆς γὰρ τοξείας παντελῶς ἀμεληθείσης καὶ διαπεσούσης ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πολλὰ νῦν εἴωθε σφάλματα γίνεσθαι.

6. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ κοντάρια δύο, ἵνα τοῦ ἐνός, ὡς εἰκός, ἀστοχοῦντος ἔχη τὸ
35 ἄλλο εἰς χρήσιν. τοὺς δὲ ἀπειροτέρους ἀπαλότερα ἔχειν τοξάρια· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδασι τοξεύειν, τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπιτηδεύουσι μαθεῖν, ὅπερ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν.

7. Εἰ δὲ δυνατόν, καὶ ἀκόντια ἥτοι ρικτάρια ἔχειν ἕως δύο, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἀκοντίσοι προχείρως κατὰ τοῦ πολεμίου, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἵππεά στρατιώτην οὕτως ὀπλίσεις.

40 8. Τοὺς δὲ ἵππους καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιλέκτων προμετώπια ἔχειν καὶ στηθάρια ἢ σιδηρᾶ ἢ ἀπὸ κεντούκλων, οἷον νευρικά. καὶ σκέπεσθαι τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους αὐτῶν, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τὰς κοιλίας διὰ μικρῶν ἀποκρεμασμάτων ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἀφελέτρων τῆς σέλλας. μεγάλων γὰρ ταῦτα κινδύνων πολλάκις τοὺς ἵππους διασώζουσι, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπ'

22 λέγεται MWA λέγονται VBE 22-23 τινὲς κτήσονται MW κτήσονται τινὰς AB κτήσονται τινὲς VE 23 λίαν MW πάνυ ἐστὶ A πάνυ ἐστὶν VBE | ὀπισθελλινῶν Va ὀπισθελλινῶν MW ὀπισθελλινῶν A ὀπισθεν λινῶν VBE 24 ζαβῶν MW λωρικῶν AVBE 25 εὐσχημος MW εὐσχημος καὶ εὐστολος A εὐσχημος καὶ εὐοπλος VBE 27 καὶ¹ MWA om. VBE | θώρακας MWAB θώρακος VE 29 πτερνιστήρας MWA ὑπερνιστήρας B ὑπερνιστήρας VE | ἐνίοτε...δὲ MW πολλάκις δὲ ἔχειν AVBE | ὅτε...ἐπενδύμενα MW ἐπενδύμενα ὅτε χρεια A ἐπενδύμενα ὅτε χρεια γένηται VBE 30 μ' MW τεσσαράκοντα AVBE 31 κατὰ λόγον MWA κατ' ὀλίγον VBE 32 τὰ MW om. AVBE 33 εἴωθε MWVBE εἴωθεν A 34 δύο MWA β' VBE 35 ἄλλο MWAB ἄλλον VE 37 ρικτάρια W ρηκτάρια M ριπτάρια AVBE | δύο MWA β' VBE 38 ἀκοντίσοι MW ἀκοντίση AVBE | τοῦ πολεμίου MW τῶν πολεμίων AVBE | στρατιώτην MWAB στρατιῶν VE 41 κεντούκλων AVBE κεντούκλων MW 43 μικρῶν MWA μακρῶν VBE | ἀφελέτρων MWA ἀφελέτρας VBE 44 διασώζουσι MWVBE διασώζουσιν A

3. All the recruits who do not know how to shoot should have lances and full shields. It will be very useful if some can afford iron gauntlets, called cheiropsella. They should have small tassels on the hindquarters of the horses as well as small pennons over the armor around their shoulders. For the more handsome the soldier is in his armament, the more confidence he gains in himself and the more fear he inspires in the foe.

4. If possible, they should wear breastplates, polished and shiny, that are now called klibanía.³ Also greaves, now called podopsella, and sometimes spurs. Also surcoats to put on when needed.

5. All the Roman recruits, up to the age of forty, must definitely be required to carry bow and quiver, whether they be expert archers or just average. The fact that archery has been completely neglected and fallen into disuse among the Romans has caused a great deal of harm nowadays.

6. They should possess two lances so as to have a spare one at hand in case the first one misses. Inexperienced men should employ lighter bows. With enough time, even men who do not know how to shoot will manage to learn, for it is an essential skill.

7. If possible, they should also have at least two javelins or throwing weapons so that, at the proper moment, they may readily hurl them against the enemy. That is how you shall arm the cavalryman.

8. The horses, especially those of the officers and the other special troops, should have protective armor of iron or of padding, such as cow hide, over their heads and breasts. Their breasts and necks and, if possible, their abdomens will be covered by small pieces of what is called quilting, hanging from the saddles. These have often preserved the horses as well as those riding on them from great

3. Klibanion meant a baking oven and may well suggest how the soldier felt wearing such armor. But the etymology is not certain: see Kolias, 44-50.

45 αὐτῶν ὀχομένους. ταῦτα δὲ ἔχειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς προτασσομένους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

9. Καὶ αἱ σέλλαι δὲ ἐχέτωσαν ἐπισέλλια δασέα καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ χαλινάρια αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια ἔστωσαν καὶ ἰσχυρά.

10. Εἰς δὲ τὰς σέλλας τὰς δύο σιδηρᾶς σκάλας | καὶ λωρόσοκκον καὶ πέδι- 298 κλον καὶ σελλοπούγγιν, ἐν ᾧ καιροῦ καλοῦντος δυνατόν ἐστι κἂν τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν δαπάνην χωρῆσαι, καὶ τουφία δὲ εἰς τὰς ὀπισθελλίνας τέσσα- ρα, καὶ κορυφάδιν τοῦ ἵππου τουφίν καὶ ὑπὸ γένειον ὁμοίως.

11. Πάντως δὲ ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν καβαλλάριον στρατιώτην καὶ τζικούριν δί- στομον, τὸ ἐν στόμα τάξιν σπαθίου ἐπίμηκες καὶ τὸ ἕτερον τάξιν ξίφους κον- 55 ταρίου μακρὸν καὶ ὀξύ, ἀποκρεμάμενον μετὰ θηκαρίου δερματίνου ἐν τῇ σέλλᾳ.

12. Τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἴτε λινᾶ εἰσιν εἴτε ἐξ ἐρίου εἴτε ἐτέρας ὕλης, πλατέα δεῖ εἶναι, ἵνα ἐν τῷ καβαλλικεύει μὴ ἐμποδίζωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκέπωνται δι' αὐτῶν τὰ γόνατα αὐτῶν καὶ εὐσχημοὶ φαίνωνται.

13. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ κέντουκλα ἔχειν πλατέα πάνυ, ἔχοντα μανίκια πλατέα, ἵνα ἐν 60 τῷ ὀπλισθῇ αὐτοὺς καὶ φορεῖν τὰς ζάβας καὶ τὰ τοξάρια, ἑάν, ὥς εἰκός, συμβῇ βροχὴν γενέσθαι ἢ ὑγρότερον τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τῆς δρόσου, φοροῦντες αὐτὰ ἐπάνω τῶν ζαβῶν καὶ τῶν τοξαρίων φυλάττωσι τὸ ἄρμα αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐμποδί- ζονται, εἴτε τοῖς τοξαρίοις εἴτε τοῖς κονταρίοις αὐτῶν βουληθῶσι χρῆσασθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πῶς ἀναγκαῖα τὰ κέντουκλα ἐν ταῖς σκούλκαῖς ἡγουν ταῖς 65 βίγλαις· οὐ διαφαίνονται γὰρ μήκοθεν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἱ ζάβαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν σκεπό- μεναι, ἀντέχουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς βολὰς τῶν σαγιτῶν.

14. Προστάσσομεν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον κοντουβέρνιν καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἀξίνας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς χρείας.

49 δύο MWA β' VBE | λωρόσοκκον Meursis teste Va λωρόσοκκον MW λωρόσωκον A λωρόσοκα VBE 50 σελλοπούγγιν M σελοπούγγιν W σελλοπούγγιον AVBE | καιροῦ AVBE καιρῶ MW | ἐστι MAVBE ἐστιν W | κἂν Va καὶ codd. 51-52 τέσσαρα MWA δ' VBE 52 κορυφάδιν MW εἰς τὸ κορυφάδιον AVBE | τουφίν MW τουφίον AVBE | ὑπὸ γένειον Va ὑπογένειον MW εἰς τὸ ὑπογένειον AVBE 53 τζικούριν MW τζικούριον AVBE 54 τάξιν¹ MW δίκην AVBE | τάξιν² MW δίκην AVBE 56 εἰσιν MWA om. VBE | ἐξ ἐρίου MW ἐκ μαλλίου πεποιημένα AVBE | εἴτε³ AVBE ἢ MW 57 δεῖ MWA δὲ VBE | καὶ MWA om. VBE 59 καὶ MWA om. VBE | κέντουκλα AVBE κένδουκλα MW | ἔχειν MWA ἔχον VBE | μανίκια MW μανιάκια AVBE 60 ζάβας Va ζῶνας codd. 62 φυλάττωσι MAVBE φυλάττωσιν W | καὶ² MWA om. VBE 63 κονταρίοις Va σκουταρίοις codd. 64 ἔστι AVBE ἔστιν MW | κέντουκλα AVBE κένδουκλα MW | σκούλκαῖς...ταῖς² MW om. AVBE 65 τοῖς...ζάβαι MWA trsp. VBE | ὑπ' MWAVE ἀπ' B 66 ἀντέχουσι MW ἀπαντῶσι AVBE 67 προστάσσομεν MWA προτάσσομεν VBE | κοντουβέρνιν M κουτουβέρνιν W κοντουβέρνιον AVBE

dangers. In particular, the men stationed in the front line of battle should have these items.

9. Let the saddles have large and thick cloths, and let there be strong bridles of good quality.

10. Two iron stirrups should be attached to the saddles along with a lasso with thong, a hobble, a saddlebag large enough, when the situation so demands, to hold three or four days' rations. There should be four tassels on the haunch strap; likewise, one on the horse's brow and one under the chin.

11. By all means, the cavalry soldier must have a double-sided axe, one side having the long form of a sword and the other the large and sharp form of the point of a spear.⁴ It should be hanging from the saddle in a leather case.

12. The clothing of the soldiers, whether of linen, wool, or other material, should be loose fitting so they may not be impeded as they ride along; it should cover their knees and give a neat appearance.

13. They should have a loose, padded mantle with very broad sleeves so that in arming themselves and wearing the body armor with the bow if, perchance, it should rain or the dew cause the air to become quite humid, then by wearing these over their body armor and bow, they may both protect their armament and not be impeded when they want to make use of the bow or the lance. These padded mantles may also be necessary in another way on patrol or reconnais- sance. When the body armor is covered by them its brightness will not be seen far off by the enemy and they will also provide protection against being hit by arrows.

14. We also order that each squad should carry sickles and axes to meet their unavoidable needs.

4. See Kolias, 167-169.

15. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἄρχοντας ἢ στρατιώτας καὶ τῶν θεματικῶν
 70 βάνδων τοὺς δυνατωτέρους ἀναγκάζεσθαι χρὴ παῖδας ἑαυτοῖς δούλους ἢ ἐλευ-
 θέρους καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τε ρόγας καὶ τοῦ ἀδνουμίου καὶ τοὺς
 παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ καταζητεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ περιφρον-
 οῦντες τῶν δουλευόντων ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἀναγκάζονται ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ τοῦλδον καὶ ὀλίγοι γίνονται οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν τῇ
 75 μάχῃ. εἰ δέ τινες, ὡς εἰκός, μὴ εὐποροῦσι κτήσασθαι παῖδας, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰς
 τοὺς κατωτέρους στρατιώτας τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας ἕνα παῖδα, τὸν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτοῖς
 μέλλοντα, ἐπινοεῖν. τὸν ὅμοιον δὲ τρόπον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰς τὰ σαγμάρια, ὧν χρεία
 κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον διὰ τὰς ζάβας καὶ τὰς τέντας αὐτῶν.

16. Προστάσσομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν βάνδων ἐκάστου τάγματος
 80 ὁμοχρόους γίνεσθαι, | καὶ τὰ φλάμουλα ἐκάστης τούρμας ἢ δρούγγου ιδιόχροα 298
 εἶναι, ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα εὐκόλως ἐπιγινώσκη τὸ ἴδιον βάνδον.
 δεῖ ἕτερα ἰδικὰ σημεῖα προστιθέναι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν βάνδων, ἐγνωσμένα τοῖς
 στρατιώταις, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου ἐπιγινώσκεισθαι αὐτὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς τούρμας καὶ
 κατὰ τοὺς δρούγγους καὶ κατὰ τὰ βάνδα. πάντως δὲ τὰ τῶν τουρμάρχων <βάν-
 85 δα> ἐνῆλλαγμένα δεῖ εἶναι καὶ πρόδηλα, ἵνα ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐπιγινώ-
 σκωνται τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τεταγμένοις.

17. Κελεύομεν δέ σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ἄρμα ἐπιφέρεισθαι ἐκ περισσοῦ διὰ
 βασταγῆς καὶ μάλιστα τοξάρια καὶ σαγίττας, ἵνα τοῖς, ὡς εἰκός, ἀστοχοῦσιν
 ὅπλοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀντισταγῇται.

90 18. Ἐξωθεν δὲ τῶν βοῖνων θηκαρίων τῶν ζαβῶν ἔχειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ
 δερμάτων θηκάρια ἕτερα ἐλαφρά, ὅπως ἢ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἢ ἐν καιρῷ κούρ-
 σου ὀπισθεν τῶν ὀπισθοκουρβίων κατὰ τὰς ψύας τῶν ἵππων βαστάζωνται, καὶ
 ἐὰν συμβῇ, ὡς πολλάκις—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο—τροπῆς γινομένης, πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν

71 τε MW om. AVBE 72-73 περιφρονούντες MWA καταφρονούντες VBE
 73 δουλευόντων MW δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτοῖς ὀφειλόντων παίδων AVBE | πολέμου
 AVBE πολέμων MW 74 γίνονται MW καταλιμπάνονται A καταλιμπάνονται VBE
 74-75 κοπιῶντες...μάχη MW πολεμοῦντες AVBE 78 τέντας MW τένδας AVBE
 80 ιδιόχροα MWA ιδιόχρονα VBE 81 καὶ...ἐκαστον De καὶ τὸ καθέκαστον MW δὲ
 καθέκαστον A ἐκαστον VBE | ἴδιον MWAVE ἕτερον B 82 ἕτερα MWAVE ἕτερα βάνδα B |
 σημεῖα MWAVE σημαίνει B | ταῖς κεφαλαῖς MWAVE τὰς κεφαλὰς B 83 τούτου MW
 τούτων AVBE 84-85 βάνδα² ci. Va om. codd. 85 πρόδηλα MW πρόχειρα AVBE
 86 ὑπ' αὐτοῖς M ὑπαυτοῦς W ὑπ' αὐτοῦς AVE ὑπ' αὐτοῦ B 87 σοι MWA om. VBE
 90 βοῖνων MWVBE βοείων A 93 ὡς MW om. AVBE | γινομένης MW γενομένης AVBE

15. The officers and enlisted men of the regular units as well as the more
 affluent soldiers in the thematic companies must be required to have their own
 servants, slave or free. At the time of distributing pay and mustering, care must
 be taken to register and inquire about the servants and weapons. Should they
 pay no attention to the servants, then, in time of battle they might be forced to
 detail some of the soldiers themselves to the baggage train, which means fewer
 men fighting in the ranks. But if it should turn out that some of the men are
 unable to afford servants, it is necessary for three or four of the lower-ranking
 soldiers to provide for one servant who will be at their disposition. A similar
 arrangement should be followed for the pack animals that are needed for their
 body armor and their tents.

16. We also order that the fields of the flags of each unit should be of the
 same color, and the streamers of each tourma or droungos should have their
 own color, so that each individual unit may easily recognize its own standard.⁵
 Other distinctive devices known to the soldiers should be imposed on the fields
 of the flags; they will thus be recognized according to tourma and droungos and
 bandon. The standards of the tourmarchs should be particularly distinctive and
 conspicuous so that they may be recognized by their troops at a great distance.

17. We order you, O general, to have your supply train carry extra arms,
 especially bows and arrows, to replace those weapons likely to be lost.

18. Apart from the leather cases for the body armor, the soldiers should have
 other light ones of hide. During battle or on raids they may be carried behind
 the cantle across the horse's hindquarters. If, as may well be the case, they
 should suffer a reversal—may it not happen—and the men guarding the

5. See R. Grosse, "Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des 4.-10. Jahr-
 hundert," *BZ* 24 (1924): 359-372; Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags"; Haldon, *ImpEx*, 270-274.

ἀφανείς γενέσθαι τοὺς τὴν παρασκευὴν ἔχοντας, μή εἰσι γυμναὶ αἱ ζάβαι καὶ
95 φθείρωνται, μήτε καὶ κοποῦσι τοὺς στρατιώτας διηνεκῶς ἐπικείμεναι αὐτοῖς.

19. Οὐδὲ τοῦτο δὲ παραλείψομεν ἐν τῇδε τῇ διατάξει, ἵνα οἱ ἄρχοντες
ἐκάστου τάγματος διαγνώσεις ποιῶσιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ παραχειμαδίου ἢ ἐν
ἐτέρῳ ἀργίας καιρῷ, ὥστε, ἐὰν μὴ εὐπορῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ τὴν χώραν
ἀγοράσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, φανερόν γίνεσθαι, πόσων ἵππων καὶ ποίου εἶδους καὶ
100 ποίου ἄρματος δέονται τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος, ἵνα παρασκευάῃς, ὡς
στρατηγῇ, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ εὐτρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀγορασίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ
ἐμπόρων τινῶν, καὶ μήτε ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἐντόπιοι οἰκήτορες βλάπτωνται, μήτε οἱ
στρατιῶται τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰδῶν καὶ ὅπλων, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὑστερούμενοι
ἀπορῶσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν καβαλλάριον στρατιώτην ἐξωπλίσαμεν, ἐξῆς καὶ ὅπως
105 χρῆ σε καὶ τῶν πεζῇ μαχομένων στρατιωτῶν τὴν δέουσαν ποιήσασθαι ὅπλιςιν
ἤδη λέξομεν.

20. Τῆς πεζικῆς τοίνυν τοῦ στρατοῦ τάξεως πάλαι μὲν εἰς τρία διηρημένης
παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τακτικοῖς, οἷον εἰς ὀπλίτας, οὓς οἱ νεώτεροι σκουτάτους
ἐκάλεσαν, εἰς ψιλοῦς, οὓς καὶ νῦν ψιλοῦς τῷ αὐτῷ καλοῦσιν ὀνόματι, καὶ εἰς
110 πέλτας, ὧν οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ γινώσκουσι μὲν τὴν κλήσιν, δοκεῖ μοι δὲ τοῖς ψιλοῖς
αὐτοῖς | συγκαταλέξαντας δύο μόνας τάξεις πεζικοῦ μνημονεῦσαι στρατοῦ, 299
ὀπλιτῶν τε καὶ ψιλῶν. περὶ τούτων οὖν ἡμεῖς διαλαβόντες τῶν τάξεων διορισό-
μεθα.

21. Ὅπλισεις μὲν οὖν τὸν πεζὸν σκουτάτον, τὸν πάλαι καλούμενον ὀπλίτην,
115 ὥστε ἔχειν σπάθην, κοντάριν, σκουτάριν, ὅτε μὲν χρεῖα καλεῖ, ἐπίμηκες, μέγα, ὃ

107-133 *Strat.*, 12.B.4-5.

94 τὴν παρασκευὴν MW τὰς χρεῖας AVBE scr. mg. ἀποσκευὴν W | εἰσι MWA ὧσιν B ὥσι
VE 95 μήτε De εἴτα codd. | κοποῦσι A σκέπωσι M σκέπουσι W κοπῶσι VBE | τοὺς
στρατιώτας MWAVE τοῦ στρατιώτου B | ἐπικείμεναι MWA ἐπικειμένου VBE 96 οὐδὲ...
διατάζει MW om. AVBE | ἵνα MW ἵνα δὲ καὶ AVBE 97 διαγνώσεις MW διαγνώσεις καὶ
ἀπογραφὰς AVBE 98 εὐπορῶσιν MWA ἐκπορῶσιν VBE 99 ἀγοράσαι MWA om. VBE
102 ἐμπόρων MW πραγματευτῶν AVBE 103 τῶν MW om. AVBE | οὕτω τύχοι MWVBE
οὕτως τύχη A 104 ἀπορῶσιν MWAVE ἀποροῦσιν B | ἐξῆς MW ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν AVBE
105 δέουσιν MW om. AVBE | ποιήσασθαι WAVBE ποιήσας M 106 ἤδη λέξομεν MW
om. AVBE scr. mg. sup. περὶ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν εξοπλισσεως W 107 τρία MWA γ' VBE | ad
διηρημένης scr. mg. διακεχωρισμένης W 109 οὓς... ὀνόματι MW οὓς καὶ νῦν φίλους A om.
VBE 110 πέλτας MW πελταστὰς AVBE 111 συγκαταλέξαντας MW συνκαταριθ-
μήσαντες A συγκαταριθμήσαντες VBE | δύο MWA β' VBE | πεζικοῦ MAVBE πεζικῆς W
112 οὖν MWA om. VBE | διαλαβόντες MW om. AVBE 114 ὀπλίτην MW ὀπλίτην οὕτως
AVBE 115 σπάθην MW σπαθίον AVBE | κοντάριν MW κονδάριον AVBE | σκουτάριν
MW σκουτάριον AVE σκουτάριον κοντάριον B

equipment should be missing for a day, the body armor will not be left out in
the open and ruined and the soldiers will not be worn out by the constant
weight of the armor.

19. In this constitution we will not omit the following. While in winter
quarters or at some other period of leisure, the officers of each unit should make
an assessment, so that it becomes clear how many horses, what sort of
equipment, and what sort of armament is needed for each one of the soldiers
and so that, in case the soldiers cannot easily purchase supplies in the region,
you, O general, at the requisite time might arrange for these things to be made
available for sale to them by certain merchants. As a result, the local inhabitants
will not be harmed and, if this is done, the soldiers will not be left helpless,
deprived of necessary equipment and weapons. Therefore, now that we have
armed the cavalry soldier, our next topic will be about your obligation to see to
the proper armament of the soldiers who fight on foot.

20. The ancient tacticians long ago divided the infantry contingents of the
army in three.⁶ <Heavy-armed troops or> hoplites, called skoutatoi by more re-
cent tacticians; second, light-armed troops, whom they now call by that very
name. Then there were peltai, a term not recognized by our contemporaries.⁷ I
believe that they classified them together with the light-armed troops, recording
only two divisions of the infantry army, <heavy-armed> hoplites and
light-armed troops. Having, therefore, made this distinction, we will now lay
down regulations affecting them.

21. You shall equip the infantry skoutatos, formerly called hoplite, with a
sword, a lance, and, when necessary, a shield of the kind called thyreos, large

6. See *Strat.*, 12.B.

7. Kolias, 90.

καλεῖται θυρεός, πάντως δὲ στρογγύλον τέλειον. τὰ δὲ σκουτάρια ὁμόχροα πάντων ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἢ κατὰ τάγμα. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κασσίδα τουφίν μικρὸν ἔχουσαν ἄνωθεν, σφενδόβολα, τζικούρια δίστομα, τὸ μὲν ἐν στόμα ὡς σπάθην, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὡς κονταρίου ξίφος, ἀναβασταζόμενα μετὰ θηκαρίων δερματίνων
 120 ἢ τζικούρια ἕτερα, ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐν στόμα κόπτον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον στρογγύλον ἢ ἕτερα τζικούρια δίστομα τάξιν πελεκίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλέκτους τῆς ἀκίας ἔχειν καὶ ζάβας ἥτοι λωρίκια, εἰ μὲν δυνατόν, ὅλους, ἐπεὶ, κἂν δύο, τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀκιῶν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν μῆλων ἥτοι τῶν ὤμων τῆς ζάβας φλαμουλίσκια μικρά. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ χειρομάνικα τὰ λεγόμενα μανικέλλια ἢ χειρόψελλα, σιδηρᾶ ἢ ξύλινα, καὶ
 125 περικνημίδας ὁμοίως, ἃ λέγεται ποδόψελλα ἢ χαλκότουβα, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ οὐραῖς τῶν ἀκιῶν τεταγμένους.

22. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν σκουτάτους οὕτως ὀπλίσεις, ὡς εἴρηται. τοὺς δὲ λεγομένους ψιλοὺς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· τοξοφάρετρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀναβασταζόμενα, ἔχοντα κούκουρα μεγάλα, χωροῦντα ἀνὰ λ' ἢ μ' σαγιτῶν, σωληνάρια
 130 ξύλινα μετὰ μικρῶν σαγιτῶν καὶ κουκούρων μικρῶν, ἅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν διάστημα ῥίπτονται διὰ τῶν τοξαρίων, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄχρηστά εἰσι, βηρύττας, ἃ λέγεται ρικτάρια, τοὺς ἀπείρως πρὸς τὴν τοξείαν ἔχοντας ἢ καὶ λειπομένους, ὡς εἰκός, τόξων. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ σκουτάρια μικρά, στρογγύλα, σφενδόβολα καὶ τζικούρια, ὅμοια τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀναβασταζόμενα καὶ αὐτὰ εἰς θηκάρια δερμάτινα. τὰ
 135 δὲ ἱμάτια τῶν πεζῶν ἀπάντων ἔστωσαν κοντὰ μέχρι τῶν γονάτων αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δυνατόν, αὐτοὺς ἔχειν καὶ ἐπιλώρικα. τὰ δὲ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχειν ὀξείας <μύτας> ἔμπροσθεν, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγοις μικροῖς ἥλοις καθηλοῦσθαι αὐτὰ ἥγουν καρφίοις, πρὸς πλείονα ὑπουργίαν. χρήσιμα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοπορίαις μάλιστα. καὶ τὰς κουρὰς δὲ αὐτῶν κοντὰς γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι
 140 αὐτοῖς τελείας τρίχας χρήσιμόν ἐστιν.

133–139 *Strat.*, 12.B.1.

116 πάντως MWAE πάντα VB 117 κασσίδα MWA κασσίδας VBE 118 ἄνωθεν MW ἄνωθεν τουφίν μικρὸν AVBE | ὡς σπάθην MW δίκην σπαθίου ἐπίμηκες AVBE 122 ἐπεὶ MW εἰ δὲ μὴ AVBE 123 τῶν!...ἥτοι MW om. AVBE | τῶν ὤμων MW τοὺς ὤμους AVBE 124 ἢ! MW ἢ καὶ AVBE 129 λ'...μ' MWVBE τριάκοντα ἢ τεσσαράκοντα A 130 κουκούρων MWVBE κούρων A 131 καὶ...εἰσι MW om. AVBE | ad ἄχρηστά scr. mg. οὐ χρησιμεύουσιν W 132 ρικτάρια MW ριπτάρια AVBE 135 κοντὰ AVBE κοντὰ MW 136 αὐτοὺς ἔχειν MW trsp. AVBE 136–137 μὴ...ὀλίγοις MW ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ A ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν VBE 137 μύτας ci. Va om. codd. | ἥλοις MW καρφίοις AVBE 137–138 αὐτὰ...καρφίοις MW om. AVBE 139 κοντὰς MWA κόμας VBE 140 τελείας MW μακρὰς AVBE

and oblong in shape but altogether completely curved.⁸ All the shields in each arithmos or tagma should be of the same color. The men should also have helmets with small plumes on top, slings, double-bladed axes, one side shaped like a sword, the other like the point of a spear, to be carried in leather cases. Other axes with one blade for cutting and the other rounded, still other double-bladed axes shaped like the pelekus.⁹ The picked men of the file should have body armor or mail, all the men, if possible, but at least the first two of the file. Across the plates or the shoulders of the body armor <attach> small pennons. They should also have gauntlets, called manikellia or cheiropsella, made of iron or wood, and in like manner greaves, called podopsella or chalkotouba, especially the men stationed in the front and in the rear of the file.

22. You will arm all the skoutatoi in the aforesaid manner, but the so-called light-armed troops as follows. They should carry bows on their shoulders with large quivers holding up to thirty or forty arrows. Also grooved wooden tubes with short arrows in small quivers, that can be fired a great distance with the bows and which cannot be used by the enemy.¹⁰ Small javelins, called riktaria, for men inexperienced in archery or who do not happen to have bows. They should also have small round shields, slings, and axes, similar to those mentioned, and those too carried in leather cases. Let the tunics of all the foot soldiers be short, reaching to their knees. If possible, they should also have surcoats. Their shoes should not have sharp points in front; but they must be studded with a few small rivets or nails for greater durability. These are particularly suitable when marching.¹¹ Their hair should be cut short; it is better if it is not allowed to grow long.

8. Kolias, 91.

9. Kolias, 169–170.

10. Cf. Const. 5, n. 3.

11. *Strat.* 12.B.1.

23. Ἄλλ' οὕτω μὲν τοὺς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνδύσεις καὶ περιφράξεις δι' ὅπλων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ φυλακὴν | ἀμάξας παρασκευάσεις 299' εὐσταλεῖς ἡγουν ἐλαφρὰς καὶ γοργὰς κατὰ δεκαρχίαν ἥτοι κοντουβέρνιν, μίαν καὶ μὴ πλεόν, ἵνα μὴ πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτὰ ἀσχολούμενοι ἀργῶσιν. ἐχέτω δὲ ἐκάστη
- 145 τῶν ἀμαξῶν χειρομύλιν, ἀξίνην, πελέκιν, σκέπαρνον, πριόνιν, ὄρυγας δύο, σφῦραν, πτυάρια δύο, κόφινον, κιλίκια, φαλκίδιν, τζικούρια, βαρδούκια, ματζούκια—ἴσως κᾶν τούτων χρεῖα γένηται τοῖς στρατιώταις—τριβόλους ἀναδεδεμένας διὰ λεπτῶν σφηκωμάτων καὶ ἐν ἡλῳ σιδηρῷ ἀποκρατουμένας διὰ τὸ ἐτοίμως συνάγεσθαι αὐτάς· ἐτέρας ἀμάξας ἐχούσας τοξοβολίστρας καὶ σαγίττας
- 150 αὐτῶν, καὶ βαλίστρας ἥτοι μαγγανικά, τὰ λεγομένα ἀλακάτια, στρεφόμενα κυκλόθεν, καὶ μαγγανάρους, λεπτοურγούς, χαλκεῖς, καὶ τούτοις ἴδιον ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσαι. ἐτέρας ἀμάξας φερούσας τὸ ἄρμαμέντον ἐκάστου ἀριθμοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἐτέρας ἀμάξας, ὡς δέκα ἢ καὶ εἴκοσι, βασταζούσας πίστον καὶ παξαμάτιν καὶ σαγίττας καὶ τοξάρια ἐκ περισσοῦ.
- 155 24. Ἴππους σαγματαρίους ἢ ὑποζύγια, εἰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται, καθ' ἕκαστον κοντουβέρνιν, εἰ δὲ μήγε, εἰς τὰ δύο κοντουβέρνια ἕνα, ἵνα, εἰ γένηται καιρὸς χωρισθῆναι τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ προκαταλαβεῖν τόπον, βαστάζειν ὅκτῳ ἢ δέκα ἡμερῶν δαπάνην καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν μέχρις οὗ ἐπιφθάσωσιν αἱ ἄμαξαι ἀργότερον περιπατοῦσαι.
- 160 25. Οὐκ ἄχρηστον δέ μοι δοκεῖ μνημονεῦσαι, κᾶν ἐν μικρῷ, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ὁπλίσεως τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν καβαλλαρίων, καθὼς Αἰλιανός τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν

142–149 *Strat.*, 12.B.6. 160–168 *Aelian.*, 2.1; *Arrian.*, 4.

141 οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE | καὶ WAVBE om. M 143 εὐσταλεῖς ἡγουν MW om. AVBE | κοντουβέρνιν M κοντουβέρνιν W κοντουβέρνιον AVE κοντουβέρνια B 144 ἀργῶσιν MWA ἀργῶσι VBE 145 τῶν ἀμαξῶν MW ἄμαξα AVBE | χειρομύλιν W χειρομύλιον M χειρόμυλον AVBE | πριόνιν Va πριώνιν MW πριόνα AVBE | δύο MWA β' VBE 146 δύο MWA β' VBE | κόφινον AVBE κοφίνην MW | φαλκίδιν Va φαλκίαν MW φαλκίδιον A φαλκίδα VBE | βαρδούκια MW om. AVBE 147–148 ἀναδεδεμένας MWAVE ἀναδεδεγμένας B 149 τοξοβολίστρας W τοξοβαλλίστρας A τοξοβαλίστρας VBE 150 βαλίστρας ἥτοι MW om. AVBE | ἀλακάτια MW ἡλακάτια AVBE 150–151 στρεφόμενα κυκλόθεν MW om. AVBE 151 τούτοις MWAVE τούτους B | ἄρχοντα MWAVE ἄρχοντας B 152 τὸ ἄρμαμέντον MWA τὸ ἄρμα μὲν τὸν VE τῷ ἄρματι μὲν τὸν B | ἀριθμοῦ MWA ἀριθμὸν VBE 154 παξαμάτιν Va παξιμάδα MW παξαμάτιον AVBE 155–156 κοντουβέρνιν M κοντουβέρνιν W κοντουβέρνιον ἕνα AVBE 156 δύο MWA β' VBE | κοντουβέρνια MAVBE κοντουβέρνια W 158 ὅκτῳ... ἡμερῶν MWA ἡ' ἡμερῶν ἢ καὶ δέκα B ἡ' ἡμερῶν ἢ δέκα VE | ἐπιφθάσωσιν MWA ἐπιφθάσουσιν VBE scr. mg. περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐξοπλίσεως τῶν πεζῶν W 160 οὐκ ἄχρηστον MWA εὐχρηστον VBE | κᾶν... μικρῷ MW πρὸς ὀλίγον AVBE

23. In this manner, then, you will clothe the foot soldiers and provide them with armor and weapons. Then, for their service and protection, you will get ready easily managed, that is, light and fast, wagons, one to each dekaarchy or squad, no more lest many of the men become so busy with them that they neglect <other matters>. Let each of the wagons contain a hand mill, an axe, a hatchet, an adze, a saw, two picks, a hammer, two shovels, a basket, some goat-hair matting, a scythe, other axes, maces and clubs, for the soldiers may have need of these too. Also caltrops tied together with light cords attached to an iron peg so they can be easily collected.¹² Other wagons carrying bow ballistai and bolts for them, as well as ballistai or artillery pieces of the type called alakatia, that revolve in all directions.¹³ Also artillery crews, carpenters, metal workers, all under their own commander. Other wagons bearing the armament for the soldiers of each arithmos. Another ten or even twenty wagons to transport flour and hardtack as well as extra bows and arrows.¹⁴

24. Pack horses or asses, if it can be worked out, for each squad; if not, then one for two squads. If the opportunity arises for the infantry to be separated from the wagons to seize some position, these beasts may transport rations for eight or ten days, accompanying the men until the wagons, moving more slowly, should arrive.

25. I do not think it unprofitable to call to mind, even briefly, the ancient armament of the infantry and the cavalry, as Aelian and the other authors on

12. *Strat.* 12.B.6.

13. Ballista is a term used primarily for torsion and tension weapons but often designated any artillery piece. Toxobolistra was a torsion weapon that fired bolts or arrows. See Dennis, "Byzantine Heavy Artillery," 99–101.

14. Hardtack: dry, twice-baked bread, δίτυπος ἄρτος (*Suda* II 254). See A. Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium* (Totnes, Devon, 2003), 99–100.

τακτικῶν συγγραφεῖς ὑπηγόρευσαν. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὴν μὲν ἵππικὴν τάξιν εἰς δύο διαφορὰς ὀπλίσεων ἐποιοῦν οἱ στρατηγοί, μίαν μὲν κατάφρακτον λεγομένην καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν οὐ κατάφρακτον.

- 165 26. Ὕπλιζον δὲ τὸν μὲν κατάφρακτον καβαλλάριον πανταχόθεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα λωρικοίς καὶ κλιβανίοις ἢ σιδηροῖς ἢ ἐκ κεράτων ἐπιπεπλεγμένοις καὶ παραμηρίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους κατέφραττον παραπλευριδίοις καὶ προμετωπιδίοις, ἥγουν τὰ πλευρὰ καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους τῶν ἵππων διὰ κλιβανίων ἢ λωρικών ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης κατέσκεπον.
- 170 27. Τούτων δὲ πάντων, τῶν τε καταφράκτων καβαλλάριων καὶ τῶν μὴ καταφράκτων, οἱ μὲν εἶχον κοντάρια, οἱ δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα νῦν μένauλα, ἅπερ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λόγχας | ἐκάλουν· οἵτινες καὶ κατάφρακτοι ὄντες χεῖρας συνέβαλλον 300 τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ δὲ μακρόθεν ἦσαν ἀκοντίζοντες, οὓς καὶ ἔλεγον ἀκροβολιστάς. τῶν δὲ τὰ κοντάρια ἢ τὰς λόγχας ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἦσαν οἱ τοῖς
- 175 πολεμίοις συμπλεκόμενοι καὶ πλησίον διὰ τῶν δοράτων ἦτοι τῶν κονταρίων μαχόμενοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν συμπλεκόμενων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ οἱ μὲν θυρεοὺς εἶχον ἦτοι σκουτάρια ἐπιμήκη μεγάλα, οἱ δὲ χωρὶς τῶν θυρεῶν μόνοις τοῖς κονταρίοις ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκαλοῦντο θυρεοφόροι, οἱ δὲ ἰδίως δορατοφόροι· δόρυ γὰρ τὸ κοντάριν ἔλεγον.
- 180 28. Ἀκροβολιστάς δὲ τῶν καβαλλάριων ἐκάλουν <τοὺς πόρρωθεν ἀκροβολισμοῖς διαχρωμένους> ἥγουν τοὺς μακρόθεν βάλλοντάς τε καὶ μαχομένους. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν δορατοῖς ἥγουν ῥικταρίοις ἐκέχρητο, οἱ δὲ τόξοις· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μακρόθεν ἔρριπον τὰ ῥικτάρια ἢ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐρχόμενοι ἢ κύκλῳ περιτρέχοντες, οὓς ἐκάλουν ἵππακοντιστάς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς τόξοις ἔβαλλον οὓς ἐκάλουν
- 185 ἵπποτοξότας. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐλαφροῖς κονταρίοις ἐχρῶντο καὶ μίαν ἢ δεύτερον

168–178 Aelian., 2.12. 178–189 Aelian., 2.13; Arrian., 2.7.

163 ὀπλίσεων MWA ὀπλίσεως VBE | κατάφρακτον MWAB κατάφρικτον VE
 164 κατάφρακτον MWA κατάφρικτον VBE 167 ἐπιπεπλεγμένοις MWA ἐπιλεγόμενοις
 VBE 168 προμετωπιδίοις MW προμετωπίοις AVBE 170 τε MWVBE om. A
 171 καταφράκτων MWA καταφράκτων καὶ VBE 172 συνέβαλλον MWA συνέβαλον VBE
 173 ἦσαν ἀκοντίζοντες MW ἡκόντιζον AVBE 174 τὰς λόγχας MW τὰ μένauλα AVBE
 175 πολεμίοις MWA πολέμοις VBE 176 συμπλεκόμενων MWAB συμπλεκομαίων VE | ἐν
 AVBE om. MW 177–178 οἱ...δορατοφόροι MW οἱ δὲ δορατοφόροι A om. VBE
 179 κοντάριν MW κοντάριον AVBE 180–181 τοὺς...διαχρωμένους Va ex Arriano
 181 τε MW om. AVBE 182 δορατοῖς ἥγουν MW om. AVBE 182–183 ῥικταρίοις...τὰ
 MWA om. VBE 182 ῥικταρίοις Va ῥηκταρίοις MW ῥιπταρίοις A 183 ἔρριπον MW
 ἔρριπτον AVBE | ῥικτάρια Va ῥηκτάρια MW ῥιπτάρια AVBE 184 ἵππακοντιστάς WAVBE
 ἵπποκοντιστάς M | ἐκάλουν² MW ἔλεγον AVBE

tactics have described it.¹⁵ Among the ancients, the commanders divided the cavalry force according to two different kinds of armament, the one called heavy armed and the other not heavy armed.

26. They armed the heavy-armed cavalryman and his horse completely. The men wore cuirasses and breastplates, either of iron or horn fitted together, as well as thigh armor. They protected the horses with body and head armor, that is, they covered the sides and heads and necks of the horses with lamellar armor or mail or some other material.

27. Of all these, then, the heavy-armed cavalry as well as the not heavy-armed, the first carried lances, the others the weapons now called menaula, which the ancients called spears.¹⁶ The ones with heavy armor engaged in close combat with the enemy; the others, whom they called akrobolistai, hurled their weapons from a distance. Of the men who carried lances or spears, some, as mentioned, were fighting at close quarters, engaged directly against the enemy with their spears and lances. Some of those engaged in close combat had thyreoi or long, large shields. The soldiers without thyreoi fought with lances alone. The first were called thyreophoroi and the others specifically spear-bearers, for they called the lance a spear.

28. The cavalrymen who employed missile weapons from a distance, that is, the men shooting and fighting from far off, were called akrobolistai. Some of them made use of small spears or javelins, others of arrows. Some hurled their javelins from a great distance, either advancing in a straight line or else running around in a circle. These they called hippakontistai; those who shot arrows they called hippotoxotai. Some of them made use of light spears and, after first

15. Aelian, 2; Arrian, 4.

16. Menaulon was a heavy spear, a form of pike. See E. McGeer, "Menaulion-Menaulatoi," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87): 53–57; M. Anastasiadis, "On Handling the Menavlion," *BMGS* 18 (1994): 1–10.

προεξακοντίσαντες τὸ λοιπὸν συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τοῖς δορατίοις οἷς
εἶχον ὑπολειπομένοις ἤγουν τοῖς ἐλαφροῖς κονταρίοις ἢ τοῖς σπαθίοις αὐτῶν
διαχρώμενοι· καὶ τούτους ἐκάλουν ἐλαφροὺς. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πελέκεις
μικροὺς ἔφερον πανταχόθεν ἔχοντας ἀκωκὰς ὀξείας ὡς ὀδόντας ἠκονημένους.
190 καὶ τὴν μὲν καβαλλαρικὴν τάξιν οὕτως ὥπλιζον οἱ παλαιοί, ὅσον ἐν συντόμῳ
εἰπεῖν.

29. Τὴν δὲ πεζικὴν παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων τάξιν οὕτως εὗρομεν. τριχῶς μὲν
γὰρ αὐτῆς διεμέριζον τὴν ὀπλισιν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται ἡμῖν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκάλ-
ουν ὀπλίτας, τὴν δὲ πελταστάς, τὴν δὲ ψιλούς.

195 30. Καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν λεγομένων ὀπλιτῶν βαρυτάτην παρὰ πάντας τοὺς
πεζοὺς ἐποίουν κατὰ τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον ἤγουν καθ' ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ
τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ σκουτάρια ἐποίουν αὐτοῖς στρογγύλα,
μεγάλα, παραμήκη, ἃ ἔλεγον θυρεοὺς· καὶ μαχαίρας ἤγουν παραμήρια, καὶ
θώρακας καὶ κράνη ἤγουν λωρίκια καὶ κλιβάνια καὶ κασσίδας καὶ μανικέλλια
200 καὶ χαλκότουβα, ἅπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ περικνημίδας ἐκάλουν, καὶ κοντάρια μακρό-
τερα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ὀπλίτας λεγομένους οὕτως ὥπλιζον.

31. Τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς πάντων ἐλαφροτάτῃ ὥπλιζον τῇ παρασκευῇ. οὔτε γὰρ
θώρακας ἤγουν κλιβάνια ἢ λωρίκια οὔτε περικνημίδας ἤγουν ποδόψελλα ἢ
χαλκότουβα οὔτε θυρεοὺς ἢ ἀσπίδας βαρείας ἤγουν τὰ μεγάλα σκουτάρια,
205 ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν μακρόθεν βαλλομένων ὀπλῶν ἐμάχοντο, οἷον ἢ τοξεύοντες ἢ
ρίκτάρια ρίπτοντες ἢ λίθους βάλλοντες, τοὺς μὲν διὰ χειρός, τοὺς δὲ διὰ σφεν-
δόνης. στολὰς δὲ εἶχον στερεὰς καὶ πηκτὰς ἀντὶ λωρικίων καὶ κλιβανίων καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων.

190–201 Aelian., 2.7. 200–211 Aelian., 2.8.

186–187 δορατίοις...εἶχον MW om. AVBE 187 ὑπολειπομένοις MWA ὑπολιμπανομένοις
VBE | ἤγουν τοῖς MW om. AVBE | σπαθίοις MWAB παθίοις VE 188 διαχρώμενοι MW
om. AVBE 189 ἔχοντας AVBE ἔχουσας MW | ἀκωκὰς Va ἀκοκὰς MW om. AVBE scr. mg.
τὸ ὀξυτάτον τοῦ σιδηροῦ W | ὀξείας...ὀδόντας MW ὡς ὀδόντας ὀξεῖς AVBE 190 μὲν
MWA om. VBE | ὅσον ὅσον MW ὡς AVBE 192 δὲ MWA om. VBE | τὴν MW om. AVBE
| τριχῶς MW εἰς τρία A εἰς γ' VBE 193 εἴρηται ἡμῖν MW εἰρήκαμεν AVBE | τὴν² MWA τῇ
VBE 198–199 καί²...λωρίκια MW om. AVBE 200–201 μακρότερα MWA μικρότερα
VBE 202 τῇ παρασκευῇ MW ὀπλίσει AVBE 203 θώρακας ἤγουν κλιβάνια MW om.
AVBE | ἢ¹ MWA οὔτε VBE | περικνημίδας ἤγουν MW om. AVBE 204 χαλκότουβα MW
χειρόψελλα AVBE 204–206 ἀσπίδας...βάλλοντες MW σκουτάρια βαρέα ἀλλ' ἢ ἐτόξευον
ἢ ριπτάρια ἔρριπον ἢ λίθους ἔβαλλον AVBE 206 ρικτάρια Va ρηκτάρια MW ριπτάρια
AVBE 207 στερεὰς MW ἰσχυρὰς AVBE

hurling one or two javelins, they engaged the enemy in close fighting. Others
made use of the spears they still had left or of their light spears or of their
swords. They called these men light troops. Some of them also carried small
axes with points like sharpened teeth on all sides. To the extent that we can
summarize it, that is how the ancients armed their cavalry forces.

29. We have found that the ancients ordered their infantry as follows. They
divided its armament into three parts, as we mentioned above: one force they
called hoplites, another peltastai, another light armed.

30. They made the men they called hoplites the most heavily armed of all the
foot soldiers, in the Macedonian manner, that which Alexander, who was <the
commander> of the Macedonians, employed. They made shields for them that
were large, rounded, oval in shape, that they called thyreoi. Also knives or
daggers, cuirasses and helmets, that is, body armor, breastplates, and helmets, as
well as gauntlets and greaves that the ancients called shin guards, and longer
spears. That is how they armed the troops they called hoplites.

31. They armed the light-armed troops with the lightest equipment of all.
For they did not have cuirasses or breastplates or body armor or leg coverings or
podopsella or greaves or thyreoi or heavy shields or large shields. But they
fought with weapons thrown from a great distance, loosing arrows, hurling
missiles, or throwing stones, some by hand, some with slings. In place of body
armor, breastplates, and the rest, they had clothing that was stiff and compacted.

32. Τὸ δὲ τῶν πελταστῶν λεγομένων εἶδος, ὅπερ οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν τακτικῶν
 210 οὐκ ἐδήλωσαν—οἶμαι δέ, ὡς ἄνω μοι εἴρηται, τοῖς ψιλοῖς αὐτὸ συμμίζαντες—
 καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν εἶχεν ὀπλισμὸν ἐλαφρότερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. εἶχε γὰρ πέλτην, ὃ ἐστὶ
 σκουτάριον μικρόν, καὶ τὰ δόρατα αὐτῶν ἦγουν τὰ κοντάρια πολὺ τῶν λεγο-
 μένων σαρισῶν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς κοντότερα. αἱ δὲ σάρισαι ἦσαν κοντάρια
 215 μακρὰ ἕως πηχῶν ἰδ' καὶ ἄχρι πηχῶν ις'. ταῦτα δὲ ἦσαν μάλιστα τῆς Μακεδονι-
 κῆς ὀπλίσεως. ἐδόκει δὲ ἡ τῶν πελταστῶν ὀπλισις μέσσην ἔχειν τάξιν τῶν τε
 ψιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίως λεγομένων ὀπλιτῶν, βαρυτέρα μὲν οὖσα τῶν ψιλῶν, ἐλα-
 φροτέρα δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

33. Ἦν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ὀπλίταις καὶ ἀσπίς Μακεδονικὴ χαλκῇ, οὐ λίαν κοίλη,
 ἦγουν σκουτάριον στρογγύλον, μέγα, ἀπαλωτέραν ἔχον τὴν κοιλότητα, τὸ δὲ
 220 μέτρον αὐτῆς σπιθαμῶν τριῶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ κοντάριον οὐ μικρότερον πηχῶν ἡ', τὸ
 δὲ μακρότερον μέχρι τοῦ δύνασθαι ἄνδρα κρατοῦντα κινεῖν αὐτὸ εὐκόλως.

34. Ἡ δὲ Μακεδονικὴ φάλαγξ ἐκείνη ἦγουν ἡ παραταγὴ ἐδόκει τοῖς πολεμί-
 οῖς ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι κατασκευὴν. ἴστατο γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ
 ἐξωπλισμένος ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῆς συμβολῆς καιρῷ καταπυκνουμένης τῆς
 225 παραταγῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκάστου στάσει εἰς πῆχεις δύο, κατέχων τὴν σάρισαν ἦγουν τὸ
 μακρὸν κοντάριον, ὅπερ, ὡς μὲν τινες ἔφασαν, πηχῶν ἑξακαίδεκα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν πηχῶν δεκατεσσάρων. τούτων δὲ τέσσαρες μὲν πῆχεις ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ
 μεταξὺ τῶν χειρῶν εἰς τὸ ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δέκα πῆχεις εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν
 ἐκτείνονται πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων.

218–221 Aelian., 12.1. 222–229 Aelian., 14.1.

210 οἶμαι...εἴρηται MW om. AVBE | αὐτὸ MW αὐτὸ ὡς ὑπολαμβάνω AVBE
 213 κοντότερα AVBE κονδότερα MW 214 μακρὰ MWA μικρὰ VBE | ἰδ' MWAVE ιε' B
 214–215 ταῦτα...ὀπλίσεως MWA om. VBE 216–217 βαρυτέρα...ὀπλιτῶν MWA om.
 VBE 218 ad κοίλη scr. mg. βαρεία W 219 σκουτάριον MWA σκουτάριον τὸ VBE |
 ἀπαλωτέραν Va ἀπλωτέραν MWA ἀπλωτέραν VBE 220 τριῶν MA γ' WVBE
 221 μακρότερον MW μακρότατον AVBE 222 δὲ μακεδονικὴ MAVBE trsp. W | φάλαγξ
 WAVBE φάλαξ M 223 ad ἀνυπόστατος scr. mg. ἀναπάντητος W | ὁ MWA om. VBE
 224 τοῦ...καιρῷ MW καιρῷ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου συμβολῆς AVBE 225 ἐκάστου στάσει MW
 στάσει ἐκάστου A στάσει ἐκάστου ἀνδρὸς VBE | δύο MWA β' VBE 226 ὅπερ ὡς MWA ὁ
 πρῶτον B ὁ πρῶτος VE | ἔφασαν MWA εἶπον VBE | ἑξακαίδεκα MW ις' AVBE
 227 δεκατεσσάρων W ἰδ' MAVBE | τέσσαρες MW δ' A τέσσαρας VBE | μὲν MWA om.
 VBE

32. The class of those called peltasts has not been described by more recent
 tactical writers, because, as I have already stated, it is my opinion that they
 confused it with the light-armed troops. Its armament was indeed lighter than
 the others. For it had a pelta, that is, a small shield. Its spears or lances were
 much shorter than the so-called pikes used by the ancients. The pikes were long
 spears from fourteen to sixteen pecheis that were the specialties of the
 Macedonian armament.¹⁷ It seems that the armament of the peltasts held a
 middle place between that of the light-armed troops and that of those speci-
 fically called hoplites, heavier than that of the light-armed but lighter than that
 of the hoplites.

33. The hoplites also had a bronze, Macedonian shield, not too concave, or
 else <they had> a round shield, large, with less curvature, and measuring three
 spithamai.¹⁸ The spear was not smaller than eight pecheis nor so large that a man
 carrying it could not easily move it.¹⁹

34. The Macedonian phalanx was a formation that appeared irresistible to
 the enemy because of its system of lining up.²⁰ At the moment of close combat,
 as the battle line became tighter, the heavily armored men took their stand, each
 in his own place, two pecheis <apart>. They wielded the pike, or the large spear
 that, according to some, measured sixteen pecheis, but was really fourteen. Four
 of these pecheis covered the space from the man's hands to the space behind
 him and the other ten pecheis stretched out in front of his body.

17. 6.55 m to 7.84 m. Cf. Aelian, 14.

18. 73 cm. Aelian, 12; Asclepiodotus, 5.1.

19. 3.74 m.

20. The formation was sixteen deep. See Aelian, 14; AnonStrat, 16.

230 35. Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ τῆς καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα στρατιώτην ὀπλίσεως ἔκ
τε τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων τακτικῶν ἀναλεξάμενοι διευταξάμεθά τε καὶ
διωρισάμεθα, ἵνα ἔχων αὐτῶν τὴν γνῶσιν ἐκλέγῃ τὸ χρήσιμον. |

35. This much, then, about the armament of each individual soldier we have
read in the ancient and more recent tacticians. We have organized it and defined
it so that, possessing this knowledge, you may choose what is beneficial.

230 στρατιώτην MW στρατιωτῶν A om. VBE 230-231 ὀπλίσεως...νεωτέρων MWA om.
VBE 231-232 ἀναλεξάμενοι...διωρισάμεθα MW συνελεξάμεθα διωρισάμεθά τε καὶ
διευταξάμεθα A συνελεξάμεθα διωρισάμεν τε καὶ διευταξάμεθα VBE 232 γνῶσιν MW
γνώμην AVBE

Περὶ γυμνασίας καβαλλαρικῆς καὶ πεζικῆς

About Training for the Cavalry and the Infantry

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν γυμνασίας πρὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγῶνων ὀφει-
 λούσης γίνεσθαι μετρίως σοι καὶ συντόμως ὑπαγορεύσομεν, ὡ στρατηγέ, ἵνα
 5 προπαρασκευάζῃς αὐτοὺς ἐθίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθεῖς κινδύνους διὰ τῶν ἐν
 γυμνασίᾳ κινδύνων. τὸ γὰρ ἀγύμναστον παντελῶς ἀμαθὲς καὶ τυφλὸν πρὸς τὰς
 ἀθρόας καὶ ἀμελετήτους ἐγχειρήσεις εὐρίσκεται.

2. Ἡ γὰρ ἐν καιρῷ χειμῶνος ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀνοχὴ πολέμου ἢ
 τινων ἐπελεύσεων κατὰ πολεμίας γῆς ἄνεσις, γυμνάζειν σε χρὴ τὰ στρατόπεδα
 10 καὶ ποιεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας πολεμικοὺς καὶ ὥσπερ συντρόφους τῶν πόνων διὰ
 τοῦ ἐθισμού καὶ μὴ ἀφίης αὐτοὺς ἀργεῖν μήτε ῥαθυμεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀργία μαλακὰ
 καὶ ἀσθενῇ ποιεῖ τὰ σώματα, ἡ δὲ ῥαθυμία δειλὰς καὶ ἀνάνδρους τὰς ψυχὰς
 παρασκευάζει. αἱ γὰρ ἡδοναὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν δελεάζουσιν καὶ τὸν εὐτολμότα-
 τον διαφθείρουσι. καὶ ὅτ' ἂν ἐπὶ μακρὸν χρόνον ἀνεθέντες πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 15 πόνους ἔλθωσιν, οὔτε ἡδέως ἐξίσιν, οὔτε ἐπιπολὺ καρτερήσουσιν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως
 φεύγουσιν, πρὶν ἢ καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμικῶν πόνων. εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς πείραν
 ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἔλθωσιν, ταχέως ἀποχωρήσονται, φέρειν τοὺς πόνους καὶ κινδύνους
 οὐ δυνάμενοι. διόπερ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐγὼ κρίνω στρατηγόν, ὅτ' ἂν τὰ χρήσιμα τότε
 20 σκευάζῃ καὶ διατάττῃ καὶ ἔργα καὶ πράγματα ὅτε οὐ κατεπεύγουσιν αἱ τῶν
 πολεμικῶν πόνων ἀνάγκαι.

M W A V B E Va PG 107:733

8-20 Onas. 9.2; 10.1.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MWA. om. VBE | ζ' MWVBE ἐβδόμη A 3-4 ὀφειλούσης MW
 ὀφειλούσης σοι AVBE 4 σοι MW om. AVBE 11 ἀφίης MW ἀφῆς AVBE | ad μαλακὰ
 scr. mg. χαυνα W 13 τὸ MWVE om. AB | δελεάζουσιν MWA δελεάζουσι VBE
 14 διαφθείρουσι MAVBE διαφθείρουσιν W | ἀνεθέντες MWA ἀνεθέντας VBE scr. mg.
 ἡγουν ἐκ τῶν κόπων καὶ πονων ἀργησαντες W 15 ἐξίσιν Va ἐξουσιν codd. 16 φεύγου-
 σιν MW φεύγουσι AVBE | ἢ καὶ MW om. AVBE | πόνων MWAVE πόνων ἀνάγκαι B
 17 ἔλθωσιν MWA ἔλθωσι VBE | ἀποχωρήσονται Va ἀποχωρίζονται codd. 18 τὰ χρήσιμα
 MW om. AVBE 19 σκευάζῃ MW προκατασκευάζῃ AVBE | ὅτε VBE ὅτ' ἂν MWA |
 κατεπεύγουσιν MAB οὐ κατεπεύγουν W οὐκατεπεύγουσιν VE 19-20 αἱ...πολεμικῶν
 MWAVE om. B 20 πόνων MWAVE καὶ διαπόνων B

1. Next, O commander, in a general, summary fashion, we propose for your
 consideration the training of the men that ought to take place before they
 engage the enemy. This will help you in preparing them to become accustomed
 to actual danger by facing dangers in training. Untrained men turn out to be
 totally ignorant and blind in the face of sudden and unexpected actions.

2. In winter or at other times when there is a respite from war or a halt in
 expeditions into hostile territory, it is necessary for you to exercise the army and
 to make the soldiers skilled in war by getting them used to it, as though they
 were raised on hard labor.¹ Do not permit them to become idle or to relax.
 Idleness makes the body soft and weak, while relaxation renders the soul
 cowardly and unmanly. For daily pleasures entrap and corrupt even the most
 courageous man. Whenever they have been at rest for a long time and then once
 more return to their labors, they do not go willingly nor will they persevere very
 long, but they will quickly take to flight before they have experienced the
 hardships of war. Even if they do acquire a little experience, they swiftly retreat,
 unable to bear the labor and the dangers. For this reason I judge that man to be
 a good commander who prepares what will prove helpful and who organizes
 work and activities during that period when the unavoidable labors of war are
 not pressing.

1. Cf. Onasander 9.2; 10.1.

3. Γύμναζε δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοιούτοις τρόποις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι· πρῶτον μὲν τὸν καθένα στρατιώτην ὡς ἐν μελέτῃ, τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας σκουτάτους πεζῇ ἤγουν τοὺς φοροῦντας τὴν πανοπλίαν εἰς μονομαχίας μετὰ σκουταρίων καὶ βεργίων ἀντὶς ἀλλήλων, εἰς τὸ ρίψαι μήκοθεν ρικτάριν καὶ μαρτζυβάρβουλον, ὃ λέγεται
25 νῦν σαλίβα, καὶ τζικούριν. τοὺς δὲ λεγομένους ψιλοὺς οὕτω γυμνάσεις· εἰς τοξείαν σύντομον κατὰ κονταρίου ὑψηλοῦ ἀπὸ διαστήματος, εἰς τὸ ρίπτειν μήκοθεν ρικτάριν καὶ σφενδόβολον, εἰς πηδήσεις καὶ δρόμους κατὰ τε ὁμαλῶν τόπων καὶ ἀνωμάτων.

4. Τοὺς δὲ καβαλλάριους γυμνάσεις εἰς τὸ τοξεύειν συντόμως· ἡ γὰρ ταχύ-
30 τής καὶ ἐκτινάσσεσθαι παρασκευάζει τὴν σαγίτταν καὶ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλεσθαι, ὅπερ τῶν | ἀναγκαίων ἐστί, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἵππων ὀχουμένοις χρήσιμον. καὶ ἔτι εἰς 301 τὸ τοξεύειν πεζῇ ἀπὸ διαστήματος συντόμως, εἴτε κατὰ κονταρίου εἴτε κατὰ ἐτέρου σημείου. εἰς τὸ τοξεύειν ἐπάνω ἵππου τρέχοντος συντόμως ἔμπροσθεν, ὀπισθεν, δεξιᾷ, ἀριστερᾷ· εἰς τὸ πηδᾶν ἐφ' ἵππους· εἰς τὸ τοξεύειν συντόμως
35 ἐπάνω ἵππου τρέχοντος μίαν ἢ καὶ δευτέραν σαγίτταν καὶ ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ τόξον τεταμένον ἐν τῷ θηκαρίῳ, ἂν πλατὺ ἐστί, ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἡμιθηκίῳ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γινομένῳ εὐκαίρως· καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ κονταρίου ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου βασταζομένου. καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔχειν μὲν τὸ τόξον τεταμένον ἐν τῷ θηκαρίῳ, κρατεῖν δὲ τὸ κοντάριν καὶ συντόμως ἀποτίθεσθαι αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ, ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι δὲ τοῦ
40 τόξου.

5. Εἰς τὸ ἐπέρχεσθαι ἀλλήλοις ἄνδρας δύο καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἐπελαύνειν καὶ ἐξελίσσειν κατὰ τὸν τύπον τοῦ λεγομένου παρακοντακίου. τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καλὸν ἐστί καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁδοιπορεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας γυμνάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτὰ ἐπάνω τῶν ἵππων ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς
45 ἀνεμποδίστως ἐκτελεῖται καὶ οἱ ἵπποι οὐ συντρίβονται.

21-53 Strat., 1.1.

21 γύμναζε MWAVE γυμνάζεσθαι B | τρόποις AVBE πόνοις MW 22 τὸν καθένα MW ἕνα ἕκαστον AVBE 23 μονομαχίας MWAB μοναχίας VE 24 ἀντὶς MW ἐξ ἐναντίας AVBE scr. mg. απεναντι W | ρικτάριν Va ρηκτάριν W ρηκτάριον M ριπτάριον AVBE | μαρτζυβάρβουλον A ματζυάρβουλον MW ματζοβάρβουλον VBE | ὃ MW ὅπερ AVBE 25 καὶ MW ἢ A ἢ καὶ VBE | τζικούριν MW τζικούριον AVBE | οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE 27 ρικτάριν M ρηκτάριν W ριπτάριον AVBE 29 εἰς τὸ MW om. AVBE 31 ἐπὶ MW ἐπὶ τῶν A ἐφ' VBE | ἔτι MWVBE ἔστι A 32 κατὰ¹ MWA om. VBE 34 εἰς¹...ἵππους MWA om. VBE | συντόμως AVBE συντόνως MW 36 ἂν MWA εἰ VBE | ἐστί WAVE om. M 39 κοντάριν MW κοντάριον AVBE 41 ἀλλήλοις MWAVE ἀλλήλους B | δύο MWA β' VBE 43 ἐστί MAVBE ἐστί W 45 ἐκτελεῖται MW τελεῖται AVBE

3. Train the army in the following ways and practices.² Begin by drilling the individual soldier, the heavy-armed foot soldiers with their shields, that is, men who are fully armed, in single combat with shields and staffs against one another, in hurling from a long distance the short javelin and the lead-pointed dart, now called the saliba, as well as the axe. You shall train the so-called light-armed troops as follows. In rapid shooting with a bow, using a lance set up a good distance away as a target. In throwing the small javelin a long distance and using the sling. In jumping and running on level as well as rough ground.

4. Train the cavalymen to shoot rapidly. Speed is important in releasing the arrow and discharging it with force. This is useful, even essential, for men mounted on horses. They should, moreover, practice shooting rapidly on foot from a distance, either against a spear or some other target. The trooper on horseback should also shoot rapidly on the run, to the front, to the rear, to the right, to the left. Leaping onto the horse. While racing on horseback he should loose one or two arrows rapidly and put the strung bow away in its case, if it is wide enough, or in another half-case specially designed for it. Then grab the spear he has been carrying on his shoulder. While the strung bow is in its case, he should grasp the spear and quickly replace it on his shoulder and grab hold of the bow.

5. Two men should charge against one another and then withdraw; again, ride forward and then wheel about, according to the model called parakontakiou.³ It is good for some of the soldiers to practice these drills, while marching along on horseback in their own country. For they can continue marching without obstacle and the horses do not become worn out.

2. Cf. *Strat.* 1.

3. Parakontakiou may be a mistake for para kontariou (by the spear), as Lami suggested, or a corruption of the Latin, *per contrarium* (by the opposite), as Vári thought.

6. Ἐὰν δὲ συμβῇ καὶ χρονίσαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐν ἐξπεδίτῳ ἤγουν ἔνθα συνάγεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν ὅλος ὁ στρατός, μὴ ἀργοὺς εἶναι τὸν καθένα, ἀλλ' ἐθίζεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς εἴρηται, πονεῖν. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν γυμνάζεσθαι πονεῖν κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἐν παρατάξει καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ὅπλων
50 ἐργασίας ἀπασχολεῖσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἀργία οὐ μόνον νωθροὺς καὶ ἀνάνδρους ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κενὰ τινα καὶ στασιώδη μελετᾶν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζει καὶ παρεξάγει· γυμναζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκουσίους πόνους, εὐκόλως ἄρα καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑπενέγκωσι καὶ πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα αὐτοῖς ὑπακούειν ἐθισθῶσιν.

7. Καὶ οὐ μόνον καθ' ἓνα γυμνάσεις αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐθίσεις καὶ καθόλου
55 γινώσκειν τὰς ἰδίας τάξεις καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι συνήθεις ἀλλήλοις γίνεσθαι. καὶ τίς στρατιώτης ὑπὸ τίνα ἐστὶν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἐν ποίῳ βάνδῳ καὶ μετὰ ποσῶν ἀνδρῶν τάττεται· γινώσκειν δὲ τὰ ὀξεᾶ παραγγέλματα μετὰ τάξεως παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων γινόμενα, οἷον τὰς ἐκτάσεις εἴτε κατὰ πλάτος εἴτε κατὰ μήκος τῆς παρατάξεως, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς συστολάς ἤγουν
60 σφίγξεις εἰς πύκνωσιν, καὶ τὰς κλίσεις ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρδίνων μεταποιήσεις καὶ τὰ διαστήματα τῶν στάσεων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς εἰς
302 ἄνδρα, καὶ τὰς μερικὰς αὐτῶν πυκνώσεις ἢ ἀραιώσεις, καὶ τὰς δι' ἀλλήλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ἀντιδιαβάσεις ἢ τε ἐρχομένων ἢ ἀπερχομένων, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὰς ἀκίας ἤγουν τοὺς ὀρδίνους διαιρέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ μερισμοὺς καὶ κατατάξεις.

8. Καὶ τὴν <ἐπι>φάλαγγα ἤγουν τὴν ὅλην παραταγὴν, ὅτ' ἂν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπὶ
65 βάθος συστέλληται καὶ ὅτ' ἂν ἐπὶ μήκος ἐκτείνεται, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ἀντίστομον ἤγουν δίστομον μάχην, ὅτ' ἂν οἱ λεγόμενοι οὐραγοὶ ἦτοι οἱ ὀπισθεν τῶν ὅλων ἀκίων ἐπιστρέψαντες πρὸς τοὺς κυκλοῦντας κατὰ πρόσωπον μάχωνται ὡς πρωτοστάται, καὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἀντιστρέψῃ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀκίας·

54-97 Onas. 10. 1-6.

46 καὶ MW om. AVBE | ἐξπεδίτῳ A ἐν ἐξπεδήτῳ MW ἐξπεδίῳ VBE 47 τὸν καθένα MW τοὺς στρατιώτας AVBE 48 πονεῖν¹ MWA om. VBE 50 οὐ μόνον MWAVE οὐ μόνον οὐ μόνον B | ἀνάνδρους MW ἀνάνδρους τοὺς στρατιώτας AVBE 51 καὶ¹...τινα MW om. AVBE 52 ἐκουσίους MWAB ἐκουσίως VE | ἄρα MW om. AVBE 53 ὑπενέγκωσι MAVE ὑπενέγκωσιν W ὑπενέγκωσι B 55 ὀνόμασι MWVBE ὀνόμασιν A 56 ἀλλήλοις MW ἀλλήλους AVBE 57 ποσῶν ἀνδρῶν MW πόσους ἀνδρας AVBE | τάττεται MW τάσσεται AVBE 58 ad ἐκτάσεις scr. mg. ἤγουν ὅταν ὀφείλωσι παρεκταθῆναι W 59 δὲ MWA om. VBE 60 εἰς MWA om. VBE | καὶ² AVBE om. MW 61 καὶ AVBE τὰ W om. M | εἰς MWAVE om. B 62-63 ἀραιώσεις...ἀπαντήσεις MWA om. VBE 63 ἀντιδιαβάσεις MW διαβάσεις AVBE | ἢ τε MW εἴτε AVBE | ἢ MW εἴτε AVE om. B | ἀπερχομένων MWAVE om. B 64 διαιρέσεις MWA διαιρήσεις VBE | καὶ κατατάξεις MWAVE om. B 65 ἐπὶ¹ ci. De om. codd. | παραταγὴν MW παράταξιν AVBE 66 συστέλληται AVBE συστέλλεται MW | ἐκτείνεται A ἐκτείνεται MW ἐκτείνονται VBE 67 οἱ² MWAVE om. B

6. If the expeditionary army should happen to be encamped for a long time or the entire army should be assembled in one place at the same time, do not let all the men take it easy but get them accustomed, as mentioned, to hard work. At times, drill them hard in the way already mentioned, at other times, as though lined up for battle against one another, at yet other times let them devote themselves to working on their weapons. Leisure not only makes them sluggish and cowardly, but prepares the way and misleads them into useless and seditious thoughts. If they are exercised in tasks they are willing to do, they will easily bear up under those they are unwilling to do, and they will become accustomed to obey the orders given to them.

7. Not only shall you drill them individually, but you will get them used to recognizing in its entirety their own formations and to maintain them and to become familiar with the faces and the names of one another.⁴ Each soldier <must know> which officer he is under and in what bandon and with how many men he is stationed. He must know the exact commands given by the officers about formations, such as open order, either according to the width of the battle line or its depth. Also, in like manner, close order or the tightening up into close order. Turning to the left and to the right. Re-forming the columns and the distances in the positions of one man from another. Their partial closing up and broadening. The passing and repassing of files through one another, both advancing and retreating. Their divisions according to files or columns and their distribution and arrangement.

8. Also, whenever, as mentioned, the phalanx or the entire battle formation is drawn together in depth or when it is extended in length. And what is called face-to-face battle or one on two fronts, when the men who are called the last of the file or those behind the entire file turn toward those circling about and fight facing forward as protostatai do, and behind them, in like fashion, half of the file

4. Cf. Onasander 10.1-6.

70 καὶ πάλιν τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μεταβολῶν ἀνακλήσεις καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεις ἵππων.

9. Οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα ἐθιζόμενοι στρατιῶται διὰ τάχους, ὡς εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτόματοι φέρονται πρὸς τὴν τάξιν, οἱ δὲ τούτων ἀνέθιστοι καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι διὰ τὰς ταραχὰς πολλοῦ καὶ μόλις ἀποκαθίστανται εἰς τὰς κατεπειγούσας τῆς τάξεως

75 χρείας.

10. Διαμερίσας δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσιδήρῳ μάχῃ συμβαλλέ-
 τωσαν ἤτοι διὰ κονταρίων ἄνευ ξιφῶν ἢ σαγιτῶν ὁμοίως ἢ, ὡς εἶπομεν, ἀντὶ
 σπαθίων βεργία ἢ νάρθηκας ἢ καλάμους ἀντὶ κονταρίων ἀναδιδούς. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ
 βώλους ἔχη ἢ γῆ ἐν ἣ γυμνάζωνται, τούτους βάλλειν κέλευε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐν τῇ
 80 γυμνασίᾳ τῆς συμβολῆς. ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα χαρζάνια ἢ τούτοις ὅμοιά
 τινα χρήσθωσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. δείξας δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βουνούς ὀρθίους κέλευε σὺν
 δρόμῳ ἀναβαίνειν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν αὐτούς, ἔχοντας δηλονότι τοὺς βουνούς
 ἐκείνους ἐτέρους στρατιώτας ἐφεστῶτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

11. Καὶ ὅτ' ἂν τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν γυμνάσης, πάλιν ἐκείνους ἐκβαλὼν
 85 ἐτέροις ἐπιδώσεις τὰ εἰρημένα ὅπλα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν μείναντας καὶ ἀνδραγαθή-
 σαντας ἐν τῇ γυμνασίᾳ ἐπαινέσεις, τοὺς δὲ ἀφυῶς ἐλθόντας καὶ ἀνάνδρως
 παραθήξεις καὶ παροτρυνεῖς εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐλαττώματα αὐτῶν ἀνορθωθῆναι.

12. Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης μελέτης καὶ γυμνασίας οὐ μόνον ἐθίζεται πρὸς τοὺς
 πόνους τὸ στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑγιαίνει καὶ πᾶσαν τροφὴν ἡδέως ἐσθίει καὶ
 90 πίνει, κἂν λιτὴ ἔστιν, ὑπὲρ τὰς πολυτελεῖς τροφάς. γίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ
 στερρόν, καὶ συνεθίζεται τοῖς μέλλουσι πόνοις, ἰδρῶτι καὶ θάλπει καὶ καύματι
 ἀσκίαστω | καὶ κρυμοῖς καὶ χειμῶσι συγγυμναζόμενον.

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13. Ὅμοίως δὲ γυμνάσεις καὶ τοὺς καβαλλαρίους ἐρίζειν αὐτοῖς ποιῶν καὶ
 ἀμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ διώξεις ποιεῖν καὶ συμπλοκάς καὶ ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἡγουν τοξείας
 95 ἢ ἀκοντίσεις. καὶ ὅσα ἐξῆς σοι πλατύτερον δηλώσω.

70 ἀποκαταστάσεις AVBE ἀποκαταστήσεις MW 71 ἵππων W om. MAVBE 72 ταῦτα
 πάντα MWVBE τὰ παρόντα A 76-77 πρὸς...συμβαλλέτωσαν MW παρακελεύου πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους συμβάλλειν μάχην χωρὶς σιδήρου AVBE 78 βεργία AVBE βεργίαις MW |
 ἀναδιδούς MW ἐπιδιδούς AVBE 80 καὶ τὰ MWAB κατὰ VE 81 χρήσθωσαν MWB
 ἐχέτωσαν AVE | κέλευε MWVBE κέλευσον A 83 ἐφεστῶτας MWA ἐστῶτας VBE
 86 ἐλθόντας...ἀνάνδρως MW καὶ ἀνάνδρως διατεθέντας AVBE 87 παραθήξεις MW
 διεγείρεις AVBE | παροτρυνεῖς MW παρορμήσεις AVBE | εἰς...ἀνορθωθῆναι MW τὰ αὐτῶν
 ἀνορθῶσαι ἐλαττώματα AVBE 90 ἔστιν MW ἔστιν καὶ εὐτελής A καὶ εὐτελής ἢ VBE |
 τροφάς AVBE τρυφάς MW 91 στερρόν MW ἰσχυρόν AVBE 92 συγγυμναζόμενον
 WAB γυμναζόμενον M συγγυμναζόμενοι VE 93 αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοὺς AVBE
 94 ἀμιλλᾶσθαι MW om. AVBE | συμπλοκάς MWA πλοκάς VBE | ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἡγουν
 MW om. AVBE 95 ἢ MW καὶ AVBE

should turn about. Again, <sound> the calls to bring such wheeling about to an end and to bring the horses back into formation.

9. The soldiers who quickly become accustomed to all these are, so to say, brought into formation spontaneously, whereas men without instruction and unaccustomed to these exercises are totally confused and barely able to bring themselves back to the pressing needs of the battle line.

10. Divide the army in two parts, then have them come together in a mock battle, the lances and, likewise, the arrows without points or, as we said, with staffs instead of swords. Or instead of lances distribute staves or reeds. If the ground on which they are drilling has clods of earth, order them to throw these at each other in practicing for battle. At times let them make use of what are called charzania or similar items in their battles. Point out to the men steep hills and order them to ascend them on the run and seize them. Of course, you will have other soldiers in position on top of those hills.

11. After you drill one group of soldiers, then dismiss those troops and give the weapons we spoke of to others. You will praise those who stood firm and acted courageously in the drill, but those who turned out unfit and cowardly you will admonish and exhort them to correct their failures.

12. As a result of practice and drilling of this sort, not only is the army accustomed to hard labor, but it stays healthy, eating and drinking everything, even plain fare, more heartily than gourmet meals. Their bodies become harder and they will get used to future labors since they have done their training sweating and panting in the heat under the open sky and in the icy cold of winter.

13. In like manner you shall drill the cavalry forces, making them compete and vie with one another and engage in pursuits, close combat, and shooting of missiles, either arrows or javelins, as well as in other ways that I will subsequently explain to you at greater length.

14. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐν ἐπιπέδοις τόποις καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ρίζας τῶν βουνῶν, ἐφ' ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν τραχέων ἐγγίξιν τόπων.

15. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔδοξεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μὴ μόνον εἰς δρόμους ἐν τοῖς ὁμαλοῖς τόποις ἐθίζεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς
100 ὑψηλοὺς καὶ δασεῖς καὶ τραχεῖς, ὥστε σὺν ἐλασίᾳ τούτους διαβαίνειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς κατωφερεῖς. ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐθίζωνται, οὐκέτι οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἵππους ξενίζει τόπος ἢ ἀδικεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θέρους μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν πυκνῶς τοὺς ἵππους ποτίζειν. διὸ οὐδὲ χρησιμὸν ἐστι πλησίον ποταμῶν ἀπληκεύειν. καὶ παρατάσσεσθαι δὲ εἰς τοὺς δυσχερεῖς καὶ
105 δυσβάτους τόπους καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν, ὥς ἐστι<ν ἐν τάξει> τὸ βάνδον, καθὼς φθάσει ὁ τόπος ἐκάστῳ σὺν ἐλασίᾳ ἀνέρχεσθαι ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατέρχεσθαι. ὅσοι τοίνυν φειδόμενοι τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν περιφρονοῦσι τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν γυμνασίας, ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.

16. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δέον ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ μετρίως ὁμως καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις, ὑποδείξαι σοι,
110 καθὼς προὔπεθέμεθα, πλατύτερον τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κινήσεις καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παραγγέλματα, ἵνα προγυμνάξης καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διεγείρης αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ δι' ἔργων πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς μεθόδους. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν γυμνασίαν τοῦ καθένα στρατιώτου πεζοῦ καὶ καβαλλαρίου δεῖ σε καὶ ἕκαστον τάγμα ἥτοι βάνδον γυμνάζειν καθ' ἑαυτὸ οὕτως. τοῦ βάνδου τῶν καβαλλαρίων
115 ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἀκιῶν ἥτοι ὀρδίνων συνεστῶτος καὶ συντεταγμένως ἱσταμένου παραγγέλλει ὁ μανδάτωρ τὰ προστεταγμένα, οἷον·

17. <Σιγή,> ὅτ' ἂν ἡ συμβολὴ γένηται. μηδεὶς ἀφήσῃ. μηδεὶς προλάβῃ <τὸ βάνδον>, ἕως ἂν διώξης τὸν ἐχθρόν. ἐὰν ἐκβῇς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μετώπου ὄψεως, βλέπε τὸ βάνδον. δώκε μὴ ὡς στρατιώτης δειλός, ἀλλ' ὡς στρατιώτης ἀνδρεῖος,
120 καὶ μὴ κατὰ παράκλησιν ἐάσης μήτε ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. φύλαττε, στρατιῶτα, τὴν

98–108 *Strat.*, 7.B.17. 117–248 *Strat.*, 3.5.

96 ἐπιπέδοις MW ὁμαλοῖς AVBE scr. mg. ἐν πεδίνοις καὶ ὁμαλοῖς W | αὐτὰς MW om. AVBE | τὰς ρίζας MW τὰ κατώτερα μέρη AVBE 97 ἐφ'...τόπων MW ἀναβαίνειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τραχέων τόπων ὅσον ἐστὶ δυνατόν AVBE 100 ὑψηλοὺς MW ὑψηλοὺς τόπους AVBE 103 πυκνῶς MW συχνῶς AVBE 104 ἀπληκεύειν AVBE ἀποκελεύειν M ἀπλικεύειν W | δὲ MWAVE om. B 104–105 τοὺς...τόπους MW τόπους δυσχερεῖς καὶ διαβάτους AVBE 105 ἐν τάξει *Strat.* om. codd. | φθάσει MW λάχη AVBE 107 αὐτῶν¹ MWA om. VBE | περιφρονοῦσι MW καταφρονοῦσι AVBE | αὐτῶν² MW om. AVBE 109 ἐστίν...καὶ¹ MW ἐστὶ AVBE | ὁμως...ὀλίγοις MW om. AVBE 110 καθὼς...πλατύτερον MW om. AVBE 113 τοῦ καθένα MW ἐκάστου AVBE | καὶ¹ MWVBE om. A 115 συνεστῶτος MWA συνεστῶτας B συνεστῶτως VE 117 σιγή *Strat.* om. codd. 117–118 τὸ βάνδον *Strat.* om. codd. 120 ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ MWA ἄλλον τρόπον VBE

14. Carry out these maneuvers in the plain and around the very roots of the hills, as far as they are able to advance in broken country.

15. While the ancient tacticians regarded this merely as good, I consider it essential to accustom the horses not only to rapid maneuvers in level terrain but also over hilly, dense, and rough ground so they may learn to ride quickly though such areas, as well as in steep terrain.⁵ If they get used to such terrain, then no place will surprise or trouble either the men or the horses. Even in the heat of summer be careful not to water the horses too much; for this reason it is helpful not to camp too close to rivers. Have them line up in rough and difficult terrain and turn about. When the bandon is in formation, each man should gallop over the ground as he finds it before him and return the same way. The men who spare their horses and neglect drills of this sort are conspiring against themselves.

16. In addition to these, it is necessary to teach you in greater detail, albeit moderately and briefly, the maneuvers of the ancients and the words of their commands, as we previously proposed, so that you may use these to drill the army beforehand and you may stir them up by words and by deeds for military exercises. After the training of each individual soldier, horse and foot, you must drill each tagma or bandon by itself in the following manner. When the cavalry bandon forms up in what are called files or columns and is standing together in proper order, the herald proclaims the prescribed orders as follows.

17. <“Silence,”> when the battle begins. “Nobody fall back.”⁶ Nobody go ahead of the standard until you are pursuing the enemy. If you lose sight of the front, look at the standard. Follow <it> not as a cowardly soldier but as a brave soldier. Do not allow yourself to be distracted or <to act> in another manner.

5. Cf. *Strat.* 7 B.17.

6. *Strat.* 3.5.

τάξιν σου, φύλαττε καὶ σύ, βανδοφόρε, ὅτ' ἂν καταπολεμήσης, ἵνα ἀκολουθῇς 303
τὸν ἐχθρόν. εἰ δὲ ἐκβῆς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς παραταγῆς, μὴ ἐλάσης ἰσχυρῶς ἐν τῷ
κάμπῳ ἵνα μὴ σκορπίσης τὴν σὴν τάξιν.

18. Ἡ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ τάγματος γυμνασία τῶν καβαλλαρίων αὕτη, ὥστε
125 κινεῖν συντεταγμένως ὡς ἐν παραταγῇ ἢ μετὰ δρόμου ἐπὶ τι σημεῖον καὶ οὕτως
ἴστασθαι. καὶ ὅτ' ἂν θέλῃ κινῆσαι σημαίνειν δέον μονῇ τῇ φωνῇ ἢ τῷ βουκίνῳ ἢ
νεύματι φλαμούλου, καὶ κινεῖν οὕτως· ὅτ' ἂν δὲ θέλῃ στήναι, σημαίνειν ἢ τῇ
φωνῇ στα ἢ τῷ ἤχῳ τοῦ σκουταρίου ἢ τῇ τούβᾳ, ἣν νῦν λέγουσι βούκινον, ἢ τῇ
ταυρέᾳ. καὶ αὕτη μὲν μία κίνησις.

130 19. Ἐτέρα δέ, ὥστε ἴσα περιπατεῖν ἐν ἀραιότεροις πρῶτον διαστήμασι, καὶ
παραγγέλλει· ἐξ ἴσου περιπατεῖτε.

20. Ἐτέρα δέ, ὥστε σφίγγεσθαι κατὰ πλευρὰν μάλιστα προπόντως, ὁμοίως
δὲ σφίγγεσθαι καὶ κατ' οὐράν. τὸ δὲ σφίγγεσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ πυκνοῦσθαι, ἵνα καὶ
κατὰ πλευρὰς καὶ κατὰ ὦμον ἀλλήλοις ἐγγίξωσι. παραγγέλλει δέ· κατὰ πλευρὰν
135 σφίγγε, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, δεκάρχαι πρὸς δεκάρχας, πεντάρχαι πρὸς πεντάρχας, τε-
τράρχαι πρὸς τετράρχας. καὶ σφίγγονται πάντες, ὡς εἴρηται, πλευρὰν πρὸς
πλευρὰν ἐγγίζοντες. οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐνὸς δὲ μέρους σφίγγονται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον
τόπον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, τὸν βανδοφόρον, ὥστε ἔνθεν ἀκείθεν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι.
συντόμως γὰρ καὶ εὐτάκτως ἡ τοιαύτη γίνεται σφίγις. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ δεκάρχαι
140 ἰσοῦνται ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μέτωπον, οὕτως πρέπει καὶ τοὺς τετράρχας ἡγουν
τοὺς οὐραγοὺς ἰσοῦσθαι ὀπίσω τοῦ ὀρδίνου. αὐτῶν γὰρ σφιγγομένων κατὰ
λόγον, κὰν λιποτακτήσωσιν ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς οἱ ἔμπροσθεν, κωλύονται ὑπ'
αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω τρέπεσθαι.

21. Ἐτέρα δέ, ὅτ' ἂν σφίγγωνται κατ' οὐράν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ πλάτος τῆς
145 παραταγῆς δέον σφίγγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάχος αὐτῆς, πολλάκις ἀλλήλοις κατὰ
τοὺς ὦμους ἐγγίζοντες.

121 βανδοφόρε MWA βανδιφόρε VBE 122 τὸν ἐχθρόν MW τῷ ἐχθρῷ AVBE
126 σημαίνειν δέον MW trsp. AVBE 127 κινεῖν οὕτως M trsp. WAVBE | ἢ AVBE om.
MW 128 στα AVBE om. MW | ἤχῳ MW κτύπῳ AVBE | νῦν λέγουσι M νῦν λέγουσιν W
λέγουσι νῦν AVBE 128-129 ἦ³...ταυρέα MW om. AVBE 130 διαστήμασι MAVE
διαστήμασιν W διαστήματι B 131 ἐξ MWAB om. VE 133 τὸ¹...τὸ² MW (ἐστὶν W) ὅ
ἐστὶ AVBE 134 κατὰ¹...ὦμον MW ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου AVBE | ἐγγίξωσι MB ἐγγίξωσιν
WA ἐγγίζουσι VE | δέ MWAVE δὲδὲ B 135 σφίγγε AVBE σφίγγεσθαι MW | ἐστὶ MAVBE
ἐστὶν W 136-137 πλευρὰν...πλευρὰν AVBE πλευρὰ πρὸς πλευρὰ M πλευρὰ πρὸς
πλευρὰν W 137 ἐπὶ ἐνὸς AVBE ἐπιθενὸς M ἐπι.ενὸς W (sic) 137-138 τὸν...τόπον MW
τῶν μέσων τόπων AVBE 138 τὸν M τῶν WAVBE 140 ἐν MW om. AVBE 143 ὀπίσω
τῶν μέσων τόπων WAVBE 144 κατ' M καὶ κατ' WAVBE 145 καὶ MWAB καὶ καὶ VE |
ἀλλήλοις MWVBE ἀλλήλους A 146 ἐγγίζοντες MWA ἐγγίζοντας VBE

Soldier: keep to your assigned position. Standard-bearer: keep to yours also.
When you are fighting and pursuing the enemy, if you leave the front of the
battle line, do not charge out impetuously and cause your ranks to be broken
up."

18. An individual cavalry tagma should be drilled as follows. At a given
signal to move in proper order as in a battle line or on the run; then come to a
halt. When the commander wants them to move, he must give the signal for
"Move" by voice, by bugle, or by a movement of the flag.⁷ And they move as
ordered. When he wants them to stop, he signals: "Stand." <He does this by
voice>, by banging on the shield or by the tuba, which they now call the
trumpet, or else by the horn. And this is one maneuver.

19. Another one. To march in line, first, over a rather broad area, he
commands: "In line. March."

20. Still another. Specifically to close ranks in proper order from the flanks
and, likewise, to close ranks from the rear. To close ranks is the same as to
tighten up, so that the men come close to one another by their sides and
shoulders. The command for this is: "By the flank. Close up." This means that
the dekarchs come close to the dekarchs, the pentarchs to the pentarchs, the
tetrarchs to the tetrarchs. And they all close up, as said, getting closer side by
side. They close in not on one section but upon the center, that is, the
standard-bearer so as to be on this side and that side of him. This kind of
closing up is to be done quickly and in good order. As the dekarchs align
themselves with each other along the front, so should the tetrarchs or fileclosers
align themselves at the rear of the column. When they close ranks as prescribed,
they effectively keep the troops in front of them from deserting in combat and
heading to the rear.

21. Another one. When they close up from the rear. Not only must the width
of the battle line be closed up but also its thickness, as they come ever closer to
one another, shoulder to shoulder.

7. Greek μονη is a mistranscription of Latin *move* (move) and στα is the same as Latin *sta* (stand). Cf. *Strat.* 3.5.11-12.

22. Ἐτέρα δὲ κίνησις, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ πύκνωσιν τῆς κατὰ πλευρὰν
 μάλιστα σφίξεως πεπυκνωμένους περιπατεῖν, ὅτ' ἂν ἡ τοξεία ἄρχεται γίνεσθαι,
 καὶ παραγγέλλει· πάταξον. καὶ ἐπικλινομένων τῶν δεκάρχων καὶ πεντάρχων ἐπὶ
 150 τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ σκεπόντων τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς καὶ μέρος τῶν τραχήλων τῶν
 ἵππων μετὰ τῶν σκουταρίων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κοντάρια ἀναβασταζόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς
 ὤμοις καὶ ὑποκρυπτομένων | μετὰ τῶν σκουταρίων ἐπελαύνειν εὐτάκτως 303'
 τριπόδω μόνῳ ἡγουν κινήματι συμμέτρῳ, τῷ λεγομένῳ κάλπα, καὶ μὴ βιαίως
 τρέχειν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐλασίας διαλυθῇ ἡ τάξις πρὸ μίξεως χειρῶν, ὅπερ
 155 ἐστὶν ἐπικίνδυνον. τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν, ὅσοι τοξόται εἰσὶ, τοξεύειν.

23. Ἐτέρα δὲ κίνησις ὥστε ἐπιδιώκειν ὅτε μὲν σὺν ἐλασίᾳ ὡς κούρσωρας, οὓς
 οἱ νῦν προκλάστας λέγουσιν, ὅτε δὲ συντεταγμένως ὡς διφένσωρας, οὓς ἡμεῖς
 καλοῦμεν ἐκδίκους. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὡς κούρσωρας χρὴ κινεῖν, παραγγέλλει· δρόμῳ
 ἔλα. καὶ ἕως ἐνὸς μιλίου ἀποκινούσι σὺν ἐλασίᾳ. ἐὰν δὲ ὡς διφένσωρας, παραγ-
 160 γέλλει· μετὰ τῆς τάξεως ἀκολουθεῖ. καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσι συντεταγμένως.

24. Ἐτέρα δὲ κίνησις ὥστε ὑποχωρεῖν ὀλίγον καὶ πάλιν ἀντιστρέφεσθαι. καὶ
 ὅτε μὲν θέλει ὑποχωρῆσαι ὁ κούρσωρ, κράζει· τύπτε. καὶ ὑποχωρεῖ σὺν ἐλασίᾳ
 ὡς ἔν ἧ δευτέρῳ σαγιττοβόλῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς διφένσωρας. πάλιν κράζει· στράφου,
 ἔλα. καὶ ἀνθυποστρέφουσιν ὡς ἂν εἰ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν
 165 πολλάκις μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεξιᾷ καὶ ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ πάλιν ὡς ἂν
 εἰ ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ διαλείμματι ταύτης, ποτὲ δὲ
 ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς ἐξελίσεσθαι καὶ ἅμα δρουγγιστὶ ἡγουν ὁμοῦ ὁρμᾶν κατὰ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς γυμνασίαις τὰ κοντάρια ἀναβασταζόμενα ἔχειν δεῖ καὶ
 μὴ εἰς πλάγιον, ἵνα μὴ οἱ ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἐλασίᾳ ἐμποδίζονται.

170 25. Ἐτέρα δὲ κίνησις ὥστε μετατίθεσθαι συντεταγμένως ἀριστερᾷ καὶ δεξιᾷ,
 ὅπερ ἀρμόζει πλαγιοφύλαξιν καὶ ὑπερκερασταῖς ἡγουν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ κυκλῶσαι τὴν
 τῶν πολέμιων παράταξιν τεταγμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους, ὥσπερ κέρας. καὶ

148 πεπυκνωμένους MW περιπατεῖν πεπυκνωμένους A περιπατεῖν πεπυκνωμένους VBE
 149 ἐπικλινομένων WAVBE ἐπικλιμένων M 150 τὰ AVBE om. MW 152 ὤμοις
 MWAVE ἵππους B | ἐπελαύνειν WAVBE ἐπελαύνει M | εὐτάκτως MW εὐτάκτω A ἀτάκτω
 VBE 153 τριπόδω... ἡγουν MW om. AVBE | κινήματι συμμέτρῳ MW trsp. AVBE | βιαίως
 MW ἰσχυρῶς AVBE 158 παραγγέλλει VBE παραγγέλλειν MWA 159 διφένσωρας AVE
 διφένσωρας MW διφένσωρα B 159-160 παραγγέλλει MW παραγγέλλειν AVBE
 160 ἀκολουθεῖ MWA ἀκολουθεῖν VBE 163 πάλιν MW ὅτε δὲ θέλει πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἐναντίους ὑστρέψαι AVBE | στράφου MWAB στάφου VE 165 πρόσω MW ἔμπροσθεν
 AVBE 166 διαλείμματι MW διαχωρίσματος AVBE 166-168 ταύτης... ἐχθρῶν MW τῆς
 αὐτῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως δρουγγιστὶ ἡγουν (ἡ γὰρ V) ὁμοῦ ἐξελίσεσθαι ποτὲ δὲ ἐν τῷ
 μεταξὺ τῶν (τῆς B) δύο (β' VBE) παρατάξεων (παρατάξεως B) διαστήματι AVBE
 171 πλαγιοφύλαξιν MW πλαγιοφύλαξι AVBE 172 τεταγμένοις MWAVE τεταγμένους B

22. Another maneuver. With the troops marching in close formation, partic-
 ularly after they have closed in tightly from the flanks, as they come within
 range of the <enemy> archers, and the command is given: "Strike." The dekarchs
 and pentarchs then lean forward, cover their heads and part of their horses'
 necks with their shields, hold their lances at shoulder height and, protected by
 their shields, they advance in good order, not too fast but at a canter, a measured
 gait, the so-called kalpa, so that the impetus of their charge might not break up
 their ranks before coming to blows with the enemy, a very risky action. All the
 archers to the rear are then to open fire.

23. Another maneuver. In pursuing <the enemy> sometimes they race along
 as assault troops, now called proklastai, or sometimes together in close order as
 defenders, now called ekdikoi. If it is necessary to move as assault troops, the
 commander gives the order: "Charge on the run." And they ride along at this
 rate for about a mile. If they move as defenders, he commands: "Follow in
 formation." And they follow in close ranks.

24. Another maneuver. To fall back a little and then wheel about. When the
 commander wants the assault troops to fall back, he shouts: "Give way." And
 they speedily withdraw a bowshot or two toward the defenders. Again he shouts:
 "Turn. Charge." They wheel about as though to face the enemy. Do this
 frequently, not only forward but also to the right and to the left, and again as
 though toward the second line. They should maneuver, sometimes in the
 intervals of that line, sometimes in the space between the lines. All together, in
 irregular formation, they then charge against the enemy. While drilling, the
 lances should be held up and not down to their sides, so as not to impede the
 free movement of the horses.

25. Another maneuver. To change front around to the left or to the right in
 an orderly fashion and in coordination with the flank guards and the
 outflankers, that is, the men lined up on the right side, like a horn, for the
 purpose of encircling the battle line of the enemy. If the commander wants them

175 παραγγέλλει, εἰ μὲν ἀριστερὰ μετατίθεσθαι βούλεται· κατάφερε πρὸς τὰ ἀριστερά· εἰ δὲ δεξιὰ μετατίθεσθαι· κατάφερε πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ· καὶ οὕτως μετατίθεσθαι·
ἐὰν μὲν ἓν βάνδον ἐστί, τὸ ἓν, εἰ δὲ πλείονα, ὁμοίως τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους μετατιθε-
μένου· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὡσαύτως κατὰ ἓν βάνδον ποιούσιν.

26. Ἐτέρα δὲ κίνησις ὥστε μεταβάλλεσθαι ποτὲ μὲν ἐν οἷς ἴστανται τόποις, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέτωπον τῆς παρατάξεως ἀλλάσσοντες· ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ αἰφνιδια-
180 σμός τις γένηται ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν κατὰ νότον ἤγουν ὀπισθεν ἐπιφερομένων, παραγ-
γέλλει μετασχημάτισον· καί, ὡς ἴστανται ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ οὐρὰν ὀπι-
σθεν βλέπουσι τῶν βανδοφόρων μόνων μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὸ κατὰ οὐρὰν
μέτωπον | ἐρχομένων· εἰ δὲ πλήθος ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανῇ ὀπισθεν, παραγγέλλει 304
μετάλλαξον· καὶ τότε μετατίθενται κατὰ βάνδον.

27. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ μῆκος ὀρδινεύειν καὶ γυμνάζειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
185 καὶ δρουγγιστὶ τάσσοντας γυμνάζειν καὶ ἐξελαύνειν ἐπ' εὐθείας, καὶ κύκλους
διαφόρους, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὰς ὑποχωρήσεις καὶ ἀντιστροφάς, εἴτα διὰ τὰς
αἰφνιδίους κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐφόδους, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ συντόμως τοῖς
δεομένοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν· εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ἐθισθῶσι τὰ τάγματα, ἐτοιμῶς ἔχουσι καὶ εἰς
κούρσωρας ἤγουν προκλάστας ἢ προμάχους καὶ εἰς διφένσωρας ἤγουν ἐκδί-
190 κους ἢ βοηθοὺς, καὶ εἰς ἐκάστην χρεῖαν τάσσεσθαι.

28. Καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν γυμνασίας κατορθουμένης εἰς τὰ πλείονα, εἰ καὶ μὴ
πάντα, δεῖ γινώσκειν τοὺς στρατιώτας· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ <πάντα> πονηρῶς εἶναι διὰ
τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γινώσκεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων ἐννέα κινήσεων
πρὸς πᾶσαν χρεῖαν ἔτοιμα γίνονται τὰ αὐτῶν τάγματα, καὶ εἰς κούρσωρας καὶ
195 εἰς διφένσωρας καὶ εἰς πλαγιοφύλακας καὶ εἰς ὑπερκεραστάς, ὅτε χρεῖα γένηται,
ἀφορισθῆναι τινὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν συνηθείᾳ πάσης τάξεως γενόμενα.

29. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐστὶ λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ βάνδα συμφωνίαν καὶ
τάξιν ἐθίζειν, ὡς ἐπὶ παρατάξεως, ἀλλ' ἵνα, ὡς εἴρηται, μὴ φανερὰ γίνηται ἢ
πᾶσα ἑκταξίς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· οὐδέποτε γὰρ <χρή> πρὸ τῆς μάχης τὴν πᾶσαν τάξιν

to change to the left, he orders: "Turn around to the left." If the change is to the right: "Turn around to the right." This is how they change front. If just one bandon is involved, then that one <changes front>, if several, one unit changes front in like manner, and the rest do so in conformity with the one bandon.

26. Another maneuver. To turn the formation around, sometimes changing the position in which the men stand, at other times changing the front of the battle line around. If there is a sudden movement of the enemy attacking from the rear or from behind, the commander gives the order: "Change position." Remaining in place they face behind, toward the rear, with only the officers and the standard-bearers actually moving to the <new> front, <which had been> the rear. If a large enemy force appears behind them, he commands: "Change place." Then they move about by bandon.

27. Not only is it necessary to have them draw up in linear formation and be drilled, but they should also be drilled in irregular formations, in charging out straight ahead, and in various circular movements. At first, they fall back and wheel about, they then make surprise attacks against the enemy and, finally, give prompt support to units in trouble. If the tagmata become habituated to such <maneuvers> they will be prepared <to operate> as assault troops, that is, as proklastai or promachoi, or as defenders, that is, as ekdikoi or support troops, and to adopt a formation for every contingency.

28. By the proper performance of such drills, the soldiers will necessarily become familiar with almost all of them, even if not all. There is no need to make them all public; if you do so, the enemy may learn about them. By means of the above-mentioned nine maneuvers the tagmata are prepared to face any situation, whether some are assigned to be assault troops or defenders, or flank guards, or outflankers, as need may require, for they will have become accustomed to all the formations.

29. It is essential, moreover, that the banda become used to drawing up and cooperating with one another, as in the battle line, but in such a way, as mentioned, that all our formations do not become apparent to the enemy. Before

173-174 μετατίθεσθαι... ἀριστερά MWA om. VBE 174 κατάφερε... μετατίθεσθαι² MWAVE om. B 175 βάνδον MWVBE βάνδον A | ἐστί MA ἐστίν W ἢ VBE 179 τις MW τίς VBE τι A | κατὰ... ἤγουν MW om. AVBE | ἐπιφερομένων MW ἐπερχομένων AVBE 181 βλέπουσι M βλέπουσιν WAVBE 184-185 ἀναγκαῖον... γυμνάζειν MWAVE om. B 188 ἔχουσι MAVBE ἔχουσιν W 190 εἰς MWA om. VBE 191 καὶ¹ WAVBE om. M 192 στρατιώτας MW om. AVBE | πάντα² ci. Va om. codd. | πονηρῶς εἶναι MW φαυλίζεσθαι καὶ δημοσιεῦσθαι AVBE 193 γὰρ AVBE om. MW 194 γίνονται MWVBE γίνονται A 197 ἐστὶ MA ἐστίν WVBE 198 γίνηται MWA γένηται VBE 199 χρή Strat. πρέπει AVBE om. MW | τὴν MWA τῆς VBE

200 ἐν τῷ ἅμα, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰς πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν παράταξιν διὰ γυμνασίαν μόνην
τάσσειν, ἢ πλαγιοφύλακας ἢ τοὺς ὑπερκεραστὰς λεγομένους ἢ τοὺς δρουγγιστὶ
καὶ λανθανόντως προσπίπτοντας ἢ ἐνέδρας ἡγουν ἐγκρύμματα. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα
στρατηγίας μᾶλλον ἐπιτηδεύματα εἶναι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ τάξεως, ἅπερ
προπομβλικίζεσθαι ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις οὐ συμφέρει, ἀλλὰ τότε πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
205 κατὰ τὴν ἀπαντῶσαν χρεῖαν ποιεῖν.

30. Πρέπον οὖν, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸ τοῦ κόμητος τὸ βάνδον εἴτε δροῦγγος εἴτε
τούρμα εἴτε καὶ προπαράταξις πολλοῦ στρατοῦ ἐστίν, ἐν τρισὶ μέρεσι τάσσειν
τοὺς γυμναζομένους. καὶ εἰ μὲν βάνδον ἐστὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γυμναζόμενον, τοὺς
πλείους αὐτοῦ ἐν τάξει κούρσων ποιεῖν ἀπὸ δέκα καβαλλαρίων ἐπὶ ἀπλῆς
210 ἀκίας ἔνθεν ἀκείθεν, αὐτοὺς ἰσομετώπους τάσσειν ἐν τάξει διφενσῶρων,
ἄλλους δὲ ὀλίγους καβαλλάρους ἄχρι δέκα τάσσειν δι' ὅψεως ἐναντίους, ὥστε
τὴν συμβολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰκάζεσθαι. |

31. Κινούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην ἐξέρχεσθαι σὺν ἐλασίᾳ τοὺς κούρ-
σωρας καὶ χωρίζεσθαι τῶν διφενσῶρων, καὶ τρέχοντας ἐπ' εὐθείας ὡς ἐν ἡ
215 δευτέρῳ μίλιν ὑποστρέφειν ἕως τοῦ ἡμίσεως ἐκείνου διαστήματος καὶ ἐκκλίν-
οντάς ποτε μὲν δεξιᾷ, ποτὲ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ, τρέχειν. οὕτως δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ τρίτον καὶ
τέταρτον, εἴτα πάλιν κυκλοειδῶς ἐλαύνειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προστρέχοντας ἐν τῷ
μεταξὺ τόπῳ τῶν διφενσῶρων, ὅθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθον, μετὰ τῶν ὡς ἐν τάξει διφενσῶ-
ρων ἐλαύνειν ὡς εἰς ἀπάντησιν τῶν καταδιωκόντων αὐτούς.

220 32. Οὕτως δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ δροῦγγου γυμναζομένου· καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν βάνδων
αὐτοῦ τάσσειν κούρσωρας, τὰ δὲ διφένσωρας, καὶ πάλιν ἐναλλάσσειν αὐτά, ὅτε
τοὺς κούρσωρας διφένσωρας ποιεῖν, ὅτε τοὺς διφένσωρας κούρσωρας, ὥστε
πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν χρεῖαν ἐτοιμοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

battle, never draw up the entire line all at the same time, but form <the army>
into first and second battle lines only for drilling. The same goes for flank guards
or those called outflankers or with those in irregular formation or hiding ready
to fall upon <the enemy> from ambushes or ambuscades. These dispositions are
matters of strategy against the enemy rather than of tactics, and they ought not
to be made known ahead of time during drill but should be decided on the spot
to meet a specific need.

30. Whether an individual bandon, under its count, or a droungos or a
tourma or even the whole front line of a large army is being drilled, it should be
drawn up in three parts. If a single bandon is to be drilled by itself, form most of
the men as assault troops. On the same front with them about ten horsemen
should be drawn up as defenders in a single file on each flank. Station a few
other horsemen, say ten, out in front and opposing them so that they can form
some idea of the course of the attack.

31. On moving out, as though advancing rapidly to battle, the assault troops
separate from the defenders. They ride steadily forward for a mile or two, then
turn back about half that distance. Then they turn and ride, first to the right and
then to the left. They do this three or four times and circle back again. After this
they ride to their original position in the space among the defenders. Then, in
formation as defenders, they ride out as if to encounter a force pursuing them.

32. The droungos should be drilled in the same way. Draw up some of its
banda as assault troops and some as defenders. Then have them exchange roles.
The assault troops become defenders and the defenders become assault troops.
As a result, they will be prepared for whatever need must be faced.

200 ἐν τῷ MWAVE om. B | δευτέραν MWAVE β' B | γυμνασίαν MWAVE γυμνασίας B
201 λεγομένους MWAVE λεγομένου B 203 ἐπιτηδεύματα MW καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων AVBE
204 προπομβλικίζεσθαι MW προφαυλίζεσθαι AVBE 205 ἀπαντῶσαν Strat. ἀπαντοῦσαν
M ἀπαιτοῦσαν WAVBE 207 στρατοῦ MWA λαοῦ VBE 208 βάνδον MWAVE om. B |
ἐστὶ MAVBE ἐστὶν W 209 πλείους MW πλείονας AVBE | αὐτοῦ Strat. αὐτῶν codd. | δέκα
MWA ι' VBE | καβαλλαρίων WAVBE καβαλλάρους M 210 ἀκίας MW ἀκίας καὶ AVBE |
αὐτοὺς MW αὐτῶν AVE αὐτῶν B | διφενσῶρων AVE διφενσῶρων MW διφένσωρας B
211 δι'...ἐναντίους MW κατέναντι αὐτῶν ὡς ἐναντίους AB κατ' ἐναντι αὐτῶν ἐναντίους VE
213-214 τοὺς κούρσωρας Va τοὺς κούρσορας MA τοῦ κούρσορος W κούρσορας VBE
215 μίλιν MW μίλιον AVBE 217 προστρέχοντας MWA προτρέχοντας VBE
218-219 ὅθεν...διφενσῶρων² MWAVE om. B 218 μετὰ τῶν MW μετ' αὐτῶν AVBE
220 δὲ MWAVE om. B 221-222 καὶ...διφένσωρας¹ MWAVE om. B 221 ὅτε Va ὥστε
codd. 223 χρεῖαν MWA om. VBE | ἐτοιμοὺς...εἶναι MW ἐτοιμοὶ ὥσιν A ἐτοιμοὶ ὥσι VBE

33. Ὅμοίως δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ τούρμας γυμναζομένης καὶ παρατάξεως πρώτης
 225 καὶ παρατάξεως δευτέρας. ἐπισκέψαι δὲ εἰς τὰς κυκλοειδεῖς ἐλασίας τῶν κουρ-
 σῶρων, ὅπου διάφορα βάνδα εὐρίσκονται, ὥστε εἰς δύο ἀρχὰς ταῦτα μερίζεσθαι
 καὶ ἐλαύνειν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὑπαντᾶν τὰς ἀρχὰς τὴν μὲν μίαν ἔξω,
 τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἐσωτέρω τρέχειν, ἵνα μὴ προσκρούματα τῶν καβαλλαρίων
 γίνωνται.

230 34. Δέον δὲ καὶ πλαγιοφύλακας καὶ ὑπερκεραστὰς ἡγουν τοὺς τὰς κυκλώ-
 σεις ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ποιοῦντας ἰδίως μετ' αὐτῶν δρουγγιστὶ ἡγουν
 πυκνοὺς καὶ ὁμοῦ ἐμπιπτόντας γυμνάζειν, λανθάνοντας δὲ δι' ἣν ἀνωτέρω
 εἶπομεν αἰτίαν, ὥστε εἰς μὲν τὰς μακροτέρας παρατάξεις τῶν ἐναντίων ἰσοῦσθαι
 καὶ μὴ ἐμπεριλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν κοντοτέρων εἰς τὸ τὰς
 235 κυκλώσεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἀντιτασσομένων αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων καβαλλαρίων ἐπὶ ἀπλῆς
 ἀκίας ἄχρι ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου βάνδου ὡς ἐναντίων, ἵνα πρὸς αὐτοὺς κανονίζωσιν
 οἱ ὑπερκερασταὶ πρότερον ὑπερκερᾶν αὐτοὺς ἤτοι κυκλοῦν· εἴθ' οὕτως οἱ
 συνόντες αὐτοῖς δρουγγιστὶ ἡγουν ὡς μᾶζα, ὁμοῦ, λανθανόντως αὐτοὶ μόνοι
 ἄφνω ὑπεξερχόμενοι μετὰ ἐλασίας ὀξείας τῷ νώτῳ ἡγουν κατὰ τὰ ὀπισθεν τῶν
 240 ἐναντίων ἐπιτίθενται.

35. Αὗται οὖν αἱ γυμνασίαι ἀπλαῖ εἰσι. καὶ κοινῶς δὲ πολλὰ τάγματα καὶ
 ἰδίως πάλιν ἐν τάγματι ἀρμοδίως γυμνάζουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄγνωστος ἡ
 τάξις φυλάττεται. καὶ δέον σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, ταύτας τὰς γυμνασίας ἐγγράφως | 309
 δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ σε τουρμάρχασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἰδίᾳ γυμναζομένοις
 245 τάγμασιν, ἐθίζειν δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας γυμνασίας μὴ μόνον ἐν ὁμαλοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 δυσβάτοις τόποις καὶ εἰς ὑψηλοὺς καὶ εἰς κατωφερεῖς. καὶ ἐν καιρῷ δὲ καύσωνος
 καλὸν ἐστὶ γυμνάζειν καὶ ἐθίζειν τὸν στρατόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδεν πότε συμβήσε-
 ται μάχη καὶ τί συμβήσεται.

224 καὶ² WAVBE om. M 226–228 διάφορα... δευτέραν MWAVE διφένσωρα κούρσωρας
 ἵνα πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ ὡς ὅπως τὴν δευτέραν ἔσω B 227 ἀρχὰς MW ἀρχὰς καὶ
 AVBE 228 ἐσωτέρω Va ἐσωτέρω MW ἔσω AVBE | προσκρούματα MWVE
 προσκρούσματα AB 231 μετ' αὐτῶν AVE μεταυτῶν B μετὰ αὐτῶν MW 232 πυκνοὺς
 MWAVE πυκνῶς B | δὲ MWA om. VBE 232–233 δι'... αἰτίαν MW διὰ τὸ μὴ φαυλίζεσθαι
 τοῖς πολεμίοις AVBE 233 ἐναντίων MWA πολεμίων VBE | ἰσοῦσθαι AVBE ἵνα ἰσοῦνται
 MW 234 ἐμπεριλαμβάνεσθαι AVBE ἐμπεριλαμβάνονται MW 235 αὐτοῖς MWA αὐτῶν
 VBE 236 κανονίζωσιν MWAVE κανονίζουσιν B 237 ἤτοι MWAVE ἡγουν B 238 ὡς
 μᾶζα MW om. AVBE 239 τῷ... ὀπισθεν MW ὀπίσω AVBE 241 εἰσι WVBE εἰσιν MA
 242 τι W om. MAVBE | γυμνάζουσι Strat. γυμνάζωσι MWVE γυμνάζεσθαι AB | ἄγνωστος
 MWA εὐγνωστος VBE 244 τοῖς¹ AVBE τοὺς MW | τουρμάρχασι AVBE τουρμάρχας MW
 247 οἶδεν MW οἶδε AVBE

33. Act in like fashion in drilling the tourma, as well as the first and second
 battle lines. <Practice> encircling charges by assault troops that involve different
 banda divided into two commands and riding in the opposite direction to one
 another, with one division advancing on the inside and the second on the out-
 side, in order to avoid collisions among the horsemen.

34. The flank guards and the outflankers, that is, those making circling
 movements from the right side, must be drilled separately, along with those
 irregular troops who had been hiding, for reasons explained above, and who
 attack all at once in a mass, so that when the enemy lines extend beyond ours,
 they keep our line even and guard it against envelopment by the enemy, whereas
 when their lines are shorter than ours, they can make use of encircling move-
 ments. A few horsemen, say one or two banda, should line up opposite them in
 a single line as though they were the enemy, so that the outflankers, conforming
 to the length of their line, may first outflank or encircle them. Then the men
 who had been hiding can suddenly and swiftly charge out by themselves, in
 irregular formation or like a lump, and fall upon the rear, that is, behind the
 enemy.

35. These exercises are simple and can easily be practiced by several tagmata
 together or, again, by a single tagma, without disclosing our order of battle to
 the enemy. It is your obligation, O general, to give these exercises in writing to
 the tourmarchs and others under your command involved in drilling individual
 tagmata. They should get used to these exercises not only on level ground but
 also in difficult terrain, among hills and steep inclines. Even in hot weather it is
 a good idea to drill and get the army used to it. For nobody knows when battle
 will take place and what will happen.

36. Χρή γὰρ οὕτως τὴν γυμνασίαν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου, διό
 250 καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τὸ χρησίμον καὶ τὰ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα εἰρήκαμεν. τὸ γὰρ
 πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐθίζεσθαι ἀνδρειότερους τοὺς στρατιώτας ποιεῖ.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν καβαλλάρων γυμνασίαν ἐκ μέρους διαταξάμεθα, χρεόν
 ἐστὶν ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν τῶν πεζικῶν ταγμάτων γυμνασίαν σοι διορίσασθαι, ὅσον
 ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων τακτικῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν νέων παρειλήφαμεν. ὀρίζονται τοίνυν
 255 αἱ ἀκταὶ πρῶτον τοῦ πεζικοῦ τάγματος, καθὼς ἄνω που ἐσημάναμεν, ὥστε
 τάσσεσθαι τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀριστερᾶ, τινὰς δὲ δεξιᾶ τοῦ βάνδου ἥτοι τοῦ
 ἄρχοντος. καὶ προπορευομένου τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἅμα τῷ βανδοφόρῳ καὶ τῷ
 μανδάτῳ καὶ βουκινάτῳ ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ὡς ὠρίσθησαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἥγουν οἱ
 πρωτοστάται ἢ δέκαρχοι, πρῶτον οἱ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους καὶ τότε τοῦ δεξιοῦ.

260 38. Γινομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς γυμνασίας τόπῳ ἢ τῆς παρατάξεως,
 ἴσταται ὁ ἄρχων καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ βανδοφόρος καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος κατὰ συνήθειαν.
 καὶ παρατάσσονται αὐτοῖς ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν αἱ ἀκταὶ, ὡς ὠρίσθησαν, πρῶτον ἐν
 ἀραιότερῳ διαστήματι, ἵνα μὴ συντρίβωνται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀπὸ ἱς' τὸ βάθος
 ἥγουν τὸ πάχος, ἔχουσαι καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ὀπισθεν, τὰ δὲ ξίφη τῶν κονταρίων
 265 ἄνω βλέποντα ἵνα μὴ ἐμποδιζονται ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ μετώπου
 περιπατοῦσιν ὁ μανδάτωρ, ὁ καμπιδούκτωρ ἥγουν ὁ ὁδηγὸς τῶν τόπων, ὁ μὲν
 τοὺς τόπους ἀνερευνῶν καὶ ὁδηγῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ μανδάτα γνώμη τοῦ ἄρχοντος
 διδούς.

39. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τάγμα ἐστὶ τὸ γυμναζόμενον, τὸν τοῦ τάγματος ἄρχοντα
 270 ἔμπροσθεν περιπατεῖν μετὰ μανδάτωρος καὶ καμπιδούκτωρος, εἰ δὲ τούρμα
 γυμνάζεται, μηδένα ἔμπροσθεν περιπατεῖν εἰ μὴ τουρμάρχη καβαλλάριον μετὰ
 μανδατέρων δύο, καμπιδουκτέρων δύο, στράτωρος α' καὶ σπαθαρίου ἑνὸς ἥτοι

254-461 *Strat.*, 12.B.11-16.

252 χρεόν MW χρεία AVBE 253 πεζικῶν MW πεζῶν AVBE 253-254 ὅσον... τακτικῶν
 MW ὅσην ἐκ τῶν τακτικῶν τῶν ἀρχαίων AVBE 254 ὅσον MW ὅσην AVBE 255 ἀκταὶ
 MWAVE ἀκταὶ B | καθὼς MWA καθὼ VBE | ἄνω που MW ἀνωτέρω AVBE | ὥστε MW ὡς
 AVBE 256 αὐτῶν MW ἐν AVBE | δὲ MW δὲ ἐν AVBE 258 βουκινάτῳ A βουκινάτορι
 MW βουκινιάτῳ VBE 259 δέκαρχοι MWA δέκαρχαι VBE | οἱ MW om. AVBE
 260 γινομένων W γενομένων MAVBE 261 αὐτὸν MWVBE αὐτῶν A scr. mg. ἥγουν
 δεύτερος ἐκείνου W 262 αὐτοῖς AVBE αὐτοὶ MW 263 ἱς' VBE κ' MW δεκαεξ' A
 266 περιπατοῦσιν...μανδάτῳ scr. mg. <...> οὐκ ἀπεχούσα στρατιω...ος...απεχ...ίου W
 267 μανδάτα MW παραγγέλματα AVBE | γνώμη MW προτροπῇ AVBE 269 ἐστὶ
 MAVBE ἐστὶν W | γυμναζόμενον MW γυμναζόμενον καὶ AVBE 271 τουρμάρχη MWVE
 τουρμάχη A τουρμάχης B 272 δύο¹ MWA β' VBE | δύο² MA β' WVBE | α' MW ἑνὸς
 AVBE | σπαθαρίου AVBE σπαθάτου MW

36. It is necessary to perform these drills as though you were actually at war.
 We have, therefore, addressed ourselves herein to what is useful in time of war.
 Being accustomed to its dangers makes the soldiers more courageous.

37. Since we have set down specific guidelines for drilling the cavalry, it is
 necessary in like manner to give you instructions concerning the training of the
 infantry tagmata, based on what we have derived from the ancient tacticians as
 well as the modern ones.⁸ First, the files of the infantry tagma must be orga-
 nized, as we indicated above, so that some should be drawn up to the left, some
 to the right of the standard or of the commanding officer. The commander then
 moves forward together with the standard-bearer and the herald and the
 trumpeter. The group leaders, that is, the protostatai or dekarchs, follow in their
 assigned positions, first those on the left side, then those on the right.

38. On arriving at the site of the drill or of the battle line, the commanding
 officer halts with the standard-bearer behind him and with his customary
 entourage. The files draw up on both sides of them in their assigned positions, at
 first a good distance apart to avoid bumping into one another, at a depth or
 thickness of sixteen, with the light-armed troops to the rear. They hold the
 points of their spears on high so they will not be impeded by them. The herald
 and the field guide, that is, the guide of the places, march before the front line,
 the one for reconnaissance and guide duty, the other to transmit orders from the
 commander.⁹

39. If a tagma is being drilled, the commanding officer should march in
 front with the herald and the field guide. If a tourma is being drilled, nobody
 should march in front except the tourmarch, mounted, with two heralds, two
 field guides, one strator, and one spatharios, that is, the man bearing the

8. *Strat.* 12.B.11-16.

9. Kampidouktor, although translated as drillmaster (*Strat.* 12.B.7.4; Engl. trans. p. 140),
 Feldwebel (Germ. trans. p. 425), Exerziermeister (*LBG*), in the *Taktika* (7.38; 14.59) reflects its
 Latin origin (*campus, ductor*), indicating a field guide, who may also have been in charge of
 drilling the troops.

τοῦ τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ ἄρχοντος | φέροντος, ἕως οὗ πλησίον τῆς συμβολῆς γένηται ἢ 305¹
 παραταγῇ. τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ παραταγῇ ἀσφαλῶς εἰσέρχεται, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τὸ βάνδον
 275 αὐτοῦ τέτακται.

40. Μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις μηδὲ βούκινον λέγειν εἰς
 ἕκαστον μέρος πλὴν τοῦ μεράρχου, εἴτε μίαν τοῦρμαν ἔχει τὸ μέρος εἴτε δύο εἴτε
 πλείονας, κἂν εἰ συμβῇ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ βούκινα, ἵνα μὴ θορύβου γενομένου
 κωλύωνται τὰ μανδάτα ἐξακούεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται πεζοὶ ἡγουν οἱ σκουτά-
 280 τοι τάσσονται οὕτως. οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ κατὰ διαφόρους τρόπους τάσσονται ἡγουν οἱ
 ἀκροβολισταὶ μὲν πάλαι καλούμενοι, νῦν δὲ τοξόται ἢ σαγιττάτωρες. ποτὲ μὲν
 γὰρ ὀπισθεν ἐκάστης ἀκίας πρὸς τὸ μέτρον τῶν ὄντων, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τοὺς ἰς'
 σκουτάτους δ' ψιλοὶ, ἵνα καὶ μέχρι δ' μεριζομένης τῆς τῶν σκουτάτων ἀκίας
 εὐρεθῇ εἰς τοξότης ὀπισθεν αὐτῆς, ποτὲ δὲ ἐν τῷ βάθει τῶν ἀκιῶν εἰς παρ' εἰς
 285 σκουτάτος καὶ τοξότης, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν ἡγουν
 ταῖς ἐξοχαῖς τῶν παρατάξεων, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐσωτέρῳ τῶν καβαλλαρίων, πολλάκις
 δὲ καὶ ἐξωτέρῳ αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ μικροῦ διαστήματος μετὰ καὶ ὀλίγων σκουτάτων εἰς
 τὸ ἐκδικεῖσθαι τοὺς εἰς τὸ ἐξώτερον ἐστῶτας καβαλλαρίους, ἂν πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ
 ψιλοὶ.

290 41. Οἱ δὲ τὰ ρικτάρια ἢ τζικούρια ἢ βαρδούκια ἔχοντες ἢ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἀκιῶν
 τῶν σκουτάτων ἢ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ· οἱ δὲ σφεν-
 δοβολισταὶ πάντως εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς παρατάξεως. νῦν δὲ τάζομεν τοὺς τοξότας
 καὶ λοιποὺς ἀκοντιστάς ὀπισθεν τῶν ἀκιῶν πρὸς τὴν γυμνασίαν ἢ ὡς ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ
 χρεῖα αὐτῆς.

295 42. Τοὺς δὲ καβαλλαρίους εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς πεζικῆς παρατάξεως τάξεις, ὅσα
 δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνδρειότερα τάγματα μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἐξωτέρῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν
 πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ καβαλλάριοι, τοῦτ' ἔστι, πλεον τῶν ἰβ' χιλιάδων, ἀπὸ δέκα τὸ
 βάθος τούτων γίνεσθαι, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀλιγωτέρους τοῦ μέτρου τούτου, ἀπὸ πέντε.
 εἶναι δὲ ἐκ περισσοῦ τινὰς ὀπισθεν ἐν ὑποβοηθείᾳ αὐτῶν ἐξωτέρῳ τῶν ἀμαξῶν
 300 ἵνα, ἂν μὲν διὰ τῶν ὀπισθέν τινες τῶν ἐχθρῶν φθάνωσιν, ἀποσοβήσωσιν

273 ἄρχοντος MWAB ἄρχοντα VE 276 μὴ WA μὴ δὲ MVBE 277 δύο MWAVE β' B
 278 κἂν MWA καὶ VBE 280-281 ἡγουν...σαγιττάτωρες MW om. AVBE 283 δ'¹
 MWVBE τέσσαρες A | δ'² MWVBE τεσσάρων A 288 ἐκδικεῖσθαι MWA ἐκδικεῖσθαι VBE |
 τὸ² WAVBE τοὺς M | εἰσιν MWA ὥσιν VBE 290 ρικτάρια Va ρηκτάρια MW ριπτάρια
 AVBE | βαρδούκια MW ματζούκια AVBE 291 μέσω MW μέσω ταχθήσονται AVBE
 291-292 σφενδοβολιστὰι MW σφενδονῆται A σφενδονίται VE σφενδωνίται B 292 τοὺς
 AVBE om. MW 297 ἰβ' MWVBE δώδεκα A 298 μέτρου MWA μέρους VBE | πέντε
 MWAVE ε' B 299 ὀπισθεν MWAVE ὀπιθεν B 300 ἀποσοβήσωσιν Va ἀποσωβήσωσιν
 MW ἀπαντῶσιν AVBE

commander's weapons. <They remain there> until the battle line is close to
 engaging. Then they safely enter back into the battle line, to the place where the
 standard is located.

40. The commander should not personally fight against the enemy. No
 trumpet should sound in each meros except that of the merarch, whether the
 meros has one tourma or two or more, even if there should be many trumpets.
 Otherwise the resulting noise may prevent the orders from being heard. This is
 how the heavy infantry, the heavy-armed troops, should be organized. The
 light-armed troops are formed in various manners. They were formerly called
 akrobolistai, but now bowmen or archers. Sometimes to the rear of each file in
 proportion to their numbers, four light-armed troops for sixteen heavy-armed
 men, so that if the heavy-armed file is reduced to four deep there will be one
 archer behind it. Sometimes <they are placed> in the depths of the files, one
 heavy-armed soldier alternating with one archer; sometimes, both in the files
 and in the horns, that is, the extremities of the battle line, on the inside of the
 cavalry. Frequently, if there is a large number of light-armed troops, <they are
 posted> a short distance to the outside of the cavalry, along with a few
 heavy-armed men, to defend the cavalry stationed outside.

41. The troops carrying missile weapons, axes, or maces should be either
 behind the heavy infantry files or on the extremities of the battle line and not in
 the middle. The slingers are always at its extremities. At present we form the
 archers and the others with missile weapons behind the files for drill or as need
 requires.

42. Station the cavalry on the extremities of the infantry battle line, the
 bravest units with their officers further out. If the cavalry force is large, that is,
 over twelve thousand men, they should be about ten deep. If they number less
 than that, about five deep. There should be extra troops in the rear, outside the
 wagons, to support them, so they may scare off any of the enemy who shows up

αὐτούς, εἰ δὲ μή γε, προστεθῶσι τοῖς πλαγίοις καὶ αὐτοί. τάσσονται δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἀραιότερῳ πρότερον διαστήματι ἵνα, ἐὰν γένηται καιρὸς εἰς τὸ χρῆζειν μεταβάλλεσθαι, μὴ ἐμποδίζωνται.

43. Παραγγελίης δὲ τοὺς καβαλλαρίους μὴ κατατρέχειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μηδὲ ἀφίστασθαι τῆς πεζικῆς παρατάξεως ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ διάστημα, κἂν τάχα τραπῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, ἵνα μὴ ἐγκρύμματός τινος παρ' αὐτῶν γενομένου, εἴπερ ἀπὸ διαστήματος εἰσιν οἱ πεζοί, γυμνούμενοι τῆς παρατάξεως ἐπηρεασθῶσιν ὡς ὀλιγώτεροι ἢ ἀσθενέστεροι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν βιασθῶσιν, ὡς εἰκός, παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ὀπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως προσφεύγειν καὶ μὴ παρέρχεσθαι τὰς ἀμάξας, τὰς ὀπίσω τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν πεζῶν ὀφειλούσας εἶναι πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲ οὕτως ἀντέχουσι, κατέρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἵππων καὶ οὕτως πεζῇ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικεῖν.

44. Ἐὰν δὲ παρατάξασθαι μὲν θέλῃ ὁ στρατός, μὴ συμβαλεῖν δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ ὁρμήσωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατὰ τῶν καβαλλαρίων καὶ μὴ βαστάζωσιν αὐτούς, μὴ ἀναμένωσιν αὐτοὺς ἰστάμενοι εἰς τὰ κέρατα τῆς παρατάξεως, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν μᾶλλον ἔλθωσιν <τῶν πεζῶν>, τοῦτ' ἔστιν μέσον τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γένηται, χρεῖα μείζονος τοῦ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διαστήματος, ἵνα μεταβαλλομένων, ὡς εἰκός, τῶν καβαλλαρίων μὴ στενοχωρηθῶσι μηδὲ αἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σαγίτται βλάψωσιν αὐτούς.

45. Ταῦτα δεῖ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν καιρῷ μάχης γίνεσθαι· διὰ ταύτην γὰρ καὶ ἡ γυμνασία μεταχειρίζεται.

46. Τούτων οὖν τῶν διατάξεων εἰρημένων πρέπον ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ παραγγέλματα τῆς πεζικῆς τάξεως, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς ἵππικης, ἐμφανίσει σοι καὶ διασαφήσαι.

47. Ὅτ' ἂν γὰρ παραστῶσι πρὸς τὴν γυμνασίαν τὰ μέρη τῆς παραταγῆς τῶν ταγμάτων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραγγέλλει ὁ μανδάτωρ ταῦτα· “μετὰ σιγῆς πάντες τὰ παραγγέλματα πληρώσατε. μὴ παραχθῆτε. τὴν τάξιν ὑμῶν φυλάξατε. τῷ βάνδῳ

301 αὐτοὺς MW αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποδιώκωσιν AVE αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποδιώκουσιν B | προστεθῶσι MAVBE προστεθῶσιν W 302 εἰς...χρῆζειν MW om. AVBE 303 μεταβάλλεσθαι MW μεταβαλέσθαι αὐτοὺς AVBE 305 ὡς MW om. AVBE 306 παρ'...γενομένου MWA trsp. VBE 306-307 εἴπερ...παρατάξεως MW μακρὰν τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν πεζῶν εὐρισκόμενοι AVBE 307 ἐπηρεασθῶσιν MWAB ἐπηρεασθῶσιν VE 309 παρέρχεσθαι WAVBE ἐπέρχεσθαι M 311 ἀντέχουσι M ἀντέχουσιν W ἀπαντῶσιν A ἀπαντῶσι VBE 313 συμβαλεῖν AVBE συμβάλλειν MW 313-314 τὴν αὐτὴν MW trsp. AVBE 314 ὁρμήσωσιν MWAVE ὁρμήσουσιν B 316 ἀλλ'...παρατάξεως MWA om. VBE | τῶν πεζῶν Strat. om. codd. | μέσον A om. MWVBE 318 στενοχωρηθῶσι MAVBE στενοχωρηθῶσιν W 320 δεῖ PG δὲ codd. 323 ἵππικης MWA πεζικῆς VBE 325 παραστῶσι AVBE παραστῶσιν M diff. lectu W 327 φυλάξατε MAVBE πληρώσατε W

in the rear. If there is no <such need> they join in support of the flanks. They should first draw up in a very wide space so that, if the time comes for wheeling about, they do not get in each other's way.

43. Order the cavalry not to race after the enemy or to get too far away from the infantry line, even if the enemy quickly turns to flight. Otherwise, they might run into an ambush and, with the infantry far off, without the support of the battle line, weakened, and few in numbers they might be badly beaten. But if, as may happen, they should be driven back by the enemy, let them seek refuge to the rear of the battle line, but not go beyond the wagons, which ought to be behind the infantry battle line to protect it. If they still cannot hold out, they should dismount and defend themselves on foot.

44. If the army wants to draw up for battle, but not engage in fighting that day, and the enemy charges against our cavalry, and they cannot hold them off, they should not wait for them in their position on the horns of the battle line, but rather ride in behind the infantry, that is, between the line and the wagons. If this happens, there will be a need for more room in that middle area so that the cavalry may not be forced into a narrow space, which is possible, and be injured by the enemy's arrows.

45. These things occur especially in time of battle; it is with this in mind that we devote time to drilling.

46. Now that we have covered these arrangements, it is fitting for us to explain and make clear to you the formations and the commands for the infantry units, as <we did> for the cavalry.

47. When the various divisions are lined up and the units of the army get into position for their drills, the herald gives the following commands. “In silence, everyone observe the commands. Do not be confused. Stay in your

ἐπακολουθήσατε. μηδεὶς ἀφήσῃ τὸ βάνδον καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διώξατε.” καὶ
τούτων εἰρημένων κινουσί πρῶως τε καὶ ἡσυχῶς, ὥστε μηδὲ ψιθυρισμὸν γίν-
εσθαι παρὰ τινος.

48. Ἐθίζεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα φωνῇ ἢ νεύματι, διὰ σημείου τινός, οἷον
κινεῖν καὶ ἴστασθαι. λεπτύνεσθαι ἢ γοῦν μερίζεσθαι τὸ βάθος τῶν ἀκίων, περιπα-
τεῖν ἴσως καὶ συντεταγμένως ἐπὶ στόμα ἢ γοῦν ἐπ’ εὐθείας. καὶ κατὰ ποικίλους
τρόπους καὶ διαφόρους πυκνοῦσθαι ἢ τοι σφίγγεσθαι κατὰ βάθος καὶ μήκος.
335 φούλκῳ περιπατεῖν. συμβάλλειν ὡς ἐν τάξει μάχης μετὰ σχήματος, ποτὲ μὲν
μετὰ βεργίων, ποτὲ δὲ μετὰ γυμνῶν σπαθίων.

49. Γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ οὕτως· | μερίζεσθαι πρὸς διφραγγίαν καὶ πάλιν 306
ἀποκαθίστασθαι. δεξιᾷ καὶ ἀριστερᾷ κλίνεσθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ κέρας ἢ γοῦν
τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος. προάγειν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστασθαι. φυλάττεσθαι
340 ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστασθαι. μετατίθεσθαι δεξιᾷ καὶ
ἀριστερᾷ. ἀραιοῦσθαι καὶ πλατύνεσθαι. <βαθύνεσθαι> ἢ τοι διπλοῦσθαι τὸ
βάθος τῶν ἀκίων. μεταβάλλεσθαι κατὰ νότον καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστασθαι.

50. Γίνονται δὲ τὰ σχήματα ταῦτα διὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἀνακυπτούσας αἰτίας
φωνῇ τοίνυν ἢ νεύματι, διὰ σημείου τινός, κινουσί καὶ ἴστανται. ὅτε δὲ θέλει
345 κινῆσαι, σημαίνει ἢ βουκίνῳ ἢ τῇ ταυρέᾳ ὁ καμπιδούκτωρ ἢ τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
κινουσί. εἰ δὲ στήσαι θέλει, ἢ τῇ τούβᾳ, ὃ ἐστὶ μικρὸν βούκινον, ἢ τῇ φωνῇ ἢ
νεύματι τῆς χειρός, καὶ ἴστανται. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο φωνῇ καὶ σημασίᾳ ἐθίζεσθαι
ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι διὰ τὸν τοῦ ἄρματος θόρυβον ἢ κονιορτὸν ἢ ὀμίχλην ἐπιγίνο-
μένην.

350 51. Λεπτύνονται ἢ τοι μερίζονται αἱ ἀκίαι ὅτ’ ἂν ἀπὸ ἑξῆς ἀνδρῶν τὸ βάθος
αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ θέλεις μᾶλλον τὸ μήκος τῶν παρατάξεων ἐκτείνειν διὰ κόμπον ἢ
διὰ τὸ ἰσωθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων παρατάξει· καὶ παραγγέλλει· “<ἀπὸ ὀκτῶ>
ἔξελθε.” καὶ ἐξέρχονται εἰς παρ’ ἑνα μερίζόμενοι, καὶ λεπτύνεται μὲν τὸ βάθος

328 καὶ!...διώξατε MW om. AVBE 329 κινουσί AVBE κινήσουσι MW 329-330 γίν-
εσθαι MWVBE γενέσθαι A 331 αὐτοὺς MW αὐτοὺς δέον AVBE 335 φούλκῳ AVBE
φούλκων MW | συμβάλλειν...σχήματος MW ἢ γοῦν τοὺς ὀπίσω σκέποντας τὰς τῶν
ἔμπροσθεν κεφαλὰς τοῖς σκουταρίοις καὶ οἰοῖ κεραμωθέντας περιπατεῖν AVBE 337 καὶ!
MWA om. VBE 341 βαθύνεσθαι *Strat.* πλατύνεσθαι W om. MAVBE | διπλοῦσθαι AVBE
διπλοῦσθαι MW 342 κατὰ νότου MW ὀπίσω AVBE 343 διαφόρους MWA διαφόρως
VBE 344 κινουσί MAVBE κινουσί W 345 ταυρέᾳ Va ταυρία MW σάλπιγγι AVBE
347 ἴστανται MWA ἴσταται VBE | δὲ τοῦτο MW trsp. AVBE | σημασία MW σημείῳ AVBE
348 ἐστὶ MAVBE ἐστὶν W | τὸν...ἄρματος MW τε τὸν κτύπον τῶν ἀρμάτων AVBE | ἢ! MW
καὶ τὸν AVBE 348-349 ἢ!...ἐπιγινόμενῃ MW ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγινόμενῃ ὀμίχλῃ AVBE
351 ἐστὶ M ἐστὶν WA ἢ VBE | διὰ κόμπον MW ἢ διὰ φαντασίαν AVBE 352 παρατάξει
AVBE τάξει MW | ἀπὸ ὀκτῶ Va om. codd.

position. Follow after the standard. Let nobody leave the standard and pursue
the enemy.” When this has been said, they move at a steady pace and in silence,
without anyone even whispering.

48. They should become accustomed to these movements so that at a spoken
command, a nod, or some other signal, they march or halt, reduce or divide the
depth of the files, march evenly and in good order out in front or in a straight
line, and in a great variety of ways thicken or tighten ranks according to depth
and width. March in a foulkon. In battle formation engage in a mock battle,
sometimes using staffs and sometimes unsharpened swords.

49. Drill them also in this way. Divide into a double phalanx and then
resume normal formation. Face to the right and to the left. March to the flank,
that is, to the section on the right. Advance in front and again back to their
original position. Defend on a double front from both sides and then return to
their original position. Change front to the right and to the left, open files and
extend the formation, deepen or double the depths of the files, change their
front to the rear and then back again.

50. These maneuvers are set in motion by various means as they present
themselves. At a spoken command, a gesture, or some other signal the troops
march or halt. When he wants them to march, the field guide signals by
trumpet, horn, or voice, and they march. If he wants them to halt, then by tuba,
which is a small trumpet, by voice, or by a hand gesture, and they halt.¹⁰ It is
essential that the troops become accustomed to these commands by voice or
signal because of the confusion caused by the clash of arms, the dust, or the fog
settling in.

51. The files may be thinned or divided when they are sixteen men deep and
you want rather to extend the width of the battle line to make it look more
impressive or to make it equal to the enemy line. Give the command: “March
out <by eights>.” They divide up with every other man stepping out of line, and

10. In Classical as well as Byzantine Greek, the word for trumpet was σάλπιγξ. In the
Taktika, however, the common term is boukinon (Latin, *bucina*), which came in several sizes
(*supra*, Const. 5 §4), was spiral in shape, and was sounded to begin marching. The small
boukinon, also known as tuba, gave the signal to halt; this too came in various sizes and
shapes; *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* defines it as a trumpet with a straight tube. Another type
of boukinon was the taurea (Lat. *cornu*). See also Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, 3.5. A “count
of the trumpets” (κόμης τῶν βουκίνων) is listed in CampOrg, 1.120. Cf. N. Maliaaras, “Die
Musikinstrumente des byzantinischen Heers vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert,” *JÖB* 51 (2001):
94-95.

τῶν ἀκίων, προστίθεται δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παρατάξεως, καὶ γίνεται τὸ βάθος ἀπὸ
 355 ἡ'. εἰ δὲ θέλει ἀπὸ τεσσάρων, πάλιν λέγει· ἔξελθε. καὶ ἐξέρχονται ὁμοίως πάντες
 εἰς ἓν μέρος, δεξιᾷ ἢ ἀριστερᾷ. τοῦτο δὲ χρεῖα παραφυλάττειν, ἵνα πάντες εἰς ἓν
 μέρος καὶ εἰσέρχονται καὶ ἐξέρχονται.

52. Περιπατεῖν ἴσως καὶ συντεταγμένως ὅτ' ἂν τινες τῆς παρατάξεως προκύ-
 ψωσι καὶ ἀνίσως περιπατοῦσι, καὶ παραγγέλλει· ἴσον τὸ μέτωπον, καὶ ἰσοῦται τὸ
 360 μέτωπον.

53. Πυκνοῦνται ἡγουν σφίγγονται, ὅτ' ἂν ὡς ἀπὸ β' ἢ γ' σαγιττοβόλων τῆς
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως γίνεται ἡμῶν ἢ παρὰ ταξίς καὶ μέλλη συμβάλλειν.
 παραγγέλλει· “ζεῦξον.” καὶ πυκνούμενοι σφίγγονται πρὸς τὸν μέσον τόπον
 κατὰ βάθος καὶ μῆκος τοσοῦτον, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐκ πλαγί-
 365 ου εἰς τὰ ἄρματα ἀλλήλοις ἐγγίζωσιν, οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεν κατὰ νώτου ἀλλήλοις
 ὥσπερ κεκόλληνται. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σχῆμα γίνεσθαι δύναται καὶ περιπατοῦσης καὶ
 ἰσταμένης τῆς παρατάξεως. | χρὴ δὲ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς παραγγέλλεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν 307
 ὀπισθεν προωθεῖν καὶ ἀπορθοῦν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἵνα μὴ ἐναπομένωσι
 τινες, ὡς εἰκός, δειλιῶντες.

370 54. Φούλκῳ δὲ περιπατεῖν λέγεται ὅτ' ἂν ἐγγιζουσῶν τῶν παρατάξεων, τῆς
 τε ἡμετέρας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων, μέλλη ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τοξεία γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐ
 φοροῦσιν οἱ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τεταγμένοι ζάβας ἤτοι λωρίκια. καὶ παραγγέλλει·
 “πύκνωσον.” καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον τεταγμένων πυκνούντων τὰ
 σκουτάρια αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἐγγίζειν ἀλλήλοις, κατασκέποντες προσπεπλασ-
 375 μένως τὰς γαστέρας αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς κνήμης ἡγουν τοῦ λεγομένου σκέλους, οἱ
 παρεστώτες αὐτοῖς ὀπισθεν ὑπερανέχοντες τὰ σκουτάρια αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναπαύον-

355 ἡ' MWVBE ὁκτὼ A | θέλει MAVBE θέλη W | τεσσάρων MWA δ' VBE
 358-359 προκύψωσι MVBE προκύψωσιν WA 359 περιπατοῦσι M περιπατοῦσιν W
 περιπατῶσιν A περιπατῶσι VBE 361 ἡγουν MAVBE ἤτοι W | β' MWVBE δύο A | γ'
 MWVBE τριῶν A | σαγιττοβόλων MWAVE om. B | τῆς WAVBE om. M 362 γίνεται
 MWB γένηται AVE | ἡμῶν MWB trsp. AVE | συμβάλλειν MWA συμβάλλει VBE
 363 παραγγέλλει AVBE λέγει M om. W | ζεῦξον MW σφίγγον AVBE 366 κεκόλληνται
 MW κολλῶνται AVBE | γίνεσθαι δύναται MWA trsp. VBE 367 καὶ MWA om. VBE
 368 ἐναπομένωσι MW ἐναπομείνωσι A ἀπομείνωσι VBE 371 ἡμετέρας MWAB ἡμέρας
 VE | ἄρχεσθαι WA ἔρχεσθαι M ἀπέρχεσθαι VBE 372 φοροῦσιν MWA φορῶσιν VBE
 373 ἔμπροσθεν MAVBE ἔμπροσθε W | τὸ MW om. AVBE 374 κατασκέποντες MW καὶ
 κατασκεπόντων AVBE 374-375 προσπεπλασμένως MWVE om. AB 375 τὰς MW τὰς
 τε AVBE | μέχρι...σκέλους MW καὶ τὰ σκέλη AVBE

the depth of the files is reduced, while the width of the battle line is extended
 and the depth becomes eight men. If he wants to make it four deep, he again
 says: “March out.” In like manner they all march to one side, right or left. This
 must be observed to make sure that all march in or out to one side.

52. They should march evenly and in good order. When some men step out
 in front of the line and march in an uneven manner, the command is given:
 “Straighten out the front.” And the front is made straight.

53. They tighten up or close ranks when our battle line gets to about two or
 three bowshots from the enemy's line and is getting set to charge. The command
 is: “Close ranks.” Joining together, they close in toward the center, keeping their
 depth and width such that the weapons of the men lined up in front are almost
 touching those of the men next to them, and the men behind them to the rear
 are almost glued to one another. This maneuver may be carried out while the
 battle line is on the march or when it is standing in place. The file closers must
 be ordered to push forward the men in the rear and to straighten their line
 when necessary, so they will not, as may be likely, hesitate or act in a cowardly
 manner.

54. They are said to march in a foulkon when the two lines, ours and the en-
 emy's, are getting close and the archers are about to open fire and the front-rank
 men are not wearing coats of mail or body armor. The command is: “Close
 ranks.” The men in the front ranks close in on one another until their shields are
 almost touching, completely covering their midsections down to their shins,
 also called the shank. The men standing behind them hold their shields above

τες εἰς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν σκέπουσι τὰ στήθη καὶ τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτως συμβάλλουσιν.

55. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ πυκνωθεῖσα καὶ ἡ παράταξις κατὰ λόγον ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σαγιττο-
 380 βόλου γένηται τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μέλλει πάντως ἡ συμβολὴ συνάπτεσθαι,
 παραγγέλλει. “ἔτοιμοι.” καὶ ἄλλου διαδεχομένου καὶ κράζοντος. “βοήθει.” καὶ
 πάντων ἀποκρινομένων ἴσως καὶ συμφώνως. “ὁ Θεός.” οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ τοξεύουσιν
 ὑψηλοτέρως, οἱ δὲ σκουτάτοι, οἱ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τεταγμένοι, ἔτι ἐγγυτέρω
 385 ἅμα ρίπτουσιν αὐτά, εἰ δὲ μήγε, ἀναμένοντες μέχρις οὗ ἐγγὺς ἔλθωσι, τότε
 ἀκοντίζοντες τὰ κοντάρια ἦτοι ρικτάρια αὐτῶν, ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῶν σπαθίων
 αὐτῶν καὶ μάχονται εὐτάκτως ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτῶν μένοντες καὶ οὐ κατατρέχοντες
 τῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ὑποχωρούντων αὐτοῖς ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐστῶτες τὰς
 ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς σκέποντες μετὰ τῶν σκουταρίων αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθοῦσι τοῖς
 390 ἔμπροσθεν μετὰ τῶν κονταρίων.

56. Χρεῖα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς εἰς <τὸ> μέτωπον τασσομένους προφυ-
 λάττειν ἑαυτοὺς μέχρις οὗ εἰς χεῖρας ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον ἔλθωσιν ἵνα μὴ κατατοξεύ-
 ωνται ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν μάλιστα μὴ ἔχωσι ζάβας ἢ χαλκότουβα.

57. Μεριζονται πρὸς διφαλαγγίαν ὅτ' ἂν ἐπ' εὐθείας περιπατοῦσης τῆς
 395 παρατάξεως καὶ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν φανῶσιν πολέμιοι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ ἰς'
 ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσιν αἱ ἀκίαι, καὶ ἡγῆσαν οἱ δι' ὄψεως ἐρχόμενοι ἐχθροὶ καὶ μέλλου-
 σιν ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, παραγγέλλει. “ἀπὸ ἧ' μερίσθητε,” καὶ οἱ
 μὲν ἧ' εἰς διφαλαγγίαν ἴστανται, | οἱ δὲ ἧ' στρεφόμενοι καὶ κινούμενοι πρὸς 397
 διφαλαγγίαν μερίζονται. εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ ἧ' ἴστανται τὸ βάθος ἢ ἀπὸ δ', παραγγέ-
 400 λει. “ἐδραῖοι στήθε· οἱ δεῦτεροι καὶ οἱ τῆς διφαλαγγίας ἐξέλθετε.” δεῦτεροι δέ

their heads and resting them on those of the men in front, they cover their breasts and faces and in this way engage in battle.

55. When ranks have been properly closed and the line is about one bowshot from the enemy and fighting is definitely just about to begin, the command is given: “Ready.” Right after this another officer shouts: “Help <us>.” Everyone responds clearly and in unison: “O God.” The light-armed troops start shooting their arrows overhead. As the enemy advance even closer, the heavy infantry, drawn up in the front line, if they have lead darts, axes, or missile weapons, they throw them all at once. Otherwise they wait until the enemy gets close, then they hurl their lances or javelins, grasp their swords, and fight in good order, remaining in position and not pursuing the enemy if they happen to fall back before them. The men stationed behind them cover their heads with their shields and with their lances support those in front of them.

56. It is essential for the men drawn up in the first line to keep themselves safe and protected until they come to grips with the enemy. Otherwise they might be shot down by them, especially if they are not wearing body armor or greaves.

57. They are divided into a double phalanx when the battle line is advancing straight ahead and hostile forces appear both in front and to the rear. Assuming that the files are composed of sixteen men, if the enemy force approaching from the front has gotten close and is about to begin fighting up close, give the command: “By eight. Split up.” Eight men take their position in a double phalanx. The other eight, facing and marching about, are divided into a double phalanx. If they stand at eight deep or four deep, the command is: “Stand firm. Seconds

377 τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν MW τὰ τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν σκουτάρια A αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν σκουτάρια B τὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν σκουτάρια VE 379-380 σαγιττοβόλου MWA σαγιτοβόλου VBE 380 πάντως MWA πάντων VBE 383 ἔτι WAVBE ἔτι δὲ M 384 ἔχουσι MW ἔχουσι AVBE | ρικτάρια Va ρηκτάρια MW ριπτάρια AVBE 384-385 εἰς... ἅμα De εἰς τὸ χαμαὶ MW om. AVBE 385 ἐγγὺς ἔλθωσι M ἐγγὺς ἔλθωσιν W ἔλθωσιν ἐγγὺς καὶ AVBE 386 ρικτάρια Va ρηκτάρια MW ριπτάρια AVBE 387-388 κατατρέχοντες τῶν MW καταδιώκοντες τοὺς AVBE 388 ὑποχωρούντων MW ὑποχωρούντας AVBE | ἐχθρῶν MWVBE ἐχθροὺς A 389 ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς MWA κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν VBE 391 ἀσφαλῶς MW om. AVBE | τὸ ci. De om. codd. | τασσομένους MW τασσομένους AVBE περιπατῶσι 391-392 προφυλάττειν ἑαυτοὺς MW trsp. AVBE 394 περιπατοῦσης AVBE περιπατῶσι MW 395 φανῶσιν M φανῶσι WAVBE 396 ἔχουσιν A ἔχουσιν MWVBE | αἱ MWA καὶ VBE 397 ἧ' MWVBE ὀκτῶ A 397-398 καὶ... διφαλαγγίαν καὶ οἱ μὲν (om. W) ἧ' (ὀκτῶ A) εἰς διφαλαγγίαν MWA om. VBE 398 ἧ' MWVBE ὀκτῶ A 399 ἧ' MWVBE ὀκτῶ A | δ' MWVBE τεσσάρων A 400 διφαλαγγίας AVBE φαλαγγίας MW

εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι πάλαι σεκοῦνδοι ἢ ἐπιστάται. καὶ στρεφόμενοι οἱ σεκοῦνδοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν δεκάρχην τεταγμένοι ἐξέρχονται διάστημά τι ἄκρι τριακοσίων βημάτων ἥτοι σκελισμάτων, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς βαλλομένας παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων σαγίττας ἐκατέρωθεν βλάπτειν τοὺς νώτους τῶν ἀντιβλε-
 405 πόντων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εὐκαίρῳ τόπῳ πίπτειν αὐτάς. εἴτα παραγγέλλει· “ὑποστρέψατε.” καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντες, εἰ χρεῖα γένηται, ἀποκαθίστανται κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα.

58. Εἰ δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἡ μείζων δύναμις τῶν ἐχθρῶν διὰ τοῦ νώτου ἤγουν ὀπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως ἔρχεται καὶ ἅμαξαι οὐκ ἀκολουθοῦσιν, οἱ σεκοῦνδοι
 410 ἤγουν οἱ ἐπιστάται ἴστανται καὶ οἱ πρῶμοι ἤγουν οἱ πρωτοστάται, οἱ καὶ λοχαγοί, ἐξέρχονται.

59. Τὰ δὲ τῆς διφαλαγγίας γίνεται ὅτ' ἂν αἱ ἅμαξαι οὐκ ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἢ ἀκολουθοῦσαι ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ταύτας δὲ χρὴ πάντως ἐπὶ παν-
 415 τὸς ἡτοιασμένου πεζικοῦ στρατοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καβαλλαρικὸς στρα-
 τὸς βιασθῇ πεζεῦσαι καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τοιούτῳ ἢ ἁμαξῶν ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ἀπορεῖ.

60. Δεξιὰ δὲ καὶ ἀριστερὰ κλίνονται ὅτ' ἂν ἐκ πλαγίου εἰς ἓν μέρος θέλῃ τὴν παράταξιν σύραι, ἢ διὰ τό, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκτείνει τὴν παράταξιν καὶ ὑπερκεράσαι ἤγουν κυκλῶσαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ μὴ ὑπερκερασθῆναι ἤγουν κυκλωθῆναι παρ'
 420 αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ τόπου ἐπιτηδειότητα ἢ διὰ παραγωγὴν στενοῦ τόπου. καὶ εἰ μὲν δεξιὰ θέλει παραγαγεῖν αὐτήν, παραγγέλλει· “ἐπὶ κοντάριν κλίνον.” καὶ στρέφονται πάντες οἱ ὀπλίται ἐκεῖθεν. <“κίνησον,” καὶ κινοῦσιν ἕως οὗ χρεῖα.> εἴτα παραγγέλλει· “ὑπόστρεψον.” καὶ ἀποκαθίστανται. εἰ δὲ ἀριστερὰ θέλει κλίνειν, παραγγέλλει· “ἐπὶ σκουτάριν κλίνας κίνησον.” καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως φυλάττονται.

401 ἢ MW νῦν δὲ AVBE 402 ὑπὸ MWA ἀπὸ VBE | δεκάρχην MW δέκαρχον AVBE | τεταγμένοι MW τεταγμένοι ἐπιστάται AVBE | διάστημά τι *Strat.* διαστήματα MW διάστημα AVBE 403 βαλλομένας MW ριπτομένας AVBE 404 τοὺς νώτους MW τὰς ψῦας AVBE 406 κατὰ AVBE εἰς MW 408 διὰ... ἤγουν MW om. AVBE 409-410 τῆς... ἤγουν¹ MWAVE om. B 409 ἔρχεται AVBE ἔρχεται MW 409-410 οἱ... ἤγουν¹ MWB om. AVE 410 οἱ¹ MWVBE om. A | ἴστανται WAVBE ἴστανται δὲ M | οἱ²... ἤγουν² WVBE om. MA | οἱ³ MWAB om. VE | πρωτοστάται MWA πρωτοστάτοι VBE | οἱ καὶ A οἱ δὲ MW καὶ VBE 412 διφαλαγγίας AVBE φαλαγγίας MW | ὅτ' ἂν MWA ὅτε VBE | ἀκολουθοῦσιν MWVBE ἀκολουθῶσιν A 413 ἀκολουθοῦσαι VBE ἀκολουθήσασαι MWA | πάντως MWA πάντας VBE 415-416 κατὰ... νώτου MW ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω AVBE 418 ἢ... ἐκτείνει MWVBE ἢ μὴ A | τὴν παράταξιν MW αὐτήν AVBE 420 παραγωγὴν MWA παραγωγῆς VBE 421 κοντάριν MW κοντάριον AVBE 422 κίνησον... χρεῖα *Strat.* om. codd. 423-424 ὑπόστρεψον... παραγγέλλει MWAVE om. B 424 σκουτάριν Va κοντάριν MW σκουτάριον AVBE | φυλάττονται MWAVE φυλάττοντα B

and men in the double phalanx, march out.” The seconds were formerly called *sekoundoi* or *epistatai*. The *sekoundoi*, that is, those drawn up under the *dekarch*, face about and march out a distance up to three hundred paces or feet, so that the arrows fired by the enemy from both sides will not cause harm to the rear of those confronting them, but will fall in the clear space <between them>. Then give the command: “Turn around.” Again, turning around, if the need arises, they return to their previous formation.

58. If, as is likely, a larger hostile force approaches the rear of our line and the wagons are not following along, the *sekoundoi*, that is, the *epistatai*, halt and the *primoi*, that is, the *protostatai*, also called group leaders, march out.

59. Adopt the double-phalanx formation when the wagons are not following or if they were following and came under attack by the enemy. It is always necessary for them to follow after every well-prepared infantry army unless perhaps a cavalry army should be forced to go on foot at a time when they are deprived of wagons or other supplies to their rear.

60. They face to the right or to the left when the commander wishes to move the battle line from the flank to one side, either, as would be likely, to extend the line and outflank or encircle the enemy or to avoid being outflanked or encircled by them, or for a more favorable location or for passing through a narrow space. If he wants to lead it to the right, he orders: “To the lance. Face.” The heavy-armed troops all turn away from that direction. <“Move.” And they move to the designated place.> He then commands: “Turn back.” And they return to their original position. If he wants them to face to the left, he commands: “To the shield. Face. Move.” And the rest is observed as above.

425 61. Ἀμφίστομος δὲ κίνησις ὅτ' ἂν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἄφνω γυρεύνοντων
ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν μὴ φθάσῃ πρὸς διφάλαγγιαν μερισθῆναι ἢ παράταξις.
καὶ παραγγέλλει· “τῶν ἀκιῶν τὴν τάξιν φυλάξατε.” καὶ οἱ ἡμίσεις κατὰ τῶν
ἐμπροσθεν ἐρχομένων ἰστάμενοι ἀρμόζονται, οἱ δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον
ἀντιστρεφόμενοι, | οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐστῶτες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἴσως σκέπουσιν 308
430 διὰ τῶν σκουταρίων.

62. Μετατίθενται δεξιᾷ καὶ ἀριστερᾷ ὅτ' ἂν ἡ δεξιᾷ ἢ ἀριστερᾷ θέλῃς μετ-
ενεγκεῖν τὴν παράταξιν, χρείας, ὡς εἰκός, οὕτω καλούσης. καὶ παραγγέλλει·
“μετάφερε εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ,” ἢ πάλιν· “μετάφερε εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά.” καὶ ἐνὸς <ἐνός>
τάγματος μετατιθεμένου μεταφέρεται ἡ παράταξις πᾶσα πρὸς τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο
435 συντόμως.

63. Ἀραιοῦνται ἥτοι πλατύνονται ὅτ' ἂν πεπυκνώμενοί εἰσι καὶ θέλῃς
μερίσαι ἥτοι λεπτύναι, ὡς εἰκός, τὰς ἀκίας καὶ ἐκτείνειν τὴν παράταξιν εἰς μῆκος
ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀνετωτέρους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι. καὶ παραγγέλλει· “πλάτυνον πρὸς τὰ
ἀμφοτέρα μέρη.” καὶ πλατύνονται. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ περιπατούσης καὶ
440 ἰσταμένης τῆς παρατάξεως δύναται γίνεσθαι τῶν δύο κεράτων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω
νευόντων, εἴτε μέρος ἓν ἐστὶν εἴτε ἡ παράταξις.

64. Βαθύνονται δὲ ἥτοι διπλοῦνται αἱ ἀκίαι ὅτ' ἂν μὲν ἀπὸ τεσσάρων
ἴστανται καὶ θέλῃς αὐτὰς διπλῶσαι καὶ πρὸς συμβολὴν ἰσχυροποιῆσαι, ἀρμο-
ζόντως τῷ βάθει τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ παραγγέλλει· “εἰσελθε.” καὶ
445 γίνονται ὀκτώ. εἰ δὲ θέλῃς ἰς' ποιῆσαι, πάλιν παραγγέλλει· “εἰσελθε.” καὶ
εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους εἰς παρ' ἓνα διπλοῦνται καὶ γίνονται ἰς'
πάντες εἰς ἓν μέρος ὡς ἐξηλθον. εἰ δὲ θέλῃς, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπὸ λβ' τὸ βάθος τῶν
ἀκιῶν ποιῆσαι, ὅπερ οὐκ ἐστὶ χρειώδες, παραγγέλλει· “ὁ στίχος ὑπὸ τὸν στίχον,”

61. The two-faced maneuver <is called for> in case the enemy suddenly
circles around both front and rear before our battle line has time to divide into
the double phalanx. The command is given: “Keep to the formation of the files.”
Half of the troops stand fast to meet the enemy attacking from the front. The
other half turns about to the rear. The middle ranks remain in place covering
their heads evenly with their shields.

62. They change front to the right or to the left when you want to transfer
the battle line to the right or to the left in order to meet some necessity that may
arise. The command is: “Transfer to the right.” Or again: “Transfer to the left.”
By one tagma at a time changing front, the whole line is quickly transferred to
that place.

63. The line can be made more open or extended. When the men are in close
order and, as is likely, you want to divide or thin out the files and extend the
width of the battle line or to give it more slack, give the command: “Extend both
sides.” And they extend <the line>. This formation may be practiced while the
line, whether it be a single meros or the whole line, is marching or has come to a
halt, with both flanks heading to the outside.

64. The depth of the files may be increased or doubled. Assume that the
troops are standing four deep and you want to double that to correspond to the
depth of the enemy's line and to make your own stronger for the charge. The
command is: “Enter.” And they become eight deep. If you want to make them
sixteen deep, give the same command: “Enter.” One by one they return to their
own positions and the files are doubled, resuming their original depth of one
unit of sixteen men. If for some reason you want to make the files thirty-two
deep—not a very useful idea—give the command: “File after file.” They are

425 γυρεύνοντων MW περικυκλούντων AVBE 426 καὶ MWA ἢ VBE 427 ἀκιῶν MW
ἀκιῶν ἥτοι τῶν λόχων AVBE 428 ἀρμόζονται MW ἀπαντῶσιν AVBE 428-429 οἱ...
ἀντιστρεφόμενοι MW om. AVBE 429 ἴσως MWA om. VBE | σκέπουσιν MA σκέπουσιν
WB σκέπτουσιν VE 432 οὕτω καλούσης MW ἀπαιτούσης AVBE 432-433 παρ-
αγγέλλει...ἀριστερά MWAVE om. B 433 ἐνός² Va om. codd. 435 συντόμως MWA
συντόμως δὲ VBE 436 εἰσι MA εἰσὶν W ὡς VBE 438 ἀνετωτέρους Strat. ἀνωτέρους
codd. 439 ἀμφοτέρα AVBE ἀμφίστομα MW 442 ὅτ' ἂν MWA ὅτε VBE | τεσσάρων
MWA δ' VBE 443-444 ἀρμολόντως MWA ἀρμολομένης VBE 444 καὶ¹ MW om. AVBE
445 ἰς' MWVE δεκαεξ A om. B 445-446 ποιῆσαι...ιδίους MWAVE om. B 446 ἓνα
Strat. εἰς codd. 447 ὡς¹ MWAVE om. B | λβ' MWVBE τριάκοντα δύο A 448 ἐστὶ
MAVBE ἐστὶν W

καὶ διπλοῦνται ὁμοίως καὶ βαθύνεται μὲν ἡ παρατάξις, συστέλλεται δὲ τὸ μήκος
αὐτῆς.

65. Μεταβάλλονται ὅτ' ἂν ἐπ' εὐθείας περιπατούσης τῆς παρατάξεως μηκέτι
δι' ὅψεως ἔλθωσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν αὐτῆς. καὶ ἂν μὲν τὸ μέτωπον
ἦτοι τοὺς λοχαγούς, τοὺς καὶ πρωτοστάτας, ὀπισθεν θέλης μετενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ ἱς'
ἀνδρῶν ὄντος τοῦ βάθους, παραγγέλλει· “μετάλλαξον τὸν τόπον.” καὶ διὰ τοῦ
455 βάθους τῶν ἀκίων παρερχόμενοι οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἴστανται εἰς παράταξιν συνακολου-
θούντων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ μεταβάλλονται, τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους ποιοῦντες. τοῦτο δὲ πρὸ τῆς πυκνώσεως ἐπιτηδεῖως γίνεται. εἰ δὲ
πεπύκνωται καὶ οὐ συμφθάζει ἀραιῶσαι, παραγγέλλει· “μετασχημάτισον.” καὶ
στρεφόμενοι, ὡς ἴστανται, ἀντιβλέπουσι | κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ἡγουν τὸ ὀπίσω 308
460 μέρος, οὐκέτι τοῦ λοχαγοῦ ἔμπροσθεν εὐρισκομένου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξκαιδεκάτου
οὐραγοῦ.

66. Αἱ μὲν οὖν γυμνασίαι αὗται δύνανται ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου τὸν στρατιώτην
ἔτοιμον παρασκευάζειν καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ πολέμου ἄνευ σιδήρου διὰ ὅπλων
ἐτέρων τῶν πρὸς γυμνασίαν ἐπιτηδεῖων ἐθίζειν πρὸς πάντα τὰ σχήματα τῶν
465 κινήσεων καὶ τὰ παραγγέλματα εὐφυῶς καὶ ἄνευ ταραχῆς καὶ θροῖσμου διαγίν-
εσθαι, ὅτ' ἂν μάλιστα πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ τάγματα, διαιρούμενα εἰς δύο ἀντιπαρα-
τάξεις, εἴτε καθ' ἐν τάγμα εἴτε κατὰ πλείονα, ποιεῖται τὴν γυμνασίαν.

67. Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι περ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις καὶ ἕτερα τίνα παραδέδοται παραγ-
γέλματα καὶ κινήματα γυμνασίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ Ἀρριανῷ καὶ Αἰλιανῷ, ὥσπερ ἐξ
470 ἐνὸς στόματος περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμοφωνοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλάτος τοσοῦτον
παρεκτείνω τὸν λόγον, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μόνον μνήμην παραθήσω ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦ
λοιποῦ σιωπήσομαι τὸ πλῆθος, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀσάφειάν τε καὶ ἀχρη-

468–494 Aelian., 25–31; 36; 42. Arrian., 3.2.

449 διπλοῦνται MWA λεπτύνονται VBE | καὶ²...παρατάξις MWAVE καὶ βαθείας
περιπατούσης τῆς παρατάξεως B | συστέλλεται MW συσφίγγεται A σφίγγεται VBE
452 ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ MW ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν AVBE | μὲν MW μέντοι AVBE 453 τοὺς² MWA om.
VBE 456 τῶν MWA τῶν τῶν VBE 457 πρὸ... γίνεται MWA εὐκόλως γίνεται πρὸ τοῦ
πυκνωθῆναι τὴν παράταξιν VBE 458 συμφθάζει MW δύνανται A δύνανται VBE | ἀραιῶσαι
Strat. ἀρμόσαι MW ἐξελιξαι AVBE 459 ἀντιβλέπουσι MVBE ἀντιβλέπουσιν WA | κατὰ...
ἡγουν MW εἰς A πρὸς VBE 460 ἐξκαιδεκάτου MW om. AVBE 462 αὗται MWA αὐτῶν
VBE | τὸν WAVBE om. M 464 ἐθίζειν MWA ἐρεθίζειν VBE 465 καὶ θροῖσμου M om.
AVBE diff. lectu W 466 τὰ MA om. VBE diff. lectu W | δύο MWAB β' VE 467 εἴτε¹
MWA εἴ τι VBE 468 περ MW om. AVBE 469 ἄλλως Va ἄλλοις codd. 470 ὁμο-
φωνοῦσιν MWAVE ὁμοφανοῦσιν B 471 τὸν MW τὸν παρόντα AVBE 471–474 τοῦ...
εἰρημένα MW γὰρ τὰ πλείονα καὶ χρησιμώτερα ἀνθολογησάμενοι (ἀνθομολογησάμενοι
VBE) ἐνταῦθα εἰρήκαμεν AVBE

doubled in the above manner and the line is deepened while its width is reduced.

65. When the line is marching on straight ahead and the enemy are not yet approaching from the front but from the rear, the line may be turned around. If you want to transfer the front, that is, the group leaders, also called protostatai, to the rear, the files still being sixteen men deep, the command is: “Change place.” The group leaders pass through the depth of the files to the rear and take their stand in a line, while the rest of the men follow behind them and form a new front facing the enemy. It is best to do this before they close ranks; but if they are already closed and there is no time to open them up, the command is given: “About face.” Remaining in position they turn around to the rear and, instead of the group leader, the sixteenth man, the file closer, is now stationed in front.

66. These exercises, therefore, can be performed in time of war to prepare the soldier to be ready and before the war begins, without regular iron weapons but with others suitable for drilling, to accustom <the men> to all the forms of maneuvers and to recognize the commands in an orderly manner and without too much noise or confusion. This is especially the case when the tagmata are divided into two battle lines opposed to one another, whether or not the exercise involves one tagma by itself or several.

67. I am not unaware that certain other commands and movements for drill have been handed down by the ancients, especially by Arrian and Aelian, who are in agreement on these matters as though speaking with one voice.¹¹ But in order not to stretch out the discourse to too great an extent, I shall set forth, albeit only in summary fashion, what we remember of those authorities, and I will pass over most of the rest in silence. One reason is that some of it is not

11. Cf. Aelian, 25–31; 36; 42; Arrian, 32.

στίαν, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναληφθῆναι ὥσπερ ἀνθολογηθέντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰρημένα μετὰ τῆς τῶν νεωτέρων διὰ πείρας εὐρέσεως, καὶ ἵνα μὴ
 475 ἀπειρόκαλοι δόξωμεν εἶναι καὶ δευτερολογεῖν ἀσαφῶς ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἤδη σαφηνισθέντα.

68. Παρὰ γὰρ Αἰλιανῷ λέγονται ὀνόματα καὶ κινήσεις αὐταί· ἡ μὲν κλίσιν καλουμένη, τὴν δὲ κλίσιν εἰς δύο διαιρεῖ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ αὐτὸς κλίσιν λέγει ἡγουν ἐπὶ σκουτάριν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγουν ἐπὶ κοντάριν. ἔστι δέ τις
 480 κίνησις καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ μεταβολὴ καὶ ἐπιστροφὴ καὶ ἀναστροφὴ καὶ περισπασμός καὶ ἐκπερισπασμός καὶ ζυγεῖν καὶ στοιχεῖν καὶ εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐξελίσσειν καὶ διπλασιάζειν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπαγωγὴ καὶ δεξιὰ παραγωγὴ καὶ εὐώνυμος παραγωγὴ καὶ πλαγία φάλαγξ καὶ ὀρθία φάλαγξ καὶ λοξὴ φάλαγξ καὶ παρεμβολὴ καὶ πρόσταξις καὶ ἔνταξις καὶ ὑπόταξις καὶ ἐπίταξις καὶ προσένταξις
 485 καὶ παρένταξις.

69. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὀνομασίαι τῶν κινήσεων τοσαῦται, τὰ δὲ παραγγέλματα οὕτως· “ἄγε εἰς τὰ ὄπλα. παράστητε παρὰ τὰ ὄπλα. <ὁ> ὄπλοφόρος μὴ ἀπίτω τῆς φάλαγγος. ὁ σκευοφόρος ἀποχωρεῖτω τῆς φάλαγγος. σίγα καὶ πρόσεχε τῷ παραγγελλομένῳ. ἄνω τὰ δόρατα. κάθετος τὰ δόρατα. ὁ οὐραγὸς τὸν λόχον
 490 ἀπευθυνέτω. τήρει τὰ διαστήματα. | ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίνον. ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα κλίνον. πρόαγε. ἔχ' οὕτως. εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀπόδος. τὸ βάθος διπλασίαζε, ἀποκατάστησον. τὸν Λάκωνα ἐξέλισσε, <ἀποκατάστησον>. ἐπὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκπερίσπα, ἀποκατάστησον.” ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τε τὸ ἀσαφές καὶ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τέως παρείδομεν, τοῦ συντόμου καὶ σαφοῦς μάλιστα φροντίζοντες.

474–476 καὶ...σαφηνισθέντα MW om. AVBE 478 δύο MWA β' VBE | καὶ²...κλίσιν² MW trsp. AVBE 479 ἐπὶ¹ MWA τὸ VBE | σκουτάριν MW σκουτάριον AVBE | κοντάριν MW κοντάριον AVBE | ἔστι MAVBE ἔστιν W 480 καὶ¹ MW om. AVBE 481 εἰς ὀρθὸν AVBE ἐπορθὸν MW 483 εὐώνυμος AB ἐξωνύμος VE om. MW | φάλαγξ¹ MWA φάλαξ VE φύλαξ B | ὀρθία φάλαγξ MW ὀρθή φάλαγξ A ὀρθή φάλαξ VBE | φάλαγξ³ MWA φάλαξ VBE 484 καὶ πρόσταξις WB πρόταξις M om. VE | προσένταξις Va πρόσταξις codd. 485 παρένταξις Va παράταξις codd. 487 ὄπλα¹ MWA ὄπλα παράτασσε τὰ ὄπλα VBE | ὁ Va om. codd. 488 ὁ...φάλαγγος² AVBE om. MW | καὶ MW om. AVBE 489 παραγγελλομένῳ MWA παραγγελλένῳ VBE | κάθετος MWVE κάτω AB | ὁ AVBE om. MW | λόχον MWA λόγον VBE 491 ἔχ' Va ex Aelian. ἔχε codd. | ἀποκατάστησον MWA ἀποκάστησον VBE 491–492 τὸν...ἀποκατάστησον² MWAVE om. B 492 ἐξέλισσε VBE ἐξέλισσε τὸν χορεῖον ἐξέλισσε τὸν μακεδόνα ἐξέλισσε A om. MW | ἀποκατάστησον¹ Va om. codd. | τὸ MW om. AVBE | ἀποκατάστησον² MWAB ἀποκάστησον VE 493 τὴν ἀχρηστίαν MW τὸ ἀχρηστον AVBE

clear or is not useful; another is that what we have taken up from those sources has been gathered into what we have said here, along with what we have derived from the experience of more recent authorities, and that we might not seem foolish repeating here in an unclear way what has already been made clear.

68. Aelian speaks of the following terms and movements. There is the one called turning toward, which he divides into two turnings: he speaks of the turning toward the shield, that is, the large shield. The other is toward the spear, that is, the lance. He also gives names to certain movements. Wheeling about, turning about, turning back, wheeling around, turning out, join, line up, turn back to the front, march out, double up. He also speaks of march in sequence, pass to the right, pass to the left, broad phalanx, straight phalanx, slanted phalanx, parembole, prostaxis, entaxis, hypotaxis, epitaxis, prosentaxis, parentaxis.

69. All the above are the names for the movements. The commands are the following. “Go to the weapons. Stand by the weapons. Let the weapon bearer not depart from the phalanx. Let the skeuophoros remove himself from the phalanx. Be silent and pay attention to the orders. Raise your spears. Lower your spears. Let the file closer straighten out the file. Observe the intervals. Turn toward the spear. Turn toward the shield. Advance. Stay as you are. Go back to the front. Double your depth. Go back to your original position. March out in the Laconian manner.¹² Execute this maneuver toward the spear. Go back to your original position.” But we are passing over these because they are not clear or useful today, particularly when our aim is to be brief and clear.

12. The Laconian countermarch is made by file when the rear guard of one of the end files marches out along the rear and is followed by the man who had been in front of him. Cf. Asclepiodotus, 10.14; AnonStrat, 24.

495 70. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ γυμνασίας ἡμῖν προειρημένα πεζικῆς τε καὶ ἵππικῆς τῆς
τε καθ' ἓνα στρατιώτην καὶ τῆς κατὰ τάγμα καὶ παρατάξεις ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ
ἀρκούντως ἔχει. ἀρμοδίως δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντάγματι καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι
στρατιώταις ἐπιτίμια ἐντάξαι, ἵνα γινώσκωσιν αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ, ἀγνοοῦντες, ἐμπί-
πτωσι ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς κειμέναις τιμωρίαις.

70. Now therefore, these comments of ours concerning the drilling of the
infantry and the cavalry, the individual soldier, the individual tagma, and the
whole battle line, must suffice for a summary presentation. It is appropriate to
follow the present constitution with a list of punishments for errant soldiers, so
they may know them and not, because of ignorance, be subject to the punish-
ments prescribed for them.

495 περὶ...προειρημένα MW εἰρημένα ἡμῖν περὶ γυμνασίας AVBE | τῆς AVBE τῶν MW
496 τῆς Va τῶν MW om. AVBE | ἐν MWA om. VBE 498-499 ἐμπίπτωσι MAYBE
ἐμπίπτουσι W 499 αὐτοῖς MW αὐταῖς AVBE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Η'

Περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION VIII

About Military Punishments

1. Δεῖ οὖν οὐ μόνον ἐν καιρῷ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀγώνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς γυμνασίας συνηγμένων πάντων τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν
5 ταγμάτων προσκαλεῖσθαι πάντας καὶ ὑπαναγινώσκειν αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰρημένα νόμιμα στρατιωτικά ἐπιτίμια, ἔχοντα οὕτως.
2. Ἐὰν στρατιώτης τῷ ἰδίῳ πεντάρχη ἢ τετράρχῃ ἐναντιωθῇ, σωφρονιζέσθω. εἰ δὲ τετράρχης ἢ πεντάρχης τῷ ἰδίῳ δεκάρχῳ, ὁμοίως σωφρονιζέσθω. εἰ δὲ
10 δέκαρχος τῷ κεντάρχῳ, ὁμοίως. εἰ δέ τις τῶν τοῦ τάγματος τολμήσῃ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόμητα, κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποκείσθω.
3. Εἰ μέντοι ἀδικηθῇ παρά τινος, τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ τάγματος προσέλθῃ· εἰ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀδικηθῇ, τῷ μείζονι ἄρχοντι προσέλθῃ.
4. Ἐάν τις τολμήσῃ βαγεῦσαι ὑπὲρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ κομεάτου ἡγουν τῆς ἀπολύσεως τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους, εἰς διηνεκὴ ταξάτιωνα
15 κατακριθῇ.
5. Εἰ δέ τινες τολμήσωσι συνωμοσίαν ἢ φρατρίαν κατὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἰδίου ποιῆσαι ὑπὲρ οἰασθήποτε αἰτίας, κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβληθῶσι, κατεχάιρετον οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς συνωμοσίας ἢ τῆς στάσεως γενόμενοι.
6. Εἴ τις παραφυλακὴν πόλεως ἢ κάστρου πιστευθεὶς, τοῦτο προδώσῃ ἢ
20 παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκείθεν ἀναχωρήσῃ, ἐσχάτῃ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβληθήσεται. |

1. Not only in time of actual combat but also in time of training, when all the officers and their military units have been assembled, it is necessary to address all of them and, in a loud voice, read to them in detail the military punishments decreed by law, as follows.¹
2. If a soldier disobeys his own pentarch or tetrarch, let him be punished. If a tetrarch or pentarch disobeys his dekarch, let him likewise be punished. In like manner a dekarch who disobeys his kentarch. If anyone of the men in the tagma shall dare to do this to his count, he shall undergo capital punishment.
3. If <a soldier> is unjustly treated by anyone, he should appeal to the commanding officer of the tagma, but if unjustly treated by that officer himself, he should appeal to a superior officer.
4. If anyone should presume to stay beyond the time of his furlough, that is, the dismissal of the soldiers to their own homes, he shall be condemned to continuous garrison duty.
5. If any soldiers dare, for any reason whatsoever, to enter into a conspiracy or mutiny against their commanding officer, they shall undergo capital punishment; this applies particularly to the ringleaders of any such conspiracy or mutiny.
6. If anyone who has been entrusted with the defense of a city or fortress shall betray the same or shall desert his post against the will of his commanding officer, he shall undergo the extreme penalty.

M W (mut.) A V B E Va PG 107:764

1-90 *Strat.*, 1.6-8.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν M περὶ πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν A om. WVBE | διάταξις η' MAVBE om. W 3 ἐν¹ MW ἐν τῷ AVBE 6 νόμιμα MW om. AVBE 7 πεντάρχη... τετράρχῃ MWA πεντάρχῳ ἢ τετράρχῳ VBE 9 δέκαρχος MWVBE κέκαρχος A 14 ταξάτιωνα A ταξατέωνα MW ταξιῶνα VBE 16 δέ MW om. AVBE | τολμήσωσι M τολμήσωσιν W τολμήσουσιν AVBE | ἢ φρατρίαν MW om. AVBE 16-17 ἄρχοντος... ἰδίου MW trsp. AVBE 17 ὑποβληθῶσι MVBE ὑποβληθῶσιν WA 19 προδώσῃ Va παραδώσῃ codd.

1. Cf. *Strat.* 1, 6-8; W. Ashburner, "The Byzantine Mutiny Act," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46 (1926): 80-109; E. Korzenszky, *Leges poenales militares e codice Laurentiano LXXV* (Budapest, 1931).

7. Εἴ τις ἐλεγχθῇ θελήσας ἐχθροῖς ἑαυτὸν παραδοῦναι, τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τιμωρίᾳ 309
ὑποβληθῇ, οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦτο συνειδώς, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γνοὺς τῷ
ἄρχοντι οὐκ ἐμήνυσεν.

25 8. Εἴ τις ἀκούσας τὰ μανδάτα τοῦ δεκάρχου μὴ φυλάξῃ, σωφρονιζέσθω· εἰ δὲ
ἀγνοῶν τὰ μανδάτα πταίσει, ὁ δεκάρχης σωφρονιζέσθω, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προεῖπεν
αὐτῷ.

9. Εἴ τις ἄλογον ζῶον ἢ ἄλλο οἰονδήποτε εἶδος μικρὸν ἢ μέγα εὐρὼν μὴ
τοῦτο φανερώσῃ καὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἰδίῳ παραδώσει, σωφρονιζέσθω, οὐ μόνον
30 αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ συνειδὼς αὐτῷ, ὡς κλέπται ἀμφοτέροι.

10. Εἴ τις ζημιώσει συντελεστήν καὶ μὴ τοῦτον προαιρέσει ἀποθεραπεῦσαι,
κατὰ τὸ διπλάσιον τὴν ζημίαν αὐτῷ ἀποκαταστήσει.

11. Εἴ τις λαμβάνων ἀπόλυσιν ἐν εὐκαιρίας ἡμέραις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅπλων
περιφρονήσει καὶ μὴ τοῦτον ὁ δεκάρχης ἀναγκάσει κτήσασθαι <ταῦτα> ἢ καὶ τῷ
35 ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι τοῦτο μὴ φανερώσῃ, καὶ ὁ στρατιώτης αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ δεκάρχης
σωφρονισθῶσιν.

12. Εἴ τις μὴ ὑπακούσῃ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι, σωφρονιζέσθω κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.

13. Εἴ τις ζημιώσει στρατιώτην, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι αὐτῷ ἀποκαταστήσει·
ὁμοίως καὶ συντελεστήν.

40 14. Εἰ δὲ ἐν παραχειμαδίῳ ἐστὶν ὁ στρατὸς ἢ κατὰ πάροδον ὁ ἄρχων ἢ ὁ
στρατιώτης ζημιώσει συντελεστήν καὶ μὴ τοῦτον δεόντως ἀποθεραπεύσει, ἐν
διπλῇ ποσότητι τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἀποκαταστήσει.

15. Εἴ τις ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου δίχα κομεάτου ἤγουν ἀπολύσεως τοῦ στρατη-
γοῦ στρατιώτην ἀπολύσαι τολμήσει, τριάκοντα νομισμάτων ποινὴν δίδότω· ἐν
45 καιρῷ δὲ παραχειμαδίου δύο ἢ τρεῖς μῆνας ποιεῖτω· ἐν καιρῷ δὲ εἰρήνης κατὰ τὸ
διάστημα τῆς ἐπαρχίας ὁ τῆς ἀπολύσεως καιρὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ δίδόσθω.

22 ἐχθροῖς ἑαυτὸν MW trsp. AVBE 24 ἐμήνυσεν MWA ἐδήλωσεν VBE 25 μανδάτα
MW παραγγέλματα AVBE 26 μανδάτα MW παραγγέλματα AVBE | δεκάρχης MWA
δέκαρχος VBE 28 ἄλλο MWAVE ἄλλον B 30 συνειδὼς MW συγγινώσκων AVBE
31 προαιρέσει MW ἰδία προαιρέσει AVBE | ἀποθεραπεῦσαι M ἀποθεραπεύσει AVBE
ἀποθεραπέυση W 32 αὐτῷ MW om. AVBE | ἀποκαταστήσει MW ἀποδώσει AVBE
33 λαμβάνων ἀπόλυσιν MW ἀπολύμενος AVBE | τῶν...ὅπλων MW τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὅπλα
AVBE 34 ταῦτα Va om. codd. 35 τοῦτο MW om. AVBE | δεκάρχης MW δέκαρχος
αὐτοῦ AVBE 40 ἢ¹ M καὶ WAVBE 41 ad δεόντως scr. mg. πρεποντως W | ἀπο-
θεραπεύσει MWA ἀποθεραπεύσειεν VBE 43-44 στρατηγοῦ *Strat.* στρατοῦ codd.
44 ἀπολύσαι τολμήσει MWA trsp. VBE | τριάκοντα MWA λ' VBE | ποινὴν MW om. AVBE |
δίδότω MW ἀπαιτεῖσθω AVBE 45 δύο...τρεῖς MWA β' ἢ γ' VBE 45-46 κατὰ...
ἐπαρχίας MWA om. VBE

7. If anyone be found guilty of wanting to desert to the enemy, he shall un-
dergo the extreme penalty, not only he but also anyone who knew of it, because
he knew but did not report it to the commanding officer.

8. If anyone after hearing the orders of his dekarch should not carry them
out, he shall be punished. But if he does not do so out of ignorance of the orders,
the dekarch shall be punished for not having informed him beforehand.

9. If anyone finds a stray animal or any other object, small or large, and does
not report it and turn it over to his commanding officer, he shall be punished,
not only he but anyone who knows about it, as thieves both of them.

10. If anyone causes injury to a taxpayer and refuses to make compensation,
he shall make restitution for double the amount of the damage.

11. If anyone is granted a leave during some days of leisure but pays no heed
to his own weapons and if his dekarch should not force him to hold onto them
or should not report this to his own commanding officer, both the soldier
himself and the dekarch should be punished.

12. If anyone disobeys his own commanding officer, let him be punished
according to the laws.

13. If anyone injures a soldier he shall give restitution for twice the amount,
as in the case of injury to a taxpayer.

14. If the army is in winter quarters or on the march and either an officer or
a soldier shall cause injury to a taxpayer without making proper restitution, he
shall pay him back twice the amount.

15. In time of war, if anyone should presume to release a soldier apart from a
furlough, that is, with the permission of the commanding officer, he shall pay a
fine of thirty nomismata. While in winter quarters he may take <a furlough for>
two or three months. In peacetime the soldier may be granted leave within the
borders of the eparchy.

16. Εἴ τις πόλιν ἢ κάστρον πιστευθεὶς εἰς παραφυλακὴν τοῦτο προδώσει ἢ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης εἰς ζωὴν συντεινούσης ἀναχωρήσει, δυνάμενος τοῦτο ἐκδικῆσαι, κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβαλλέσθω.

50 17. Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γυμνασίας ὁμοῦ συνηγμένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπαναγινωσκέσθω τὰ ἐπιτίμια καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ οἴωδήποτε καιρῷ πρὸς εἵδησιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν.

18. Δεῖ δὲ συνταγῆναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτίμια, ὅσα δέον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου ἀναγκαίως φυλάττεσθαι. |

55 19. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ ταγῆναι τὰ τάγματα ἀναγινώσκεται καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως.

20. Ἐὰν στρατιώτης ἐν καιρῷ παρατάξεως καὶ πολέμου τὴν τάξιν ἢ τὸ βάνδον αὐτοῦ ἑάσῃ καὶ ἢ φύγῃ ἢ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ ἐτάγῃ προπηδήσῃ ἢ σκυλεύσῃ νεκρὸν ἢ εἰς ἐπιδιώξιν ἐχθρῶν καταδράμῃ ἢ τούλῳ ἢ φοσσάτῳ ἐχθρῶν ἐπέλθῃ, κελεύομεν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κεφαλικῶς καὶ πάντα τὰ, ὡς εἰκός, παρ' αὐτοῦ
60 ἐπαιρόμενα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ κοινῷ δίδοσθαι τοῦ τάγματος, ὡς τὴν τάξιν παραλύσαντα καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα.

21. Ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ δημοσίας παρατάξεως ἢ συμβολῆς τροπὴ, ὅπερ ἀπείη, γένηται ἄνευ τινὸς εὐλόγου καὶ φανεράς αἰτίας, κελεύομεν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῦ πρώτου φεύγοντος τάγματος καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος τῆς παρατάξεως ἥτοι τοῦ
65 ἰδίου μέρους τοὺς εἰς τὴν μάχην ταγέντας ἀποδεκατοῦσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων κατατοξεύεσθαι, ὡς τὴν τάξιν παραλύναντας καὶ αἰτίους τῆς τοῦ παντὸς μέρους τροπῆς γενομένους.

22. Εἰ δὲ συμβῇ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἰκός, πληγάτους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ συμβολῇ γενέσθαι, ἐκείνους ἔλευθέρους τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐγκλήματος εἶναι.

70 23. Ἐὰν βάνδου ἀφαίρεσις ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν γένηται, ὅπερ ἀπείη, ἄνευ τινὸς εὐλόγου καὶ φανεράς προφάσεως, κελεύομεν τοὺς τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ βάνδου πιστευθέντας σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ παντελῶς ἐσχάτους γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀτίμους. εἰ δὲ συμβῇ τις αὐτῶν μαχομένους γενέσθαι πληγάτους, τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἔλευθέρους τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τούτου φυλάττεσθαι.

63 ad aiti- des. W (4 foll. desiderantur)

47 προδώσει MWA παραδώσει VBE 48 τοῦτο MWVBE om. A 50 καὶ MWA om. VBE | ὁμοῦ MWA ὁμοίως VBE 51 ὑπαναγινωσκέσθω MWVBE ὑπαναγινωσκέσθω A 57 ἑάσῃ MW καταλίπη AVBE 58 τούλῳ MAVBE τόλῳ W | ἐπέλθῃ MWAVE ἀπέλθῃ B 61 ἐταίροις Va ἑτέροις codd. 62-63 ὅπερ...γένηται MW γένηται ὃ μὴ γένοιτο AVBE 64 πρώτον MA πρώτου VBE 65 τοὺς...ταγέντας M ἐν ᾧ ἐτάγησαν AVBE 68 ἐν αὐτοῖς M om. AVBE 68-69 πληγάτους...γενέσθαι M τῇ συμβολῇ πληγῆναι AVBE 70 ἀπείη Va ἀπίη M μὴ γένοιτο AVBE 72 παντελῶς M om. AVBE | ἐσχάτους MA ἐκάστους VBE 73-74 γενέσθαι πληγάτους M πληγῆναι AVBE 74 τούτου MVBE om. A

16. If anyone who is entrusted with the defense of a city or a fortress should surrender it or evacuate it while still able to defend it, unless compelled by danger to life, he shall undergo capital punishment.

17. During the period of training, then, with the soldiers assembled together, let these punishments be read aloud and also at any other time so the soldiers and their officers may come to know them.

18. The other punishments as well must be prescribed for them, all those that they are obligated to observe in time of war.

19. After the tagmata have been drawn up, the following should be read to them.

20. If, during the time when the battle line is being formed and in time of combat, a soldier shall abandon his post or his standard and either flee or charge out in front of his assigned place or plunder the dead or race off in pursuit of the enemy or attack the baggage train or camp of the enemy, we order that he be executed and that all the loot he is likely to have taken be confiscated and given to the common fund of his tagma, for he has broken ranks and betrayed his comrades.

21. If, during a general action or pitched battle, <some troops>, who had been lined up for battle, should turn back—may this not happen—without a good and manifest cause, we order that the soldiers of the tagma which first took to flight and withdrew from the line of battle or from their own meros be shot down and decimated by the other tagmata, inasmuch as they broke ranks and are to blame for the rout of the entire meros.

22. But if it should happen that some of them were wounded in the battle, they shall be exempt from such a sentence.

23. If a standard should be captured by the enemy—may this not happen—without a good and manifest excuse, we order that those charged with guarding the banner be punished, disgraced, and reduced to the lowest rank among the enlisted men. Any soldier who may happen to have been wounded in the fighting shall be exempt from such punishment.

75 24. Ἐὰν φοσσάτου ὄντος τροπή, ὅπερ ἀπείη, μέρους ἢ παρατάξεως γένηται καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς διφένσωρας προσδράμωσι, μηδὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φοσσάτῳ καταφύγωσι <οἱ> τρεπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ περιφρονοῦντες ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ προσδράμωσι, κελεύομεν τοὺς τοῦτο πράττειν τολμῶντας τιμωρεῖσθαι, ὡς τῶν ἐταίρων περιφρονήσαντας.

80 25. Ἐὰν στρατιώτης τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ ῥίψῃ ἐν πολέμῳ, κελεύομεν αὐτὸν τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς γυμνώσαντα ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὀπλίσαντα.

26. Ἐάν τις τῶν ἀρχόντων παρεμποδίσῃ στρατιώτην ἢ ἐξκουσεύσῃ ἢ μὴ συνελθεῖν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ φοσσάτου, ἢ συνελθόντα εἰς οἰκείαν κατάσχη δουλείαν, ὥστε τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ καταφρονῆσαι καὶ ἀμελεῖσαι τῶν ὅπλων, παρεκτὸς | 110
85 τῶν τεταγμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σκρινίου, σωφρονιζέσθω καὶ ζημιούσθω, στρατηγὸς μὲν χρυσίου λίτραν α', τουρμάρχης δὲ νομίσματα λς', δρουγγάριος δὲ νομίσματα κδ', κόμης δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος νομίσματα ιβ'.

27. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν διορισάμενοι, ἐξῆς σοι ὅπως καὶ ὁδοιπορεῖν δεόν τόν τε καθόλου στρατὸν καὶ μέρος ἕν τε τῇ ἡμετέρῃ
90 χώρα καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετὰ ποίας καταστάσεως ἤδη διαταξόμεθα.

24. If, when the army is encamped, a meros or a whole battle line should be routed—may this not happen—and if the men should not pull back toward the defenders or in their rout should not seek refuge within the camp itself but carelessly run off in some other direction, we order that those who dare to do this be punished for thinking so little of their comrades.

25. If a soldier throws away his weapons in battle, we order that he be punished for disarming himself and arming the enemy.

26. If, when the army is being mustered, one of the officers should put obstacles in the way of a soldier or excuse him from joining in or, having let him join in, retains him for his own service, with the result that he regards his rank with contempt and neglects his weapons, he should be punished. In addition to what has been decreed by our secretariat, he should be fined as follows: for a general one pound of gold, for a tourmarch thirty-six nomismata, for a droungarios twenty-four nomismata, for a count and anyone else twelve nomismata.

27. So much then about military punishments. Next we will provide you with regulations about what is required for the entire army or one meros to march both through our own country and through that of the enemy and in what conditions; this we will now present in an orderly way.

75 τροπή MAVΕ τρόπον B | ἀπείη Va ἀπίη M μὴ γένοιτο AVBE 77 οἱ ci. De om. codd.
82 παρεμποδίσῃ AVBE παροπλίσῃ M | ἐξκουσεύσῃ Va ἐξκουσεύει M ἐσκουσεύσῃ A
ἐσκουσεύσῃ VBE 83 συνελθεῖν AVBE εισελθεῖν M 84 τὴν τάξιν M τῆς τάξεως AVBE
85 τεταγμένων...σκρινίου M ἀποτεταγμένων καὶ ἀφορισμένων αὐτοῖς AVBE 86 α' M
μίαν AVBE 87 δὲ! MA om. VBE 88 ἐπιτιμιῶν MAVΕ ἐπιτιμία B | διορισάμενοι MA
δωρισάμενοι VBE | σοι MA σοι καὶ VBE 89 post ὅπως iterantur omnia inde a τοσαῦτα
usque ad finem B

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Θ'

Περὶ ὁδοιορίας

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION IX

About Marches

1. Δέον σε τοίνυν, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὅτ' ἂν ὁδοιορῆς μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἡμῶν γῇ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖς, ἵνα παραγγέλλης τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπέχ-
5 εσθαι τῆς χώρας καὶ μῆτε πραιδεύειν μῆτε φθείρειν. πλῆθος γὰρ στρατεύματος, ὅτ' ἂν λάβῃ τοῦ δύνασθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀφειδῶς ἐπιπίπτει πρὸς ἅπαντα. δελεάζεται γὰρ εἰς πλεονεξίαν, ὅτ' ἂν ὁρᾷ κατ' ὄψιν προκειμένην τὴν χρεῖαν, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς ἰδίους διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν πολεμίους ποιεῖ.

2. Μηδὲ χρόνιζε καθεζόμενος μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ, ὅτ'
10 ἂν ἤδη ὀρίσης εἰσβαλεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναλώσεις καρπούς, καὶ ζημιώσεις μᾶλλον τοὺς φίλους ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους. ταχέως δὲ μετάφερε τὰς δυνάμεις, μάλιστα ἂν εἰς λιπαρὰν καὶ πολύτροφον τῶν πολεμίων γῇν μέλλεις εἰσβαλεῖν.

3. Εἰς ἕνα δὲ τόπον στρατὸν πολὺν μὴ σύναγε, πολεμίων μὴ ἐνοχλούντων,
15 ἵνα μὴ εὐκαιροῦντες οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς στάσεις καὶ ἀκαίρους ἐννοίας ἀσχολοῦνται.

4. Εἰ δέ ποτε χρεῖα καλέσει τοῦτο γενέσθαι χάριν ἀδνουμίου ἢ ἄλλης ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας ἢ ταχέως τὸν στρατὸν διαμέριζε ἢ γύμναζε καὶ εἰς ἔργα τῶν ὅπλων ἀσχολεῖσθαι παρασκεύαζε, ὥς ἐν τῷ περὶ γυμνασίας ἡμῖν εἴρηται κεφαλαίῳ. ἢ
20 γὰρ ἀργία καινωτέρας μελέτας ἴσως καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς ἀπογεννᾷ.

5. Ἐὰν δὲ πόλεμον προσδοκᾷς, μετὰ τάξεως τὸν στρατὸν περιπατεῖν ποιή-
σον, κἂν τε κατὰ δροῦγγους τὰς ὁδοιορίας ποιοῦνται, κἂν τε κατὰ τούρμας
κἂν τε κατὰ ὅλας παρατάξεις. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τάξει ταύτας γίνεσθαι οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς

1. When you are on the march with your army, O general, and proceeding
along in our own land, you must order your troops to keep their hands off the
countryside and not to pillage or ravage it. When a large army gets the
opportunity to exercise power, it falls upon everything without mercy. Greed
takes over whenever it sees something serviceable lying before its eyes. The
result is that it frequently turns its own people into enemies.¹

2. After you have already decided to advance into the enemy's territory, do
not settle down for a long time with your army in your own country.² You will
consume your own crops and do more damage to your friends than to your
enemies. Transfer your forces quickly, especially if the hostile territory you
intend to invade is fruitful and wealthy.

3. Do not assemble a large army in one place when there is no hostile
activity lest, with time on their hands, the soldiers should give themselves to
sedition and inappropriate thoughts.³

4. If you are compelled to bring all your troops together for the purpose of
muster or because of some other pressing reason, then you must quickly divide
up the army or drill them or prepare them to devote themselves to working with
their weapons, as we have written in the chapter on drills. For idleness easily
begets useless and harmful ways of thinking.

5. If you are expecting combat, have your army march in formation, whether
you are proceeding by droungoi or by tourmai or by entire battle lines.

M W (mut.) A V (mut.) B E Va PG 107:768

3-8 Onas. 6.10. 9-13 Onas. 6.13. 14-96 Strat., 1.9.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MA om. VBE 2 ὁδοιορίας MAB ὁδοιορῆς VE
4 παραγγέλλης M παραγγείλης AVBE 4-5 ἀπέχεσθαι VBE ἀπέρχεσθαι MA 6 ἐπιπίπτει
MAVE ἐπίπτει B 9 καθεζόμενος AVBE καθεζόμενος M 10 καὶ² MA om. VBE
12 πολύτροφον AVBE πολύτροπον M 13 εἰσβαλεῖν M εἰσβάλλειν AVBE 14 μὴ¹ AVBE
om. M 15-16 ἀσχολοῦνται M ἀσχολῶνται AVBE 20 καινωτέρας De κενωτέρας M
νεωτέρας AVBE | ἀπογεννᾷ M γεννᾷ AVBE 22 ποιοῦνται M ποιῶνται AVBE

1. Onasander 6.10.

2. Onasander 6.13.

3. Sections 3-21 derive from Strat. 1.9.

πολεμίας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλεστέρους καὶ προγεγυμνασμένους | ποιεῖ
25 τοὺς στρατιώτας.

6. Ἐκαστον δὲ δροῦγγον ἐθίζεσθαι ποιήσον ὥστε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποσκευὴν
ὀπισθεν ἀκολουθεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων σημείων καὶ μὴ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ἐτέρᾳ. ἀναγ-
καῖον γάρ ἐστιν, ὅτ' ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι οὔτε πάρεισιν οὔτε ἐλπίζονται ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ
30 γῇ, ἢ κατὰ δροῦγγους ἢ κατὰ τούρμας περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ συνάγειν ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ
τὸν ἅπαντα στρατὸν διὰ τε τὸ μὴ λοιμώττειν αὐτὸν εὐχερῶς μηδὲ εὐσύνοπτον
τὸ πλῆθος ὅλον τοῖς κατασκόποις τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, γίνεσθαι μηδὲ εἰς
βοσκὰς στενοῦσθαι.

7. Ἐγγιζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς πρὸ ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἢ καὶ δέκα, συνάπτ-
εσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἀπληκεύειν. καὶ ἐάν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν ἀγνώστοις τόποις ἢ ὁδοί-
35 πορία γίνεται καὶ οὐ πάρεισιν τινες ἐντόπιοι δουκάτωρες, ἀποστείλῃς τοὺς
μινσοράτωρας, ἵνα προλαμβάνωσιν, ἐὰν ἐχθροῦ φόβος οὐκ ἐστὶ, πρὸ μιᾶς
ἡμέρας, οἵτινες ὀφείλουσι τὴν περίμετρον τοῦ παντὸς διαγράφειν στρατοπέδου
ἐν ᾧ μέλλεις στρατοπεδεῦεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέτρον ἀναλόγως ἐκάστῳ
μέρει διαμερίσαι.

40 8. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀντικένσωρας. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ὀφείλοντες
τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τῆς νομῆς τὴν χρῆσιν καταμανθάνειν.

9. Ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τραχέων πάντων τόπων ἢ ὁδοιπορία μέλλῃ γίνεσθαι ἢ κρημνω-
δῶν ἢ δυσβάτων ἢ δασέων, προεντρέπιζε πλῆθος στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπόστειλον ἐπὶ
τοῦτο ὥστε διορθώσασθαι καὶ παρασκευάσαι εὐθείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν κατὰ
45 τὸ δυνατόν, ἵνα μὴ συντρίβηται ἡ ἵππος. τοὺς δὲ ἀφοριζομένους ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὴ
ὑποκεῖσθαι βίγλα ἢ ἐτέρᾳ δουλείᾳ.

10. Περιπατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡγείσθω ἢ σὴ ἐνδοξότης, ὡς τοῦ παντὸς
στρατοῦ στρατηγός, προπορευόμενος αὐτοῦ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον
τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν, μετὰ τῆς σῆς ἀπάσης προελεύσεως καὶ τῶν μετὰ σου βάνδων καὶ
50 ὀπισθεν πάντων ἢ περὶ σε ἀποσκευῇ.

11. Πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἕκαστος τουρμάρχης ἢ δρουγγάριος περι-
πατεῖτω τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν φυλάττων, εἴτε ἡνωμένως περιπατοῦσιν εἴτε ἰδίως.

26 ἕκαστον...δροῦγγον AVBE ἐκάστῳ δὲ δροῦγγῳ M 30 λοιμώττειν αὐτὸν M λοιμικαῖς
νόσοις περιπίπτειν AVBE 31 τοῖς κατασκόποις MA τοὺς κατασκόπους VBE | τῶν...εἰκός
M trsp. AVBE 33 καὶ MA om. VBE 33-34 συνάπτεσθαι M om. AVBE 35 γίνεται M
γίνηται AVE γέννηται B | πάρεισιν τινες MA παρῶσι τινὲς VBE 36 οὐκ ἐστὶ MA μὴ ἢ VBE
37 στρατοπέδου Va στρατοῦ codd. 38 ἐπιβάλλον M ἐπιλαγχάνον AVBE 41 νομῆς M
βοσκῆς AVBE 43-44 ἐπὶ τοῦτο M om. AVBE 45 συντρίβηται...ἵππος M συντρίβωνται
οἱ ἵπποι AVBE 48 τιμῆς MA τιμὴν VBE

Marching in formation, not only in hostile territory but also in your own land,
makes it safer for the soldiers and keeps them in practice.

6. Make each droungos accustom its own baggage train to follow behind
with its own standards and not to get mixed up with another one. It is essential
that, whenever the enemy are not present or are not expected in our country,
you should march by droungoi or by tourmai and not bring the whole army
together in one place, lest they fall an easy prey to pestilence or, as is likely, the
total size of the army may be easily estimated by enemy spies, or fodder may be
hard to find.⁴

7. As the enemy approach more closely, six or seven days away, even ten,
draw the troops closer together and, at the same time, set up camp. If the march
happens to be in unknown places and no local guides are present, then send out
surveyors to go ahead a day in advance, if there is no fear of the enemy. Their
duty is to survey the perimeter of the entire camping site in which you intend to
set up camp and to apportion sections equitably for each meros.

8. The quartering parties should do the same thing; they are charged with
reconnoitering the availability of water and forage.

9. If the route of the march is about to pass through very rough, steep,
uneven, or heavily wooded terrain, select a large number of men ahead of time
and send them off to level the road, as best they can, and to take steps to make it
passable, and so prevent the horses from being worn out. The men detailed for
this should not be part of a scouting troop or other service unit.

10. When the army is on the march, Your Excellency should be at its head,
since you are the general of the entire army. You should march ahead of it as a
sign of honor and to instill fear of the penalties. You should be accompanied by
your entire retinue and the banda with you. Behind all of them is your baggage
train.

11. In similar fashion let each tourmarch or droungarios march along, while
preserving his own formation, whether marching together with other units or
by himself.

4. Cf. Kekaumenos, 11.18-20.

12. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ποταμῶν διαβάσεσιν ἢ ἄλλων ἀγνώστων χωρίων τοὺς ἀντικένσωρας προλαμβάνειν, ὥστε δοκιμάζειν πρότερον τοὺς τόπους καὶ οὕτως
55 ἀπαγγέλλειν σοι τὰ τοῦ τόπου, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀρχόντων ἀποστέλλῃς καὶ προφυλάττης τὴν διάβασιν.

13. Εἰ δὲ πάνυ ἐπισφαλεῖς εἰσιν οἱ τόποι καὶ δύσκολοι, χρή σε αὐτόν, τὸν τοῦ παντός στρατηγόν, | ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν τόπον καὶ παραστῆναι 311¹ δὲ ἄχρις ἂν πάντες ἀπαθῶς διέλθωσιν.

60 14. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀείμνηστον πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα Βασίλειον πεποιθέναι γινώσκομεν, ὅτε κατὰ Γερμανικεῖας τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ τὴν ἐκστρατεῖαν ἐποιήσατο, προκαταλαμβάνοντα μὲν τὸν Παράδεισον λεγόμενον ποταμόν, παρα-
στάντα δὲ μετὰ λαμπάδων κατὰ τὸ μέσον, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ
65 δοῦναι πολλάκις καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κινδυνεύοντας ἀνασώ-
σασθαι.

15. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν σοι κελεύομεν, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἐὰν μὴ ἐγγίῳσιν οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις. ἐὰν δὲ ἐγγίῳσιν, τότε σε μὲν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ τάξει μένειν, ἕκα-
στον δὲ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους τὴν χρεῖαν ἀναπληρῶσαι ἕως ἂν πάντες οἱ
70 ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατιῶται ἀβλαβῶς διέλθωσιν, ἵνα μὴ σπουδάζοντες πάντες ἄλλος τὸν ἄλλον προλαβεῖν ἀτακτοῦσι καὶ συντρίβωνται. ἴσως τότε καὶ βλάβαι τινὲς γίνονται.

16. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἡμῶν τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιῇς, φείδεσθαι καὶ ἀποφεύγειν τοὺς γεωργηθέντας τόπους τοῖς στρατιώταις
75 παράγγελλε, εἴτε χωράφια εἰσιν εἴτε ἀμπελῶνες ἢ κῆποι, καὶ μὴ διαβαίνωσι μέσον αὐτῶν, ἵνα φυλάττης τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς ἡμῶν καὶ γεωργοὺς ἀζημίους κατὰ τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν σοι παρεκτεθέντα νόμον.

17. Καί, εἰ μὲν δυνατόν, διὰ τῶν ἀγεωργήτων τόπων μακράν σε διέρχεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη σε κατεπείγει διὰ τῶν τοιούτων γεωργηθέντων τόπων διελθεῖν,

67 ad -τηγέ de novo inc. W

57 χρή Va καὶ codd. | τὸν AVBE om. M 58 καὶ γίνεσθαι M om. AVBE 58-59 παρα-
στῆναι... ἄχρις M παρίστασθαι ἐκεῖ μέχρις AVBE 59 διέλθωσιν MA διέλθωσι VBE
61 τὴν MA om. VBE 67 ποιεῖν σοι M trsp. AVBE | ἐγγίῳσιν AVBE ἐγγίῳσι MW
69 τοῦ... μέρους MW τὸ ἴδιον μέρος AVBE | τὴν... ἀναπληρῶσαι MW διαβιβάσαι AVBE |
ἂν MW om. AVBE 70 αὐτὸν MWA αὐτοὺς VBE 71 ἀτακτοῦσι MW ἀτακτῶσι AVBE |
ἴσως MW ἴσως δὲ AVBE 74 ποιῇς MW ποιῇς παράγγελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις AVBE
74-75 τοῖς... παράγγελλε MW om. AVBE 76 ἡμῶν καὶ MW ἡμῖν AVBE 76-77 κατὰ...
νόμον MW om. AVBE 78 διέρχεσθαι MWA συνέρχεσθαι VBE

12. At river crossings or in other unknown regions send quartering parties ahead so they can first investigate the places and thus inform you what the country is like, so you may send out competent officers and safeguard the passage.

13. If the places are unusually precarious and difficult, then you, as supreme commander, should step aside and remain in position at that place until every-one has safely passed through.

14. We recall that our ever-memorable father and emperor Basil did this when he was on campaign against Germanikeia in Syria. He arrived at the river called Paradeisos and stationed himself in the middle of it with lamps, and in his presence and in safety the entire army under his command made the crossing easily and securely.⁵ He frequently gave a hand and, by himself, saved several soldiers from great danger.

15. We order that you do this, O general, if enemy forces are not in the vicinity of those places. If they are getting close, then you should remain in your own formation. But the commanding officer should perform that duty for his own meros until all of the soldiers under his command have crossed over without harm. Otherwise, everyone will rush to get ahead of everyone else, resulting in confusion, with some being trampled, and the likelihood that a number of troops will be injured.

16. Whenever you have your army pass through territory belonging to our subjects, order the soldiers to spare and steer clear of land under cultivation, whether it be a small farm, vineyard, or gardens. They should not pass through them, and so you will preserve the farmers subject to us unharmed, according to the law we laid down to you.

17. If possible, you should make your longer marches through land not under cultivation. But if it is absolutely necessary for you to march through land

5. Skylitzes, *Basil.Mak.*, 23 (pp. 141-143); *Kappadokien*, F. Hild and M. Restle, *Tabula imperii Byzantini* 2 (Vienna, 1981), 82-83.

80 παραγγείλης τοὺς ἐκάστου τάγματος ἄρχοντας, μέχρις ἂν οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τεταγ-
μένοι στρατιῶται παρέλθωσιν, ἵστασθαι καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ τῷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐρχο-
μένῳ παραδίδόναι τοὺς τοιοῦτους τόπους ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ οὕτως ἀναχωρεῖν.

18. Τὸν ὅμοιον δὲ τρόπον ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ἕκαστος ἄρχων τὸ
αὐτὸ ποιεῖτω. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἡ σὴ εὐταξία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρα-
85 τοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀβλαβές τοῦ γεωργοῦ διαφυλαχθήσεται.

19. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἐγγίξῃ καὶ προσδοκᾶται κάματος πολέμου ἢ δυσχερὲς καὶ
ἐπίκοπος διάβασις, ἐὰν ζῶα ἄγρια ἢ ἡμερα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν διαναστῶσιν ἢ ὑπ-
αντήσῃσι κατὰ πρόσωπον, κωλύης ἵνα μὴ διώκωσιν αὐτά, ὅτι δι' αὐτῶν θόρυ-
βος καὶ κραυγὴ γίνεται καὶ οἱ ἵπποι χωρὶς ἀνάγκης συν|τρίβονται. 312

90 20. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ καιρὸς ἐστὶν εἰρήνης καὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη ἐλπίζεται, τότε
χρήσιμά εἰσι τὰ κυνήγια τοῖς στρατιώταις.

21. Ἐὰν δὲ ὀλίγον στρατόν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιφέρῃ καὶ μέλλῃς ἐπιτηδεύειν κατὰ
τῶν πολεμίων, μὴ διαβιβάξης αὐτοὺς διὰ τόπων οἰκουμένων, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέ-
ρα γῇ μηδὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμιά, ἵνα μὴ φανερωθῇς διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,
95 ἀλλὰ δι' ἐτέρων τόπων ἀφανῶν σπούδαζε προέρχεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅτ' ἂν ἐν
τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ τὸν στρατὸν διαβιβάξης, χρή σε διαπράττεσθαι.

22. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμιά τὴν ὁδοιορίαν ἐπάγῃς τοῦ στρατοῦ, χρή σε
ταύτην φθεῖρειν καὶ καίειν καὶ κατατέμνειν. ζημία γὰρ χρημάτων καὶ καρπῶν
ἐνδεια ἐλάττονας ποιεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀσθενέστερον, ὥσπερ ἡ
100 τούτων περιουσία μᾶλλον τρέφει τοῦτον καὶ αὐξάνει.

97-111 Onas. 6.11-13.

80 ἐκάστου MWA ἐκ τοῦ VBE 81 καὶ² MW καὶ ἕκαστος AVBE | ἀπ' αὐτοῦ MW ἀπ' αὐτὸν
A μετ' αὐτὸν VBE 81-82 ἐρχομένῳ MW ἐρχομένῳ ἄρχοντι AVBE 83-84 τὸν... ποιεῖτω
MW om. AVBE 86-87 ἐγγίξῃ... διάβασις MW πόλεμος προσδοκᾶται ἢ διάβασις δυσχερὲς
καὶ ἐπίκοπος (ἐπίσκοπος B) AVBE 87 ἢ ἡμερα MW om. AVBE 88 δι' αὐτῶν MWA
δυνατῶν VBE 89 καὶ¹... γίνεται MW γίνεται καὶ κραυγὴ AVBE 90 δὲ MWA om. VBE |
ἐστὶν MW ἢ AVBE | ἐλπίζεται MAVBE ἐλπίζεται W 91 εἰσι MW ἐστὶ AVBE 92 ὡς
εἰκός MW om. AVBE | ἐπιφέρῃ MW ἔχῃς AVBE | ἐπιτηδεύειν MW ἐπιτίθεσθαι AVBE
93 διὰ AVBE κατὰ MW | μηδὲ MW μήτε AVE μήτι B 94 μηδὲ MW μήτε AVBE
95 προέρχεσθαι Va παρέρχεσθαι codd. 97 τὴν... στρατοῦ MW ὁδοιορῆς AVBE 98 καὶ
καίειν MWAVE om. B | κατατέμνειν MW κατακόπτειν AVBE 98-99 ζημία... ἐνδεια MW ἡ
γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ζημία καὶ ἡ τῶν καρπῶν ὀλίγῳσις AVBE 99 ποιεῖ... ἀσθενέστερον MW
καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλάττονας ποιεῖ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὀλιγώτερον AVBE 100 τρέφει τοῦτον
MWA trsp. VBE

under cultivation, you should order the officers of each tagma to remain in place
and supervise until the column of soldiers under their command has passed
through. They should then hand over those fields in good condition to the next
unit approaching and so leave the area.

18. The officer coming after him is to act in like manner and each subse-
quent commander is to do the same. In this way your good order and that of the
officers and of the army will be assured and the farmers will suffer no harm.

19. When the toil of battle is near or is expected or the passage is difficult
and laborious, or if wild or domestic animals are startled or encountered on the
road ahead of you, forbid <the men> to chase them. This only causes noise and
confusion and wears out the horses to no purpose.

20. In time of peace and when no emergency is expected, hunting is a useful
exercise for the soldiers.

21. If the army you are leading happens to be small and you intend to engage
the enemy in battle, do not march through inhabited areas, either in our
country or in that of the enemy, to avoid being observed by enemy spies, but
make an effort to proceed through other less obvious places. You must also take
such action when you have the army march in its own country.

22. In contrast, when you lead your army marching through hostile territory,
you must ruin and burn and thoroughly ravage it.⁶ The loss of money and the
shortage of crops decrease the strength of the enemy and render them less able
to fight, just as the abundance of such things rather nourishes and strengthens
their <fighting ability>.

6. Sections 22-24 derive from Onasander 6.11-13.

23. Ἐὰν δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ μέλλης καταστρατοπεδεύειν, τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα φθειρόν τῆς χώρας, οἷων καὶ ὅσων αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις χρεῖαν, τὰ δὲ ἀναγκαῖα φύλαττε τοῖς μετὰ σου στρατεύμασιν εἰς δαπάνην αὐτῶν.

24. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ τὰς ἀπάσας δυνάμεις ἔχῃς ὁμοῦ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας
105 μήτε ἐπ' ἄλλης ὑπηκόου καθεζόμενος ἐγχρόνιζε. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναλώσεις καρποὺς καὶ ζημιώσεις πλέον τοὺς φίλους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους. μετάγαγε δὲ αὐτὰς ταχύ, ἐὰν ἀκινδυνά ἐστι τὰ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας, καὶ ἐπάγαγε ἐπὶ τὴν πολεμίαν. καὶ γάρ, ἐάν ἐστιν ἡ πολεμία δασιλῆς καὶ εὐκαρπος καὶ πλουσία, τροφὴν ἔξεις καὶ εὐπορίαν ἄφθονον, ἐὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐστι τοιαύτη, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν σου
110 καὶ φίλην χώραν οὐκ ἐρημώσεις, πολλὰ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολεμίας, εἰ καὶ μὴ λιπαρά ἐστιν, εὐρήσεις εἰς χρεῖαν τοῦ ὑπὸ σε στρατοῦ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα.

25. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ μὴ ἀφίης τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ὠφελείας. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐπιβουλευόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεγάλας βλάβας ὑπομένουσιν.

26. Φροντίσεις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γῇ ὁδοιπορῶν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι τῆς τε
115 ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἐμπορείας κατὰ τε γῆν, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἵνα ἀκινδύνου τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῖς οὐσης ἀόκνως καὶ ἀφόβως κομίζωσι τὸν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια φόρτον.

27. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ διὰ στενῶν τόπων μέλλης ποιεῖσθαι | τὴν πάροδον ἢ διὰ 311
120 ὀρεινῆς καὶ δυσβάτου χώρας πολεμίας παράγειν τὸν στρατόν, ἀναγκαῖον προεκπέμπειν σε μέρος τι τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι τὰς ὑπερβάσεις καὶ τὰς τῶν στενῶν παρόδους ἡγουν τὰς λεγομένας κλεισούρας, ἵνα μὴ φθάσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ σταθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἢ τῶν στενῶν

115–118 Onas. 6.14. 119–129 Onas. 7.1–2.

101 γῇ MWA om. VBE | μέλλης MWVBE βούλη A 102 φθειρόν MW φθεῖρε AVBE | οἷων...ὅσων MW οἷα καὶ ὅσα AVBE | οὐχ...χρεῖαν MW οὐ χρηζεις AVBE 104 ἀπάσας MW πάσας AVBE 105 ἐγχρόνιζε AVBE χρόνιζε MW 106 πλέον MWA om. VBE | μᾶλλον MW om. AVBE | πολεμίους MW ἐχθροὺς AVBE 107 ἐστι MWA ἢ VBE | οἰκείας MW ἰδίας AVBE 108 ἐστιν MWA ἢ VBE | δασιλῆς καὶ MW om. AVBE 109 ἐστι MWA ἢ VBE | σου MW σοι AVBE 111 λιπαρά MW πλουσία AVBE 112 ἀφίης MW ἀφήσης AVBE 113 ὠφελείας MW ἀρπαγὰς AVBE scr. mg. πρὸς κουρας πρὸς συναγωγὴν τῶν χρεῶν W 114 ὑπομένουσιν MWA ὑπομένουσι VBE 116 κατὰ MWA om. VBE 117 αὐτοῖς οὐσης MW οὐσης τοῖς πραγματευταῖς AVBE | κομίζωσι MWVBE κομίζωσιν A 117–118 τὸν...φόρτον MW τὰς χρεῖας ἐν τῷ στρατῷ AVBE 120 δυσβάτου MW δυσβάτου τόπου AVBE | χώρας πολεμίας MW trsp. AVBE 121 προεκπέμπειν AVBE παρεκπέμπειν MW 123 φθάσαντες MW προλαβόντες AVBE

23. If you intend to encamp for a long time in the enemy's country, you should destroy that amount and that sort of thing in the country that you will not need for yourself. Preserve whatever is needed to supply your own troops.

24. When you have all your forces together, you must not settle down and spend a long time either in our own country or in another one subject to us. For you will consume your own crops and do more damage to your friends than to your enemies. If matters in your home country are not at risk, then lead out your forces quickly and proceed into the country of the enemy. Indeed, if the enemy's country is rich and abounds in a variety of produce, you will have a bounteous source of provisions ready at hand. Even if this is not the case, you will not be laying waste your own land or a friendly one, and you will still find things essential for the use of your army from the enemy country even if it is not prosperous.

25. In hostile territory do not allow the soldiers to search for plunder in an undisciplined manner. When they turn to this they often suffer great harm from the enemy.

26. On the march with your troops in your own country, consider the markets and trade centers on land routes and perhaps also along the coast, so that the <merchants> may be present there without danger and may transport their cargoes for your provisioning without hesitation and without fear.⁷

27. When you intend to make your march through a narrow pass or to lead your army over mountainous and difficult terrain in hostile territory, you must send ahead a detachment of your army to occupy the mountain passes beforehand as well as those through narrow places, the so-called *kleisourai*.⁸ Otherwise the enemy might get there first, take their stand on the summits or in the

7. Onasander 6.14.

8. Sections 27–28 derive from Onasander 7.1–2.

κωλύσωσιν σε τὴν διάβασιν ποιήσασθαι ἢ κίνδυνον διὰ τῆς στενοπορίας ἐπαγα-
 125 γεῖν τῷ στρατεύματι.

28. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ φρόντιζε καὶ ὅτ' ἂν αὐτὸς πεφόβησαι πολεμίων εἰσβολὴν εἰς
 τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν, ἵνα προκαταλάβῃς τὰ στενὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κωλύσης τῶν πολε-
 μίων τὴν εἴσοδον διὰ τινος ἀποστελλομένου στρατοῦ ἢ κακῶς διαθήσεις αὐτοὺς
 ἐν τῇ τῶν στενῶν διόδῳ.

130 29. Ἐὰν δὲ διὰ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ μέλλῃς πορεύεσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διανύ-
 ειν πορείαν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, διὰ μὲν τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ἵνα
 ἐθίξῃς τὰ στρατεύματα μένειν ἐν τάξει καὶ συμφυλάττειν τοὺς ἰδίους λόχους
 ἡγουν τοὺς ὀρδίνους τῆς τάξεως καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ
 πολεμίᾳ πρὸς τὰς, ὡς εἰκός, γινομένας ἐξαίφνης ἐπιβουλάς μὴ ἐν ἀθρώφῳ καιρῷ
 135 καὶ ὁξέως ἐπιγινομένῳ θορυβοῦνται καὶ ἐπιτρέχουσι καὶ ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλους
 φέρωνται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴδὲν μὲν βοηθεῖν δύνανται, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ δι' ἑαυτοῦ
 ἢ καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πάθωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐθισμού τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ εἰς
 πορείαν εἰσὶν ἐπιδέξιοι καὶ εἰς μάχην εὐτρεπισμένοι, ἔχοντες καὶ σημείον τι καὶ
 ἀλλήλους ἐν τάξει βλέποντες.

140 30. Τὴν δὲ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ὀλίγην ποιεῖσθαι σε δεῖ, καὶ διὰ
 τοιούτων χωρίων διαβίβαζε τὰς τάξεις, δι' ὧν οὐ συνθλιβήσονται, οὐκ ἔχουσαι
 πλάτος, ὥστε ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐπὶ μῆκος ἐκταθῆναι. εὐεπιβούλευτοι γὰρ γίνονται
 πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφανείας αἱ τοιαῦται καὶ μᾶλλον οὐκ
 ἔχουσαι τὸ δραστήριον.

145 31. Ἐὰν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἀπαντήσωσιν οἱ πολέμοι πλατύτεροι
 τεταγμένοι, εὐκόλως αὐτοὺς τρέπονται, καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς εὐκαί-
 ρως κυκλοῦντες τοὺς ἐναντίους.

130-182 Onas. 6.1-8.

124 κωλύσωσιν MW κωλύσῃ AVBE 124-125 διὰ...στρατεύματι MW τῷ στρατεύματι
 ἐπαγάγῃ διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου στενότητα AVBE 126 πεφόβησαι MW om. AVBE
 127 χώραν MW χώραν προσδοκᾶς AVBE 129 διόδῳ MW παρόδῳ AVBE
 130-131 διανύειν πορείαν MW ὁδὸν περιπατεῖν AVBE 132 μένειν...τάξει MW ἐν τάξει
 περιπατεῖν AVBE | συμφυλάττειν MWA φυλάττειν VBE 135 ἐπιγινομένῳ MWAVE
 ἐπιγενομένῳ B | θορυβοῦνται MW θορυβῶνται AVBE | ἐπιτρέχουσι M ἐπιτρέχουσιν W
 ἐπιτρέχῃ AVBE 136 δύνανται MWA δύνωνται VBE | ἑαυτοῦ MW ἑαυτῶν AVBE
 138 εἰσὶν MWA ὧσιν VBE | εὐτρεπισμένοι MW ἔτοιμοι AVBE 141 χωρίων MW τόπων
 AVBE 143-144 μᾶλλον...δραστήριον MW ἀνεέργητοι AVBE scr. mg. ἡγουν δια τὰ
 στενωματα οὐχέχουσι το κατα τῶν εχθρῶν ενεργειν W 146 τρέπονται MW κυκλώσαντες
 τρέπουσιν AVBE 146-147 αὐτῆς...ἐναντίους MW τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων κέρας κυκλοῦντες
 AVBE

defiles, and prevent you from passing through or seriously endanger your army
 if it does pass through the defile.

28. Be mindful of the same thing when you fear an attack of the enemy
 against your own country. Before they arrive, have your troops occupy the
 narrow places on your route. By dispatching some of your troops for this
 purpose you will prevent enemy incursions or you will inflict serious injury on
 them in their passage of the defiles.

29. If you plan on a long journey and a march of many days both in your
 own country and in that of the enemy, first, in passing through your own
 country, accustom your troops to remain in formation and to keep to their own
 groups or columns of the formation and to follow their officers; so that, in
 hostile territory in case of sudden attacks from ambush, perhaps coming very
 quickly at a critical moment, your men may not be thrown into confusion, run
 about, and stumble over one another.⁹ In such a situation, they will be of no help
 to themselves, rather they will suffer many evils, some of them self-inflicted and
 others by the enemy. But by being accustomed to good order they can handle
 themselves well on the march and be prepared for battle. They should have some
 kind of watchword among themselves and keep their eyes on each other in
 formation.

30. You must reduce the size of the marching formation of your army. Have
 it pass through the kind of terrain in which the troops will not be pressed tightly
 together because their formations are not wide enough for them to extend their
 flanks broadly. Such lines are more readily subject to sudden assaults of the
 enemy and are really not effective at all.

31. For, if the enemy, drawn up in a more extended front, should encounter
 the head <of your column> they will easily turn it to flight, just as, in the battle
 itself, they may readily encircle their opponents.

9. Sections 29-40 derive from Onasander 6.1-8.

32. Ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ μέσῃν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐπιβάλωσι, ταχὺ διίστῳσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν καὶ διακόπτουσιν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιστρέψωσι πρὸς φάλαγγα οἱ
150 ὁδοιποροῦντες ὥστε ἀντιπαράταξασθαι, ἀσθενὴς ἡ μάχη γίνεται καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσα πάχος.

33. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν ἐπιφανῶσι, προφανὴς γίνεται ὁλεθρὸς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐν τῷ | ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πορείας τεταγμένοις.

34. Συμβαίνει δὲ καί, ἐάν τις παραβοήθεια γένηται, δυσχερὴ καὶ ἄπρακτον
155 αὐτὴν γενέσθαι. τῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν βουλομένων βοηθεῖν ἢ καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῖς εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν, βραδεῖα ἢ ἔλευσις καὶ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν δύναται γίνεσθαι.

35. Ἡ δὲ συνεσταλμένη πορεία καὶ τετράγωνος, ἢ παραμήκης μὲν, μὴ πάνυ δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσα τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλὰ σύμμετρον, εἰς πάντα καιρὸν ὠφέλιμός ἐστι καὶ
160 εὐμεταχείριστος καὶ ἀσφαλής.

36. Ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς πάνυ στενοὺς τόπους διαβαίνει τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ πολὺ λεπτυνομένης καὶ ἐπεκτεινομένης τῆς παρατάξεως, πολλάκις γὰρ εἰς ἀμφιβολίαν ἐπίπτουσιν, ὅταν οἱ πρῶτοι καταβάντες ἀπὸ ὄρεινῶν τόπων εἰς ἐπίπεδα χωρία· θεασάμενοι γὰρ τοὺς ὀπίσω ἐπι<κατα>βαίνοντας ἔδοξαν εἶναι πολεμίων
165 ἐπέλευσιν, ὥστε σπεῦσαι προσβάλλειν ὡς ἐχθροῖς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων παρὰ μικρόν.

37. Λάμβανε δὲ καὶ τάττε τὸ τοῦλδον ὅλον, τὴν τε δουλείαν καὶ τὰ σαγμάρια καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ δυνάμει. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν ὕφ-

32. If they attack the center of your force from the flank, they will quickly pierce the column and cut through it. If the marching column wheels about into a phalanx, so as to line up against the foe, their fighting will be without thick ranks and weak.

33. In like manner, if they appear in the rear, it will obviously result in the destruction of the men lined up at the head of the column.

34. It also happens that, even if some assistance can be given, it would be difficult and ineffective. When the men in the rear want to come to the aid of those up front or, in turn, those up front to those in the rear, their arrival is delayed and cannot come in time.

35. A marching formation that is compact and rectangular, shaped <so that its length is> not much longer than its width, but proportionate, is helpful in every contingency and is safe and easy to manage.

36. If the army should march through very narrow defiles with its column extended and very thin, its fate frequently sinks into uncertainty when the first units descend into level terrain from the mountainous area <above>. For they observe the men still descending behind them and mistake them for a hostile attacking force, so that they get set to charge into them as though they were enemies, and they barely avoid coming to blows with one another.

37. Place and draw up your entire baggage train, the service units, the pack animals, and all the equipment in the middle of your force. If you suspect some

148 ἐπιβάλωσι M ἐπιβάλωσιν W ἐφορμήσωσιν A ἐφορμήσωσι VBE | διίστῳσιν MW διακόπτουσιν AVBE 149 καὶ διακόπτουσιν MW om. AVBE | ἐπιστρέψωσι MAVBE ἐπιστρέψωσιν W 150 ἀντιπαράταξασθαι MW ἀντιπαράταξασθαι τοῖς ἐκ πλαγίου ἐπερχομένοις AVBE 150-151 καὶ...πάχος MW διὰ τὸ λεπτήν εἶναι τὴν παράταξιν καὶ βάθος μὴ ἔχειν AVBE 152 ἐὰν...γίνεται MWAVE om. B | ἐπιφανῶσι MVBE ἐπιφανῶσιν WA 154 παραβοήθεια MWA παρὰ βοήθειαν VBE | δυσχερὴ καὶ MW om. AVBE 155 αὐτὴν γενέσθαι MW αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀνεργήτον AVBE | τοῖς WAVBE τῶν M 156 καὶ AVBE om. MW 156-157 οὐ...γίνεσθαι MW οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀρμόζοντι καιρῷ διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολὺ ἐπεκταθῆναι τὴν παράταξιν ὥσπερ εἴρηται AVBE 159 ὠφέλιμός VBE χρήσιμός A om. MW 160 εὐμεταχείριστος MW εὐμετακίνητος AVBE 161-162 ἐὰν...παρατάξεως AVBE om. MW 162 πολλάκις γὰρ M πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ W πολλάκις καὶ AVBE 162-163 ἀμφιβολίαν AVBE ἀμφιβολίας MW 163-164 ἐπίπεδα χωρία MW ὁμαλοὺς τόπους AVBE 164 θεασάμενοι γὰρ MW θεάσωνται AVBE | ὀπίσω MW ὀπίσω αὐτῶν AVBE | ἐπικαταβαίνοντας De ἐπιβαίνοντας MW κατερχομένους AVBE | ἔδοξαν MW ἔδοξαν γὰρ AVBE | πολεμίων WAVBE πολεμίαν M 165 σπεῦσαι MW σπουδάσαι AVBE 167 τάττε MW τάσσε A κατὰ σε VBE

οράσαι ἔφοδόν τινων, ποιήσον καὶ τοὺς νωτοφύλακας ἰσχυροὺς ὁμοίως τῶν
 170 ἔμπροσθεν τεταγμένων ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τῆς πορείας, ὥστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν τοὺς
 ὀπίσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν πρὸς τὰ εἰκὸς συμβαίνοντα.

38. Ἀποστείλης δὲ καὶ τινὰς καβαλλαρίους, τοὺς μέλλοντας διερευνῆσαι τὰς
 ὁδοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτ' ἂν ὑλώδεις καὶ περικεκλεισμένας βουνοῖς ἢ ὄρεσι
 διοδεύης ἐρημίας. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐγκρύμματα πολεμίων ὑποκαθίζονται καὶ
 175 λαθόντα τάχα τὰ ὅλα πράγματα συντρίβουσι τῶν ἐναντίων.

39. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πεδιάδα γῆν οἱ πάντων ὀφθαλμοὶ περιβλεπόμενοι εὐκόλως
 διερευνῶσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κονιορτὸς ἀναφερόμενος πολλάκις μὲν τὴν
 ἐπέλευσιν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πυρὰ καίόμενα νυκτὸς ὑπέλαμψε καὶ ὑπέδειξε τοὺς
 πολεμίους.

180 40. Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν οὐ μέλλης ἐκτάσσειν εἰς μάχην τὰς δυνάμεις, ἄγε αὐτὰς ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ μόνον. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπείγῃ καὶ σπουδάζῃς φθάνειν συντομώτερον, ἄγε
 αὐτὰς καὶ ἐν νυκτί, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο νομίζῃς.

41. Καὶ πρὸ μὲν τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς μάχης μετὰ ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς προέρχου.
 ἐπὰν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμφανισθῇ, εὐθὺς ἐπιβαλοῦ, καλῶς προεκτάξας τὴν
 185 δύναμιν. πολλάκις γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ συμβάλλειν τὸν πόλεμον ὁ περὶ τοῦτον κόπος
 εἰς δειλίαν ἄγει καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους καὶ δαπανᾷ τῇ μερίμνῃ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν
 σωμάτων. |

42. Τοὺς δὲ στενοὺς καὶ δυσβάτους τόπους ἐπὶ πολὺ διάστημα ἐκτεταμένους
 ἐν χώρᾳ ἐχθρῶν κατεξαίρετον οἱ πεζοὶ διαβαίνειν οὐ δυσχερῶς ἔχουσι. περὶ
 190 τούτων δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν.

188–254 *Strat.*, 9.4.

169 τινων MW πολεμίων AVBE | ὁμοίως MAVBE ὁμοίους WB 171 πρὸς...συμβαίνοντα
 MW κατὰ δύναμιν AVBE 172 τινὰς καβαλλαρίους MW trsp. AVBE 173 ὑλώδεις καὶ
 MW δασείας διοδεύης ἐρημίας AVBE | περικεκλεισμένας MWA περικεκλεισμένους VBE |
 ὄρεσι MW ὄρεσιν AVBE 174 διοδεύης ἐρημίας MW om. AVBE | ὑποκαθίζονται Onas.
 ἐπικαθίζονται codd. 175 συντρίβουσι MWVBE συντρίβουσιν A | τῶν ἐναντίων MW om.
 AVBE 176 τὴν...γῆν MW τοὺς μὲν ὁμαλοὺς καὶ δένδρα μὴ ἔχοντας τόπους AVBE |
 περιβλεπόμενοι MW περιβλέπουσιν A περιβλέπουσι VBE 177 διερευνῶσι M διερευνῶσιν
 W om. AVBE 178 καίόμενα MW καιομένη AVBE | ὑπέλαμψε MWA ἐπέλαμψε VBE
 180 μέλλης MW βούλῃ AVE βούλει B | ἐκτάσσειν MW παρατάσσειν AVBE 183 σχολῆς
 MW ἀργίας AVBE 184 ἐπὰν MW ἐπειδὴν AVBE 185 πρὸ τοῦ MW ἐὰν ἐμβραδύνῃς
 AVBE | συμβάλλειν MW συμβαλεῖν AVBE | ὁ...κόπος MW om. AVBE | κόπος Va σκοπὸς
 MW om. AVBE 186 ἄγει...δύναμιν MW ἔρχονται οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ἡ μερίμνα
 τὴν δύναμιν δαπανᾷ AVBE 188 ἐκτεταμένους MAVBE ἐκτεταμένους W 189 ἔχουσι
 MVBE ἔχουσιν WA

sort of attack from the rear, make sure your rear guard is as strong as the forces
 stationed in the front of your column, since there is no difference between the
 front and the rear with a view to what may happen.

38. Send out some cavalry units to reconnoiter the roads, especially when
 you are proceeding through deserted areas that are wooded and closed in by
 hills or mountains. Ambuscades are often set up by the enemy and, when not
 detected, swiftly bring utter destruction upon their adversaries.

39. On a level plain everyone can look about and easily reconnoiter. By day a
 cloud of dust often gives warning of the approach of the enemy. By night the
 light from burning fires points to their location.

40. If you do not intend to draw up your forces for battle, lead them only by
 day. But if you are in a hurry and anxious to arrive first <at a certain place>, lead
 your forces at night as well, provided you think it safe to do so.

41. Before the time of battle march along in a relaxed and leisurely manner.
 But when you come in sight of the enemy, draw up your force in good order and
 attack immediately. The hard work involved before the actual fighting gets
 under way frequently causes even courageous men to lose heart, and anxiety
 saps their bodily strength.

42. Foot soldiers in particular do not find it difficult to traverse long stretch-
 es of narrow and difficult places in hostile territory.¹⁰ We will shortly speak
 about these matters.

10. Sections 42–51 derive from *Strat.* 9.4.

43. Τοὺς δὲ καβαλλάριους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν καιρῷ θέρους μάλιστα ἀπερискέπτως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε διαβαίνειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν χωρὶς ἀνάγκης. ἂν δὲ ἔστιν τόπος ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἄχρι ἐνὸς μιλίου ἐκτεταμένος καὶ δύνανται καὶ πεζοὶ διαβαίνειν ἐκεῖ, δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ καβαλλάριους πεζεύειν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς.

195 44. Στενοὺς δὲ καὶ δυσκόλους ἐκείνους λέγω τόπους τοὺς μίαν καὶ μόνην πάροδον ἔχοντας. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλαι εἰσὶ πάροδοι καὶ ἐπινοηθῆναι δύνανται, ἀνεμποδίστως ἢ πάροδος δύναται γίνεσθαι. ἂν οὖν γένηται καιρὸς στενῶν διαβάσεων καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν τόπων μέλλῃ ὑποστρέφειν ὁ στρατός, εἰ μὲν δασεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον διάστημα, ὡς εἴρηται, κρατοῦσι, τοὺτους κατὰ τὸν
200 καιρὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔκκοπτε καὶ πλάτυνε καὶ καθάριζε κατὰ τὸν ἐνδεχόμενον τρόπον. εἰ δὲ στενοὶ καὶ κρημνώδεις, ὥστε μὴ πλατύνεσθαι δύνανται, ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἡμῖν εἴρηται, προκαταλάμβανε αὐτοὺς διὰ τινος πεζικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις αὐτῶν τόποις τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν καταλίμπανε ἀσφαλῶς βοήθειαν ἢ τυχὸν καὶ διὰ καβαλλάρων μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς ἢ καὶ τοῦτο κάκεῖνο ποιεῖν
205 ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτέροις τόποις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκκόπτειν ἡγουν καθαρίζειν καὶ βοήθειαν καταλιμπάνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον.

45. Τοὺς δὲ τὴν πάροδον διὰ τῶν στενῶν ποιουμένους ἢ μετὰ τούλδου ἢ μετὰ πραιίδας εἰς δύο φάλαγγας ἤτοι παρατάξεις γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ κέρας ἐν ὀρθίᾳ παραγωγῇ περιπατεῖν πεζῇ. ὀρθία δὲ ἐστὶ παραγωγή ἢ κατὰ μέτωπον μὲν στενή,
210 κατὰ δὲ τὸ βάθος εἰς μῆκος ἐκτεινομένη. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν πραιίδας μάλιστα ἐν χερσὶν οὐσης, εἴτε πεζοὶ εἰσιν οἷς μᾶλλον εὐχερὴς ἢ τῶν δασέων καὶ δυσβάτων τόπων διάβασις, εἴτε καβαλλάριοι ἐκ τῶν ἵππων καταβαίνοντες καὶ μέσον τὸν τούλδον καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔχοντες.

46. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς καὶ τόποις μετὰ τὴν διφάλαγγίαν, ἣτις ἔχει
215 δυνατόν τὸν λαὸν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, ὥσπερ στομώματα μαχαίρας, ἦν δέον σε ἀφορίζειν εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ τούλδου καὶ τῆς πραιίδας τῆς, ὡς εἰκός, ἐνούσης

43. Apart from an emergency, we do not recommend that cavalry, while in hostile territory, especially in summertime, imprudently and without necessity should do that. But if the pass is not very long, extending only a mile or so, and infantry can make their way through it, then the cavalry can pass through on foot.

44. I define narrow and difficult passes as those places that have only one passable road. When other routes exist or can be improvised, the passage can be made without hindrance. Therefore, if the time comes for the army <to pass through> narrow passages with the intention of returning again through the same places, and if it is heavily wooded and, as mentioned, not very long, then, when we first go through it, chop down the trees and level the ground as best fits the situation. If the way is narrow and precipitous, so that it cannot be leveled, as we have said above, have an infantry force go ahead to seize the place and have an auxiliary detachment of sufficient strength take up position on the commanding points, or perhaps also a force of cavalry, until we return. Or take the same steps in more critical locations, that is, cut down <the trees> or clear the ground and leave behind a suitable guard.

45. The troops making their way through the defiles, either accompanied by the baggage train or by plunder, should form into two phalanxes or battle lines marching on foot in columns by the flank. In column means a marching formation narrow in the front but in depth stretched out to a greater extent. Observe this especially when they have plunder in hand. Infantry can traverse wooded and difficult terrain easily enough. But have cavalry dismount and place the baggage train and the equipment in the center.

46. At such times and in such places, in addition to the double phalanx, which has a strong force in front and to the rear, like the hard edges of a sword, it is necessary for you to detail <men> to guard the baggage train and the

193 ἐστιν MW ἐστι A ἢ VBE | ἐπ' MW ἐπὶ AVBE | ἄχρι...ἐκτεταμένος MW ἐκτεταγμένος (ἐκτεταμένος VBE) ἄχρι ἐνὸς μιλίου AVBE | δύνανται MWA δύνονται VBE
194 πεζεύειν...ἀσφαλῶς MW πεζεύοντας διέρχεσθαι AVBE 195-197 στενοὺς...γίνεσθαι MW om. AVBE 199 εἰσι MAVBE εἰσιν W | κρατοῦσι MVBE κρατοῦσιν WA | τοὺτους MW om. AVBE 201 πλατύνεσθαι MWAB πλατύνασθαι VE 204 ἢ¹ AVBE εἰ MW | κάκεῖνο MW ἐκεῖνο A καὶ ἐκεῖνο VBE 205 τόποις MW om. AVBE 207 στενῶν MW στενῶν τόπων AVBE | ἢ¹ MWAVE ἢ καὶ B | τούλδου MAVBE τόλδου W | ἢ² MWAVE ἢ καὶ B 208 ἤτοι MW ἡγουν AVBE 209 ἐστι MWA ἐστιν VBE 211 εὐχερὴς MW εὐχερὴς καὶ εὐκόλος AVBE 212 τὸν A τὸ MWVBE 215 τὸν MW om. AVBE | στομώματα MW στόματα AVBE 216 τούλδου MAVBE τόλδου W | τῆς² MWA om. VBE | ἐνούσης MW συνούσης AVBE

αὐτοῖς, πάντως καὶ ἄλλους ἐξπλήκτους ἤγουν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ ὄντας, τοὺς | 314
καλλίῳ καὶ πλείους, ποιεῖν ἐκ περισσοῦ κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τῆς δι-
φαλαγγίας, ὡς ὁ τόπος παραδέχεται, παρακολουθοῦντας καὶ ἀποσοβοῦντας
220 τοὺς βουλομένους, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπέρχεσθαι καὶ διαταράσσειν
αὐτήν, ἵνα ἀδιάσπαστος καὶ ἀσύγχυτος ἢ πρὸς παραφυλακὴν τοῦ τούλδου καὶ
τῆς πραίδας τάξις φυλάττεται καὶ μηδὲ περισπῶνται οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ τοὺς ἐπερχο-
μένους. οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν τοὺς εἰς τὴν διφαλαγγίαν τασσομένους καὶ τὴν πραί-
225 ζεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ περισσοῦ δεῖ ἔξωθεν τῆς διφαλαγγίας ἔχειν κατὰ τῶν
τεσσάρων μερῶν καὶ κατεξαίρετον ὀπισθεν τοὺς κρείττους ἀφορίζεσθαι.
οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τις δυνήσεται ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τοὺς δυσκόλους καὶ τραχεῖς τόπους
διαβαίνειν εὐκόλως.

47. Τοὺς δὲ ἵππους τῶν ἀποβαινόντων καὶ πεζυόντων στρατιωτῶν, ἐὰν
230 πεζοὶ οὐ σύνεισι στρατιῶται, μὴ πλησίον τῶν πεζυόντων ἔχε, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ
τόπῳ αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς ἄγε, ὥστε μὴ, ὡς εἰκός, παραλόγου δειλίας γενομένης,
ταρασσόμενοι οἱ πεζεύοντες, ἐὰν πλησίον αὐτοὺς εὗρωσι, προχείρως ἐπιλαμ-
βανόμενοι τῶν ἵππων καταλιμπάνουσι τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν βλάβη μεγίστη
γίνεται.

235 48. Εἰ δὲ συμβῇ αἰχμαλωσίαν αὐτοὺς ἢ πραῖδαν ἐπιφέρεισθαι καὶ μέλλουσιν
οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν ταῦτα, δεόν ἢ κατὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους ἢ κατὰ τῶν δύο, ἔνθα
ἢ πάροδος γίνεται, τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους δεδεμένους ἔξωτέρῳ τῆς τάξεως παρά-
γειν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὥσανεὶ σκουτεύεσθαι, ἵνα αὐτῶν φειδόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ μὴ

217-218 ἐξπλήκτους... πλείους MW ἔχειν δεῖ ἐλαφροὺς καὶ μηδὲν βάρος ἐπιφερομένους
τοὺς καλλίονας καὶ πλείονας AVBE 217 ἐξπλήκτους Va ἐξαπλήκτους codd.
218 ποιεῖν... περισσοῦ MW om. AVBE 219 παρακολουθοῦντας MWAB παρακαλου-
θοῦντας VE | ἀποσοβοῦντας MW ἀπαντώντας AVBE 221 ἀσύγχυτος MW ἀτάραχος
AVBE | ἢ AVBE ἢ W om. M | τούλδου AVBE τόλδου MW 222 φυλάττεται MW
φυλάττηται AVBE 223 τήν' MWA om. VBE 224 τοῖς... ἐπερχομένοις MW τοὺς... ἐπερ-
χομένους AVBE 224-225 ἀρμόζεσθαι MW ἀπαντᾶν AVBE 225 τοῦτο MW τοῦτο χρή
AVBE | δεῖ MW om. AVBE 230 σύνεισι MW συνυπάρχωσι A συνυπάρχουσι VBE | ἀλλὰ
MWA ἀλλ' VBE 231 αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς MWA trsp. VBE 232-233 ταρασσόμενοι...
ἵππων MW πλησίον ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν οἱ πεζεύοντες ἐπιβαίνοντες αὐτῶν AVBE
233 καταλιμπάνουσι MW καταλιμπάνωσι AVBE 234 γίνεται MWAB γίνηται VE
235-236 μέλλουσιν... ταῦτα MW συμβῇ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιτίθεσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν AVBE
236 ταῦτα δεόν Va δεόν ταῦτα MW δεόν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους AVBE 237 πάροδος MW
ἐφοδος AVBE | τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους MW om. AVBE

plunder it is likely to be carrying. Over and above this, be sure to assign other
light-armed troops, better and more numerous, specifically for this purpose on
the four sides of the double phalanx as the terrain permits. They are to march
alongside and ward off any hostile parties who might be attempting to harass
the column. This provides protection for the formation assigned to guard the
baggage train and the plunder without being split up and disordered or the
troops drawn off to fight attackers. For it is not possible for the troops stationed
in the double phalanx to guard the plunder in an orderly manner and also deal
with likely hostile raiding parties. For this reason, it is necessary to have troops
that can be spared outside the double phalanx and to post the stronger ones on
the four sides and especially to the rear. In this way one will be able at all times
to pass through difficult and rugged places easily.

47. If there are no foot soldiers accompanying them, the horses of the sol-
diers who have dismounted and who are proceeding on foot should not remain
close to them but should be led along safely in the center. This is to avoid the
likelihood that the men going on foot might break ranks out of reckless fear
and, if they find the horses close by, readily take hold of them and abandon their
formation. That would lead to the greatest harm.

48. If it should happen that they are transporting prisoners or plunder, and
the enemy are about to go after them, you must, either on one side or on both
sides of the line of march, lead the prisoners, still bound, to the outside of the
column, using them as a sort of shield. Either the enemy will hold their fire out

ἐπιτηδεύωσιν ἀκοντίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντίσωσιν, αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἀφανίζουσι καὶ
240 μὴ τὸν στρατιώτην.

49. Εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐν ἀνάγκῃ, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ περιστάσει ἀδοκίτῳ ὁ στρατὸς γένηται καὶ ἐν στενώμασι καταληφθῇ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκινδύνως τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκεῖθεν ποιήσασθαι, τότε κρεῖττον ἔστιν ἐκ συμφώνου ἢ μέρος τῆς πραιίδας ἢ πᾶσαν παραχωρεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἀβλαβῶς ἐξέρχασθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' αὐτὴν
245 κινδυνεύειν.

50. Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτω συμβιβασθῆναι βούλονται, διαχρῆσθαι τούτους ἐπ' ὧσεσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἢ ἐπιμένειν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι αὐτὴν ἀφειδῶς ἢ, ὡς δυνατόν ἔστιν, ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τάξεως περισφύζειν καὶ τῆς ἐξελεύσεως φροντίζειν.

250 51. Καὶ παντοῖός σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, σκοπὸς ἔστω ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις στενώμασι | καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ διάστημα κρατοῦσι μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν βιάζεσθαι στρα- 314
τοῦ πάροδον, ἐξαιρέτως ἐν καιρῷ θέρους, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὕλης δασύτητα πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλούντων, πρὶν ἂν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποσοβηθῶσι φαινόμενοι ἢ ὑψηλότεροι τόποι τῆς παρόδου ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ προκαταληφθῶσιν.

255 52. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς βαβαλλαρικῆς ἐκστρατείας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πεζικῆς ὁδοιπορίας εἰς μὲν ἐπιπέδους τόπους δέον σε καὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν βαβαλλαρίους καθιστᾶν εἰς βίγλαν καὶ ἐξωτέρῳ τῆς βίγλας μηδένα τῶν πεζῶν φαίνεσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἅπλικτα ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον γίνεσθαι ἵνα μὴ κοποῦνται οἱ πεζοὶ περιπατοῦντες πολὺ διάστημα.

260 53. Τὰς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἀμάξας κατὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς παρατάξεως περιπατεῖν δέον, εἴτε ἐν ὀρδίῳ εἴτε ἐν παρατάξει, πρὸς τὸν τόπον πρῶτον τοῦ δεξιού

255–371 *Strat.*, 12.B.19–20.

239 ἐπιτηδεύωσιν MWVBE om. A | ἀκοντίζειν MW ἀκοντίζωσιν ἢ τοξεύωσιν AVBE | ἀκοντίσωσιν MW ἀκοντίζουσιν AVBE | ἀφανίζουσι M ἀφανίζουσιν A ἀφανίζωσι WVBE 241 στρατὸς MWA στρατηγὸς VBE 243 ἐκεῖθεν MW om. AVBE 246 οὕτω M οὕτως WAVBE | διαχρῆσθαι... ὧσεσι MW φονεύειν αὐτοὺς βλέπόντων AVBE 247 λυμαίνεσθαι MW ἀφανίζειν AVBE 248 ἑαυτοὺς MWA αὐτοὺς VBE | ἐξελεύσεως MWA ἐξελάσεως VBE 250 καὶ...στρατηγέ MW om. AVBE | σκοπὸς MW σκοπὸς δέ σοι AVBE | τοῖς MWA om. VBE | τοιούτοις στενώμασι MWA trsp. VBE 251 κρατοῦσι MVBE κρατοῦσιν WA 253 ἀποσοβηθῶσι φαινόμενοι MW οἱ φαινόμενοι πολεμίῳ ἀποδιωχθῶσιν AVBE 254 προκαταληφθῶσιν MW προκατακρατηθῶσιν AVBE 256 ἐπιπέδους MW ὁμαλοὺς AVBE 257 βίγλαν M βίγλας WAVBE 258 κοποῦνται AVBE σκοποῦνται MW 260 τὰ MWA om. VBE

of consideration for them or, if they do shoot, they will kill the prisoners and not our soldiers.

49. If the army, as can easily happen, finds itself in an unexpected critical situation, trapped in narrow passes, and unable to extricate itself without real danger, then it is better to come to an agreement with the enemy, relinquishing part or all of the plunder. The army can thus withdraw without harm and without endangering itself for the sake of the plunder.

50. But if they do not wish to make such an agreement, put the prisoners to death before the eyes of the enemy. Then, either remain in their country and ravage it without mercy or, as best you can, try to save yourselves in an orderly way and concentrate on escape.

51. Above all, O general, when you find yourself in such defiles, especially ones extending a long distance, you must be careful not to have your army try to force its way through, particularly in summer, when the dense foliage enables the enemy to cause a great deal of trouble, before those who appear can be driven off or your own army shall have seized the commanding heights of the passage.

52. So much then about cavalry expeditions.¹¹ When it comes to infantry marching along in level terrain, you must send out cavalry patrols to the front and to the rear. No infantry man should appear outside the line of patrols. The camp sites should be fairly close, so that the foot soldiers do not become exhausted from marching long distances.

53. The wagons accompanying the infantry should be driven along in accord with the divisions of the battle line, either in column or in a broad formation. In

11. Sections 52–75 derive from *Strat.* 12.B.19–20.

κέρατος, εἴτα τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ, μετ' ἐκεῖνας δὲ τοῦ μέσου ἀριστεροῦ καὶ τότε τοῦ μέσου δεξιού· καὶ μὴ πεφυρμένοι καὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι περιπατοῦσιν.

54. Ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ πλησίον εἰσὶν, δέον τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἕκαστον τὰ ὅπλα
265 αὐτοῦ βαστάζοντα περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ εἰς τὰς ἀμάξας ταῦτα καταλιμπάνειν, ἵνα
ᾧσιν ἔτοιμοι πρὸς τὴν μάχην. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς, καθὼς ἐν τῇ παρα-
τάξει τάττονται τὰ τάγματα, οὕτως αὐτὰ δεῖ περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ συγκεχυμένως ἢ
διασπασμένως ἵνα, ἐὰν γένηται χρεῖα τοῦ παρατάξασθαι, ἐτοίμως εἰς τοῦτο
καταστῶσιν.

270 55. Ἐὰν δὲ πολλοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καβαλλάριοι, ἐγγιζόντων αὐτῶν τῷ
στρατῷ μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν συνεχῶς τὰ ἀπλικά ἀλλάσσειν ἢ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ποιεῖ-
σθαι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβάσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν προκατα-
λαμβάνειν τὸν τόπον, ἐνθα ἡ συμβολὴ μέλλει γίνεσθαι, κάκεισε ἀσφαλῶς ἀπλι-
κεύειν.

275 56. Ἐὰν δὲ μέλλης ἔφοδον ποιεῖν κατὰ χώρας ἐχθρῶν μετὰ πεζικοῦ στρατοῦ
διὰ δάσεων καὶ δυσβάτων καὶ στενῶν τόπων ἢ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρήσεις κατ'
αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ δεῖ σε πολλοὺς καβαλλαρίους ἔχειν, μήτε ἀμάξας ἔχειν ἢ
τοῦλδον πολὺν ἢ ὅπλα πολλὰ <καὶ βαρέα>, οἷον λωρίκια καὶ κασσίδας ἢ κλι-
βάνια ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ σκουτάρια μόνον ἔχειν τοὺς σκουτάτους μείζονα,
280 κοντάρια δὲ κοντὰ καὶ τὰ σπαθία καὶ τζικούρια, τοὺς δὲ λεγομένους ψιλοὺς
σκουτάρια μικρὰ καὶ ἐλαφρότερα, τοξοφάρετρα, ρικτάρια, ἀκόντια μικρά,
τζικούρια καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐλαφρὸν καὶ | χρήσιμον. ἀξίνας δὲ πάντως περισσὰς 315
χρῆ ἔχειν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σαγμαρίοις ἐπιφέρεισθαι διὰ τὰς χρεῖας.

57. Τὴν δὲ πεζικὴν τῶν σκουτάτων τάξιν μὴδὲ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἦτοι κατὰ μέτωπον
285 τάσσειν χρῆ, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ὁμαλοῖς καὶ γυμνοῖς τόποις, ἀλλ' εἰς δύο ἢ δ' ἑξήκοντα μέρη ἐπὶ β'
ἢ δ' τὸ βάθος τῶν ἀκίων πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἢ ὥς ἡ χρεῖα ἀπαιτεῖ. τὰ δὲ
μέρη ἴσως κινεῖν καὶ περιπατεῖν ἀφεστῶτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὥς ἀπὸ λίθου βολῆς.

263 ad δεξιού des. W (fol. desideratur) 285 ad μέρη de novo inc. W

262 ἐκεῖνας MW ἐκεῖνους AVBE 263 πεφυρμένοι MA περιφυρμένοι VBE | περιπατοῦσιν
M περιπατῶσιν AVBE 264 εἰσὶν MA ᾧσιν VBE 266 ἔτοιμοι MA ἔτοιμα VBE
269 καταστῶσιν AVBE καθιστῶσιν M 270 εἰσὶν MA ᾧσιν VBE | αὐτῶν MVBE αὐτῶ A
272 ἐκβάσεως AVBE ἐκτάσεως M | δύο... τριῶν MA β' ἢ γ' VBE 277 μήτε M οὔτε AVBE
| ἔχειν² M om. AVBE 278 καὶ βαρέα Va om. codd. 279 τῶν M om. AVBE | μόνον M
μόνα AVBE 281 ρικτάρια Va ρηκτάρια M ριπτάρια AVBE 283 χρῆ MA om. VBE
284 μὴδὲ M οὐδὲ AVBE 285 δύο MAB β' VE | δ' M τέσσαρα A τέσσαρας VBE
285-286 μέρη... δ' MWA om. VBE 285 β' MW δύο AVBE 286 δ' MW τέσσαρας A | τὸ
ποσὸν MW τὴν ποσότητα AVBE | ἀπαιτεῖ WAVBE ἀπαντὰ M 287 ἀφεστῶτα MWA
ἐφεστῶτα VBE

first place should be the wagons of the right flank, then those of the left, follow-
ing them the wagons of the left center and then those of the right center. They
should not be in disarray or mixed up with one another as they proceed along.

54. If the enemy are nearby, the heavy-armed troops should march along,
each one carrying his weapons, not leaving them in the wagons, but prepared to
fight. When they are under pressure, the tagmata line up in the way they form
for battle and in that order they march along without any mixing or dispersion
of troops in order that, if it becomes necessary to form the battle line, they are in
position to do so.

55. If there is a large number of enemy cavalry and they are getting close to
our army, we should not immediately get ready to change our campsite or to
undertake a march before the battle has ended. Instead, two or three days
beforehand, occupy the place where the battle is likely to occur and there set up
camp in safety.

56. If you intend to lead an army of infantry on an expedition against hostile
territory that is dense, very rugged, and with narrow passes, or to launch
assaults on them in such places, you must not have many cavalry or wagons or a
large baggage train or much heavy armament, such as body armor, helmets,
cuirasses or anything of that sort. The heavy-armed troops should carry only
large shields, short spears, swords, and axes. The so-called light-armed troops
should have smaller and lighter shields, bows with quivers, throwing spears,
short javelins, axes, and anything else light and serviceable like these. They
definitely must have extra axes that can be carried by the pack animals until
needed.

57. The force of heavy infantry must not be drawn up in a straight line on
the front as in flat and open country, but, depending on the size of the army or
as the circumstances require, in two or four divisions, two or four ranks deep. Its
divisions should move evenly and march along separated from each other by
about a stone's throw.

58. Ἐὰν δὲ σύνεισι καβαλλάριοι ἢ τοῦλδος, ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν τὸν τοῦλδον
ποιεῖν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς καβαλλαρίους καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους σκουτάτους
290 <καὶ> ψιλοὺς νωτοφύλακας διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιγινόμενας ἀδοκή-
τους ἐφόδους.

59. Τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐκπορεύεσθαι τῆς παρατάξεως μέχρι ἐνὸς
σημείου μετὰ ὀλίγων καβαλλαρίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ πλαγίων ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἀνάγκη
περιπατεῖν, ἵνα καὶ σκουλκεύωσι καὶ γινώσκωσι, μήποτε ἐγκρύμματα εἰσιν
295 ἐχθρῶν ἢ δένδρα ἰστάμενα, τὰ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν πεπρισμένα, ἔχοντα καὶ σχηματι-
κῶς ἰστάμενα, ἅτινα ἀπὸ χειρῶν ὠθούμενα καὶ πίπτοντα κατὰ τῶν παρόδων
ἐμφράξεις ποιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασι καὶ ἀγῶνα τοῖς αἰφνιδιαζομένοις παρ-
έχουσιν.

60. Καὶ ταῦτα προερευνᾶν δεῖ διὰ τε ψιλῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὀλίγων καβαλ-
300 λαρίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς κεκρυμμένους ἐχθροὺς, εἴθ' οὕτως παρέρχ-
εσθαι τὴν παράταξιν.

61. Καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἀραιότεροί εἰσι τόποι, τοὺς καβαλλαρίους προλαμβάνειν
καὶ τὰς βίβλας ποιεῖν, ὅπου δὲ δασεῖς καὶ δυσχερεῖς τόποι, τοὺς ψιλοὺς.

62. Τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς μὴ τάττε ἐπ' εὐθείας καθὼς τοὺς σκουτάτους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
305 <δρούγγους, τοῦτ' ἔστι> δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας ψιλοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς τάξεις,
ἐπιφερομένους καὶ τὰ σκουτάρια αὐτῶν ἵνα, ἐὰν χρεῖα γένηται, καὶ σκουτεύσω-
σι καὶ ἀκοντίσωσιν οἱ αὐτοί· καὶ ἓνα δὲ τοξότην ἔχειν ὅστις καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
φυλαχθήσεται δύναται.

63. Τοὺς δὲ τοιοῦτους δρούγγους μὴ ἐπὶ μιᾷς παρατάξεως ἢ ἐπ' εὐθείας τὴν
310 ὁδοιπορίαν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐφεξῆς ἐσπαρμένως, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς νώτους ἀλλήλων
φυλάττωσιν καί, ἐὰν συμβῇ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἀντίστασιν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν

58. If cavalry or a baggage train accompanies them, place the baggage train
to their rear, followed by the cavalry, and behind them a few heavy and light
infantry as a rear guard because of surprise attacks likely to be launched from
the rear.

59. The light infantry, along with a few cavalrymen, should march out about
one mile ahead of the main body of troops. Others must march here and there
around the flanks to patrol and to discover any enemy ambushes or trees that
seem to be standing upright but which have been sawed through in the back so
they can be quickly pushed over, fall down, and block the passage in those
narrow places, causing serious trouble for those who have been ambushed.

60. The light-armed soldiers, together with a few horsemen, should be
looking for such things and, at the same time, should clear out enemy troops in
hiding. The main body of troops may then pass through.

61. Where the country is fairly open, the cavalry should ride out in advance
and act as scouts, but where it is wooded and difficult the light-armed troops
should do that.

62. Do not line up the light-armed infantry in a straight line, as <you do>
with the heavy-armed men, but in irregular groups, that is, formations of two,
three, or four light-armed soldiers with javelins, carrying their shields, so that, if
necessary, they can both protect themselves and hurl the javelins. They should
also have one archer who can be protected by them.

63. Irregular groups of this sort must not advance along the route in one
solid formation or in a straight line but they should be separated, one following
the other, so they may protect each other's rear. If it should happen that the

288 ἐὰν MWA εἰ VBE | σύνεισι MAVBE σύνεισιν W | τοῦλδος AVBE τόλδος MW |
τοῦλδον AVBE τόλδον MW 289 μετ' αὐτοὺς MWA μετὰ τοὺς VBE | σκουτάτους MW om.
AVBE 290 καὶ Strat. om. codd. | ἐπιγινόμενας MW γινόμενας AVBE 290-291 ἀδοκή-
τους ἐφόδους MWA ἐφόδους ἀδοκήτως VBE 294 σκουλκεύωσι W σκουλεύωσι MVBE
σκουλκευῶσιν A scr. mg. σκοπευοσι βιγλευοσι W | γινώσκωσι MVBE γινώσκωσιν WA |
εἰσιν MWA ὦσιν VBE 295 τὰ...αὐτῶν MW ἅτινα AVBE | πεπρισμένα AVBE
περιπρισμένα MW 295-296 ἔχοντα...ἅτινα MW μὲν εἰσὶ (εἰσὶν A) δι' ὅλου τοὺς κορμούς
ὀλίγον δὲ (δέ τι VBE) μόνον κρατοῦσι (κρατοῦσιν A) καὶ AVBE 296 χειρῶν MW χειρῶν
παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν AVBE | ὠθούμενα MWA ὠχούμενα VBE 297 ἐμφράξεις ποιοῦσιν MW
ἐμφράσσουσι A ἐμφράττουσι VBE | τοῖς στενώμασι M τοῖς στενώμασιν W τὰ στενώματα
AVBE 304 τάττε MW τάττης AVBE 305 δρούγγους...ἔστι Strat. om. codd. | δύο...
τρεῖς MWA β' ἢ γ' VBE 306-307 σκουτεύσωσι MAVBE σκουτεύσωσιν W 308 φυλαχ-
θήσεται AVBE φυλαχθήσεται MW | δύναται A δυνήσεται VBE om. MW 310 τοὺς
νώτους MW τὰς ψῆας AVBE 311 τοὺς AVBE τοῖς MW

ὑπομῖναι καὶ βαρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ δυσχερείας τόπου, ὅπισθεν ἀγνώστως ὑψηλότεροι γενόμενοι κατὰ τοῦ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔρχονται, ὥσπερ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αἰετὶ σπεύδειν τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἵνα τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους τόπους κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προκατα-

315 λαμβάνωσιν.

64. Παραγγείλῃς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἵνα | πλεον τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς 315' ἀκούειν βουκίνου μὴ χωρίζωνται τῆς παρατάξεως ἵνα μὴ γυμνούμενοι βοηθείας, ὡς εἰκός, βαροῦνται.

65. Τῶν δὲ τεσσάρων μερῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν κέρας πορευομένων, ἐὰν 320 στενὸς εὐρεθῇ <ὁ> τόπος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη καθ' ἑαυτὰ παρέρχεσθαι, δύο μέρη ποιεῖν εἰς διφραγγίαν. εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ δύο χωροῦσιν, κατὰ ἓν μέρος παράγειν ἐπὶ κέρας ὡς μίαν παράταξιν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐφεξῆς, τῶν ψιλῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, αἰετὶ προλαμβανόντων. μετὰ δὲ τὸ παρελθεῖν τὸν στενὸν 325 πρὸς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν φέρειν αὐτούς.

66. Εἰ δὲ πλῆθος ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανεῖ ἢ ἔμπροσθεν ἢ ἐκ πλαγίων, <καθ'> οἷον 330 ἂν συνίδῃς μέρους ὅτι πρέπει, κατ' ἐκείνου ποιήσεις ἐπὶ μέτωπον ἡγουν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν τὴν παράταξιν· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰ μὲν ἀριστερὰ τῆς παρατάξεως φανῶσιν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄκρου μέρους τῆς παρατάξεως ἐν τάξει ἵσταμένου ἔρχονται τὰ 330 ἄλλα τρία μέρη καὶ παρατάσσονται αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τοποῖς· εἰ δὲ δεξιὰ φανῶσιν, τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον μεταβαλλόμενοι ποιοῦσι τὰς ὁψεις κατ' ἐκείνου· εἰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν φανῶσιν τῶν μέσων μερῶν ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ τῶν β', πρὸς τὸν τόπον δεξιὰ ἐγκλινομένων καὶ εἰς μέτωπον ἀποκαθισταμένων τὰ ἄλλα δύο μέρη ἐρχόμενα ὁμοίως παρατάσσονται καὶ γίνεται ἡ τάξις πλαγία ἐπὶ μέτωπον.

317 ad τῆς des. V

313 κατὰ...νώτου MW ὀπίσω AVBE | ὥσπερ MW ὅπερ AVBE 314 σπεύδειν...ψιλοὺς MW σπουδάζειν AVBE | ἵνα MW ἵνα οἱ ψιλοὶ A ἵνα ἵνα οἱ ψιλοὶ VBE 314-315 προκατα- λαμβάνωσιν MWA προκαταλαμβάνωσι VBE 316-318 πλεον...εἰκός MW τοσοῦτον χωρίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς παρατάξεως ὅσον δύνανται ἀκούειν βουκίνου φωνῆς ἵνα μὴ μακρὰν τῆς παρατάξεως γινόμενοι καὶ βοηθείας στερούμενοι AVBE 318 βαροῦνται MW βαροῦνται ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν A βαρῶνται BE 320 ὁ Va om. codd. | τέσσαρα MWBE τέσσα A 321 παρέρχεσθαι AE παρέρχεται B πορεύεσθαι MW | χωροῦσιν WABE χωροῦσι M | ἐν MWA τὸ ἐν E τὸ ἔνα B scr. mg. ἐφεξῆς W 326 καθ' Va om. codd. 326-327 οἷον... μέρους Va οἷον...μέρος codd. 327 πρέπει MW ἀρμόζει ABE | κατ' Va μετ' codd. | ἐπὶ MW εἰς ABE 327-328 ἡγουν...ἔστιν MW om. ABE 328 μὲν MW μὲν οὖν εἰς τὰ ABE 328-329 φανῶσιν MW φανῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ABE 329 ἵσταμένου MWA ἵσταμένους BE 331 φανῶσι MBE φανῶσιν WA | κατ' Va καὶ MWBE om. A | ἐκείνου Va ἐκείνοι codd. 332 ἔμπροσθεν MABE ἔμπροσθε W | β' MW δύο ABE | πρὸς...τόπον Va καὶ τῶν τόπων MW τούτων ABE 333 ἐγκλινομένων MW ἐκκλινομένων ABE

group up front is met by resistance from the enemy or is bogged down in rough terrain, the groups behind may move to higher ground without being observed and come down on the rear of the enemy. So it is always necessary for the light-armed troops to hasten in order to seize the higher places beforehand against the enemy.

64. Order the light-armed troops not to distance themselves from the main body beyond where they can still hear the trumpet, so they may not end up bereft of support and, in all likelihood, be overwhelmed.

65. If the four divisions are marching along on the front flank and they run into a place so narrow that the four divisions cannot pass through by themselves, make two divisions into a double phalanx. But if two will not fit, then lead one at a time through as one battle line by the flank, and have the rest follow, always, as was said, keeping the light-armed troops in front. After passing through the narrow spot they resume their formation of four commands or divisions advancing forward by the flank.

66. If a strong enemy force appears in front of them or off to the side, form the battle line on whatever side you consider appropriate, with its front or its forward units facing that side. That is, if the enemy appears to the left of the battle line, the division on that flank of the line halts in position and the other three divisions come and form up with it in their own positions. If they appear to the right, our men make the corresponding maneuver and make the front in that direction. If they appear in front of either one or both of the center divisions, the other two divisions come and head toward the right and set themselves up as a front, in like manner forming their battle line with their flank as their front.

335 67. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ τόπος ἔχει, συντεταγμένως ἐπέρχεσθαι τοὺς ψιλοὺς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἵνα μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ καβαλλάριοι κατακυκλοῦσι τοὺς ἐναντίους. εἰ δὲ οὐ χωρεῖ συντεταγμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πεπυκνωμένην διέρχεσθαι, <δεῖ> τὰς δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἡγουν τῶν σκουτάτων ἀκίας βαθείας καὶ ἀραιάς τάσσεσθαι ἵνα καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις εὐκόλως διὰ τῶν δένδρων ποιοῦνται καί, ἐὰν χρεῖα γένηται, πυκνοῦν-
340 ται.

68. Ἐὰν δὲ οὐ<δὲ οὕτως> χωροῦνται, δεῖ ἵστασθαι τὴν παράταξιν, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς ἀφίειν εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίων ἐπιβοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰ ὀλίγων σκουτάτων καὶ διὰ καβαλλάρων.

69. Παραγγείλῃς δὲ πάντως ἵνα, ὅτ' ἂν, ὡς εἰκός, κραυγὴ γένηται ἐν τῷ
345 ὁδοιπορεῖν ὡς πολέμιων ἐπιφαινομένων, μὴ πάντας φύρεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνου τρέχειν τοῦ μέρους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκουτάτους τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν ἔχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς ἐκάστου μέρους ἐπὶ τὸν κράζοντα συντρέχειν καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν
| εἰς τὰ πλάγια προχείρως ἔρχεσθαι ἢ τοὺς τῶν πλαγίων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μέρος 316
ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐπιτροπῆς, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον μέρος τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐν
350 καιρῷ κραυγῆς, ὡς ἢ χρεῖα καλέσει, καὶ ἵνα, ἐὰν βαροῦνται, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς τὴν τῶν σκουτάτων παράταξιν τρέχουσι καὶ μὴ βιάζωνται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

70. Ἀσφαλῶς οὖν αἱ ὁδοιπορίαι τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἀρμοδιῶς γίνεσθαι δύνανται ἵνα, ὡς εἵπομεν, ἐν μὲν τοῖς δασυτέροις τόποις καὶ δυσβάτοις ἐπὶ κέρας ἡγουν στενοεπιμήκη τάσσωνται τάξιν, εἴτε εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη εἴτε εἰς δύο, ὡς οἱ τόποι
355 δέχονται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀραιότεροις ἐπὶ μέτωπον ἐν πλαγίᾳ τάξει εἰς πλάτος, ἐν ἀραιότεραις μὲν κατὰ τὸ πλάτος ἀκίαις, βαθυτέραις δὲ κατὰ τὸ πάχος.

71. Γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς δασείαις ὕλαις οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀκοντίζοντες διὰ ῥικταρίων ἢ μεναύλων ἀναγκαιότεροί εἰσι καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τῶν σφενδονι-

67. If the terrain permits, the light-armed troops are to advance in close order against the enemy so that both they and the cavalry can encircle the enemy. But if it is not practicable for a formation in compact and close order to pass through, then line up the heavy-armed files (hoplites) in depth and in extended order, so they can easily make their way through wooded areas and, if need be, resume close order.

68. If even this is not feasible, it is necessary to halt the main body and send the light-armed troops against the enemy, closely supported by a few heavy-armed men and cavalry.

69. Most certainly you should give the following order. In the event that, while your men are marching along, the alarm is sounded that the enemy are approaching, everyone must not get excited and rush toward that sector. Rather, the heavy-armed troops should maintain their formation, while the light-armed troops from each division dash toward the man who gave the alarm. The troops in front should not hastily move toward the flanks nor those on the flank to the section in front without the approval of the commanding officer. But each division should support its own troops when the alarm is given, as the situation demands so that, in the event that the men are hard pressed, they hasten back to the main body of heavy infantry to avoid being overwhelmed by the enemy.

70. Infantry, therefore, are capable of undertaking marches safely and in good order, as we have said, in thickly wooded and difficult country if they arrange their formation by the flank, that is, the width being narrow, either in four divisions or in two, depending on the terrain, and in more open country forming the front on the flank more broadly, with the files fairly open according to width but deeper according to thickness.

71. Bear in mind that in thickly wooded country javelin throwers, using short spears or menaula, are needed more than archers or slingers. For this

336 κατακυκλοῦσι W κατακυκλοῦσιν A κατακυκλώσι MBE 337 δεῖ Va om. codd.
339 διαβάσεις MWAB om. E | εὐκόλως...δένδρων MW διὰ τῶν δένδρων εὐκόλως ABE | ποιοῦνται MW ποιῶνται ABE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ E ἢ B 339-340 πυκνοῦνται MW πυκνῶνται ABE 341 οὐδὲ οὕτως Va οὐ codd. | χωροῦνται MWA χωρῶνται BE | ἵστασθαι MW ἵστασθαι μὲν ABE 342 ἀφίειν...ἐχθροὺς MW ἐξέρχεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ABE | καὶ MWA om. BE | τῶν MW τοῦ ABE | πλησίον MWAB πλησίον E 344 πάντως MWA πάντας BE 345 πάντας ABE πάντως MW 349 ἐπιτροπῆς MW προτροπῆς ABE 350 ὡς! MW om. ABE | ἢ...καλέσει MW om. ABE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE | βαροῦνται MABE βαρύνωνται W 351 τρέχουσι M τρέχουσιν W τρέχωσι ABE 353 ἵνα MWA ἵν' BE 354 τάξιν MW τάξει ABE | τέσσαρα MWAE δ' B | δύο MWA β' BE 355 πλαγία MWAB πλαγίῳ E 356 ἀραιότεραις MWA ἀραιότεροις BE | πάχος MWE βάθος AB 357 ἐκ χειρὸς MW εὐχερῶς ABE 358 ῥικταρίων Va ῥηκταρίων MW ῥιπταρίων ABE

στῶν. διὰ τοῦτο πρέπον ἐστὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ψιλῶν εἰς ῥικτάρια καὶ ἀκόντια
 360 ἐκ χειρὸς συμβαλλόμενα γυμνάζεσθαι.

72. Οἱ δὲ τοξόται ἀναγκαῖοί εἰσι τῇ παρατάξει μᾶλλον ὑποτασσόμενοι, καὶ
 εἰς τραχεῖς καὶ εἰς κρημνώδεις καὶ εἰς στενοὺς καὶ γυμνοὺς τόπους.

73. Οἱ μέντοι ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ ἐξωθεν τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς τὰς ὕλας τὰς δασεῖς
 365 τιν σε ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ στρατηγέ.

74. Πρὶν ἢ δὲ πάντας ἀπλικοῦσαι, τὴν παράταξιν μηδέποτε διάλυε, μήτε ἐπὶ
 πεζῆς στρατείας μήτε ἐπὶ καβαλλαρικῆς, ἕως ἂν καὶ τὸ φοσσάτον ὀχυρωθῇ καὶ
 αἱ βίγλαι ἐξέλθωσιν.

75. Εἰδέναι δὲ πάντας προστάξεις ἵνα τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ κατὰ συνήθειαν βουκί-
 370 νου, γνωρίζοντες αὐτό, ἴστανται καὶ πάλιν τῇ συνήθει φωνῇ τοῦ ἑτέρου βουκί-
 νου ἡγουν τοῦ κινήματος κινῶσιν.

76. Οὕτως οὖν ἡμῖν διατετυπωμένων τῶν περὶ ὁδοιπορίας στρατοῦ, ἐφεξῆς
 σοὶ καὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου τούλδου διαταξόμεθα τύπον. |

reason, most of the light infantry should be trained in hurling short spears and
 javelins by hand.

72. Archers, rather, are needed for supporting operations with the main
 battle line and in rugged, precipitous, narrow, and open country.

73. Javelin throwers, for their part, are needed outside of the main battle
 line, especially in thickly wooded areas. It is, therefore, necessary for you, O
 general, to observe all these things when on the march.

74. Never dismiss the main body, whether it is the infantry on campaign or
 the cavalry, until everyone has settled into camp and it has been fortified and
 patrols have gone out.

75. Everyone must know the following ordinances. They must come to a halt
 when they recognize the customary blast of the trumpet and, in turn, at the
 customary blast of the other trumpet, the one for movement, they move.¹²

76. So then, we have set down the regulations about an army on the march.
 Next we will set forth ordinances regarding the baggage train, as it is called.

359 ἐστὶ MBE ἐστὶν WA | ῥικτάρια Va ῥηκτάρια MW ῥιπτάρια ABE 360 συμβαλλόμενα
 M βαλλόμενα WABE 361 εἰσι MABE εἰσιν W titulum const. decimae summa pag. scr.
 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν διάταξις ἰ' W 362 καὶ γυμνοὺς MWA om. BE 363 δασεῖς MW
 δασείας ABE 364 εἰσιν MWA εἰσι BE 367 πεζῆς MW πεζικῆς ABE | στρατείας MW
 στρατιάς ABE 368 ἐξέλθωσιν MWA ἐξέλθωσι BE 369-370 εἰδέναι...αὐτό MW
 προστάξεις δὲ πάντας ἀκριβῶς γνωρίζειν τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ βουκίνου ἵνα τῆς συνήθους φωνῆς
 τῆς στάσεως ἀκούοντες ABE 373 τούλδου ABE τόλδου MW

12. Cf. *supra* 7.128-133, 352-354.

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Ι'

Περὶ τούλδου

1. Δεῖ οὖν καὶ τοῦ τούλδου ἀναγκαίως σε φροντίζειν καὶ μή, ὥς ἔτυχε, καταλιμπάνειν αὐτό, ἀλλὰ ἀσφαλιζεσθαι, ὅπου ἂν καταληφθῇ. μηδὲ πάλιν
5 ἀπρονοήτως ἐπιφέρεισθαι αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· συμβαίνει γὰρ καὶ | παλλικάρια εἶναι 316'
ἐν αὐτῷ, χρησίμους τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τέκνα ἢ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν καί, εἰ μὴ ἐν
ἀσφαλείᾳ τυγχάνει, τῷ περισπασμῷ αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται συνεχόμενοι ἀμφί-
βολοὶ καὶ μεριζόμενοι τὰς γνώμας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίνονται.
2. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ συνετῷ ἀνδρὶ σπουδὴ ἐστὶ χωρὶς ἰδίας βλάβης τὰ τοῦ
10 ἔχθρου κερδῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ οἰκείαν ὑφορᾶται βλάβην ἢ ἀπέχεται ἢ ὀκνηρότερος
γίνεται.
3. Καὶ πρωτοτύπως μὲν συνεπαγομένου τοῦ τούλδου καὶ συμβολῆς δημοσί-
ας προσδοκωμένης πλῆθος τῶν λεγομένων παλλικαρίων ἡγουν τῶν δουλευόν-
των τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιφέρεισθαι οὐ συμβουλευόμεν, οὔτε
15 ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γῇ ἡμῶν τῆς μάχης ἐλπίζομένης οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐπερχομένων,
ἀλλὰ συμμέτρους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας.
4. Τοσοῦτους δὲ ἡγουν τοὺς ἐπαρκούντας κατὰ τὰ κοντουβέρνια ἀντέχε-
σθαι καὶ διοικεῖν τὰ ἄλογα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τὴν ποιότητα καὶ
διάγνωσιν τῶν ταγμάτων ἥτοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀλόγων, διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλὴν φύρσιν
20 καὶ δαπάνην ἄκαιρον καὶ περισπασμὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι.

M W (mut.) A B E Va PG 107:788

1-70 *Strat.*, 5.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MWA om. BE 2 τούλδου A τόλδου MW τοῦ τούλδου BE
3 τούλδου ABE τόλδους MW 4 καταληφθῇ MW φθασθῇ ABE 5 παλλικάρια MW
ἀνθρώπους ABE 7 αὐτοῦ MWA αὐτῷ BE 9 ἐστὶ MWAE ἐστὶν B 10 ἐὰν MWAE εἰ B
12 συνεπαγομένου MWAE συνεχόμενου B | τούλδου ABE τόλδου MW 13 τῶν!...ἡγουν
MW om. ABE 15 γῇ ἡμῶν MW trsp. ABE 16 ἐν...ὄντας MW δυνατωτέρους ABE
17 κοντουβέρνια ABE κουτουβέρνια MW 17-18 ἀντέχεσθαι MW om. ABE 18 καὶ
διοικεῖν MWA om. BE 18-19 τὴν!...ἥτοι MW om. ABE 19 ἀλόγων MW ἀλόγων αὐτῶν
ABE | μὴ MW μηδὲ ABE 20 εἰς αὐτοὺς ABE om. MW | γίνεσθαι MWA γενέσθαι BE

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION X

About the Baggage Train

1. You must realize that the baggage train is essential and you must never, as has happened, leave it behind.¹ It must be securely guarded, wherever it has been left. On the other hand, it should not be brought carelessly onto the field of battle. For the train happens to include the grooms needed by the soldiers, as well as children and other relatives of theirs. If their safety is not assured, the soldiers become distracted, hesitant, and do not focus their attention on the battle.
2. Every intelligent man indeed makes an effort to profit at the enemy's expense without any harm to himself, but if he suspects harm to himself he stays away or becomes very hesitant.
3. First of all, when you are accompanied by the baggage train and a pitched battle is expected, we advise you not to bring along a large number of the so-called grooms, that is, those in the service of the officers and the soldiers, when we are advancing in expectation of battle, whether in our own country or in a foreign one, but only a moderate number and vigorous men at that.
4. There should be enough of them attached to each squad to take care of its horses and to manage them, making due allowance for their differences, their quality, and the distinction of the units, as well as the number of horses. This will avoid a great deal of confusion, inopportune expense, and distraction among them.

1. Sections 1-15 derive from *Strat.* 5. See A. Dain, "Touldos' et 'touldon' dans les traités militaires," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (Brussels, 1950), 2:161-169.

5. Τούτους δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὲν σύνεστι πεζικὸς στρατός, δηλονότι σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀφοριζομένων καταλιμπάνειν ἀρχόντων, εἴτε ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἴτε ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ὁ πόλεμος κρίνεται. ἀσφαλῶς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, καθὼς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀπλίκτων δηλώσομέν σοι τύπῳ.

25 6. Καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ σαγμάρια καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀποσκευὴν, ἅπερ καλεῖται ἀδέστρατα, μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τούλδου καταλιμπάνειν.

7. Καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κούρσοις ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐφόδοις ἔχειν αὐτὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας τάχα καὶ μέχρι καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς συμβολῆς πεφραγμένα καὶ ἐν δυνάμει.

30 8. Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ ἐγγὺς ἔχειν τῆς παρατάξεως ἀδέστρατον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον κρίνομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ καταλιμπάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ συμβαίνει πολλάκις καὶ ταραχῆς γινομένης εὐκόλως παραπίπτουσι διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ μικρῶν παλλικαρίων κρατεῖσθαι.

9. Εἰ δὲ σύνεστι πεζικὸς στρατός, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ἢ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς 35 μεθορίοις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χωρῶν, τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ τῆς πολεμίας, προσδοκᾶται ἡ μάχη εὐθέως γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἔχει | ὑπέρθεσιν, τότε ἐν ὄχυρῷ τόπῳ, ἔνθα 317 καὶ βοσκαὶ καὶ ὕδατα ἀρκοῦντα εὐρίσκονται, ὥς ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἢ καὶ πεντήκοντα μιλίων καταλιμπάνειν τὸν πλείονα καὶ ἄχρηστον τούλδον καὶ τὰ περισσὰ ἄλογα καὶ ἐργαλεῖα καὶ ἕτερα εἶδη, ὧν χρεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ 40 πολέμου.

10. Ἀφόριζε δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διαστήματι τοῦ τε τούλδου καὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐγνωσμένους πᾶσι καὶ μὴ πονηροὺς καὶ φαῦλους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ κατὰ-στησον αὐτοὺς εἰς διάστατα καὶ ὑπόδειξον τούτους τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ τούλδου—δεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντως ἄρχοντα ἴδιον ἔχειν—ὥστε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβασιν 45 ὀφείλιν αὐτοὺς μηνύσαι τοῖς ἐν τῷ τούλδῳ ἢ μείναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ

5. At the time of battle those servants should be left behind, whether the battle is fought in our own or in foreign territory, and they should be joined by an infantry force, if one is present, with officers assigned to this task. They should find safety in the camp, as we shall make clear in the ordinances about camps.

6. Also leave behind with the baggage train itself the reserve horses, also referred to as spare horses, and the rest of the equipment.

7. For raiding and other offensive actions the soldiers must quickly take possession of the horses <and keep them> well armored and vigorous up to the very day of battle.

8. But once the battle begins, it is our considered judgment that there is no need to keep the spare horses near the battle line, but they should be left behind in the camp. For, as often happens, they may easily fall into confusion when handled by young servants.

9. If an infantry force is present, either in our own country or right on the frontier between both countries, ours and the enemy's, and battle appears imminent with no delay in sight, then, in a strong place, where sufficient fodder and water may be found, about thirty or even fifty miles away, leave most of the nonessential part of the baggage train, the extra horses, tools, and the rest of the equipment that is not needed on the day of battle.

10. In the space between the baggage train and the battle line, detail certain men, not at all ignoble or cowardly, whom everyone recognizes, and station them at intervals. Make them known to the officer in charge of the baggage train—it is absolutely necessary for it to have its own commander—so that, depending on the outcome of the battle, they should advise the troops in the

22 δηλονότι MW om. ABE 22-23 ἀρχόντων Va αὐτοὺς codd. 23 ἀλλοτρία MW ἀλλοτρία χώρα ABE | κρίνεται MW γίνεται ABE 25-26 ἅπερ...ἀδέστρατα MW καὶ τὰ συρτὰ ABE 26 μετ' MW κατ' ABE | τούλδου ABE τόλδου MW 27 ἐφόδοις MW ἐπιδρομαῖς ABE 28 καὶ MW om. ABE | πεφραγμένα MW om. ABE 30 ἀδέστρατον MW συρτὰ ABE 31-33 καὶ...κρατεῖσθαι MW διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ μικρῶν παίδων κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ μικρὰν ἐμποιεῖν ABE 34 σύνεστι MWA σύνεστι καὶ BE 35 μεθορίοις MW συνόροις ABE | ἀμφοτέρων...χωρῶν MW om. ABE | ἡμετέρας MW ἡμετέρας χώρας ABE | πολεμίας MW τῶν πολεμίων ABE 37 τριάκοντα MW λ' ABE | ἢ καὶ ABE ἢ M καὶ W 37-38 πεντήκοντα MW ν' ABE 39 ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W 41 τοῦ τε MWA τοῦτο BE | τούλδου WABE τόλδου M 42 ἐγνωσμένους MW γνωρίμους AB γνωρικοὺς E 44 αὐτῷ MW om. ABE | πάντως MW πάντως τὸν τούλδον ABE 45 ὀφείλιν αὐτοὺς MW om. ABE

καταλιμπάνονται ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἀπελθεῖν τῷ δοκοῦντι τόπῳ ἢ καὶ ἐνέγκαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν στρατόν.

11. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούλδου κινούντας ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην παραλαβεῖν τὰ ἀδέστρατα ἦγουν σαγμάρια καὶ ἢ τέντας μικρὰς ἢ σαγία διπλὰ εἰς τὸ μὲν ἐν σκέπεσθαι, 50 εἴπερ χρεῖα καλέσει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον εἰς τένταν ἦτοι τὸ λεγόμενον καμάρδιν ἔχειν.

12. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δαπάνην ἢ παζαματίου ἢ πίστου ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶδους ἐλαφροῦ εἴκοσι ἢ καὶ τριάκοντα λίτρας καὶ τότε ἀπλικεῦσαι ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν δόξη γίνεσθαι τόπῳ, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάχην ἀποκινήσουσιν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φοσσάτον ἢ <ἀπὸ ὀρυγμάτων> ἢ ἀπὸ οἰκοδομῆς λίθων ἢ πλίνθων ὀχυρῶσαι, 55 κἂν πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν συμβῇ μένειν ἐκεῖσε.

13. Ἐκαστον δὲ βάνδον ἀποτίθεσθαι χόρτον ἢ ἄχυρον μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἵνα, ἐάν, ὡς εἰκόσ, ἐναντίως τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐξέλθῃ, ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν τὸν στρατόν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ μέναι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φοσσάτῳ ἔχοντα τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ἀποτροφὴν μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἐν τοιοῦτῳ θορύβῳ ἢ βόσκειν ἢ 60 χορτολόγιν ποιεῖν καὶ βλάπτεσθαι ἐτοίμως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ γυρεῦειν ἐν χωρίοις διὰ δαπάνας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικειμένων ἢ καὶ παρελθεῖν ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐνδείᾳ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἐκλυθῆναι.

14. Εἰ δὲ ἄρα καὶ παρέρχονται καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τινος χρεῖαν, ἀφορίσεις τινάς, ὥστε καίειν τὸν χόρτον καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμπροσθεν περιπατεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐλπίζο- 65 μένους ὀπίσω ἐπέρχεσθαι πολεμίους.

15. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις πολεμίων ἐγγιζόντων ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αἰεὶ μέσον ἔχειν τὸν τούλδον, ἵνα μὴ ἀφύλακτος ὦν ἐπηρεάζεται. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας, ὡς ἥδη καὶ ἄνω που εἵπομεν, μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μεμιγμένας μετὰ τούλδου, ἀλλὰ διακε-

64 ad ἐμπροσθεν des. W (2 foll. desiderantur)

48 τούλδου WABE τόλδου M | παραλαβεῖν MW δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ABE
48-49 τὰ... ἦγουν MW om. ABE 49 ἢ¹ MW om. ABE | τέντας MW τένδας ABE | μικρὰς
Strat. διπλὰς MW om. ABE | εἰς... ἐν MWA τὸ μὲν ἐν εἰς τὸ ABE 50 καλέσει MW καλέσοι
A καλέσαι BE | ἕτερον MW ἕτερον ἔχειν ABE | τένταν MW τένταν ABE | ἦτοι... ἔχειν MW
om. ABE 52 ἢ ABE om. MW | καὶ¹ WABE om. M | τριάκοντα MWA λ' BE 53 τῶν
MWAE om. B | ἀποκινήσουσιν MWA ἀποκινήσουσι BE 54 ἀπὸ¹... ἢ² Va om. codd. |
πλίνθων MW πλίνθου ABE | ὀχυρῶσαι MWA ὠχυρῶσαι χρῆ BE 56 χόρτον MWA χόρτου
BE 57 ἐξέλθῃ MW συμβῇ ABE 58 ἔχοντα Va ἔχειν codd. 59 ἀποτροφὴν MWAB
ἀποστροφὴν E 60 ποιεῖν MW om. ABE 60-61 ἐν χωρίοις A ἐνχωρίοις MWE ἐγχωρίοις
B 61 τῇ MW om. ABE 62 ἐνδεία MW λείπει ABE | αὐτῶν MW τῶν ἀναγκαίων ABE |
τε... ἐκλυθῆναι MW καὶ ἐκλυθῆναι αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλογα αὐτῶν ABE 65 ἐπέρχεσθαι
MAE παρέρχεσθαι B 66 ἐστιν BE ἐστι MA 67 τὸν ABE τὸ M | ἀφύλακτος ὦν ABE
ἀφύλακτον ὄν M 68 που M om. ABE | μετὰ M μετὰ τοῦ ABE 68-69 διακεκριμένας καὶ
M om. ABE

baggage train either to remain in the same place in which they were left, to go off to another suitable place, or to join up with the <main> army.

11. Troops moving from the baggage train up to combat should take with them their spare or reserve horses and small tents or a couple of heavy cloaks, the one for covering if needed and the other as a tent or what is called a canopy.

12. In addition, twenty or thirty pounds of provisions, hardtack, flour, or some other light stuff. They should then set up camp in a place that seems suitable, when they move out to engage the enemy in battle. This camp should be fortified by ditches or by constructions of stone or of brick, even though <the army> might stay there only for one day.

13. Each bandon should store there a day's supply of forage or hay, just in case the battle has an adverse result, and they have to beat a hasty retreat to that place. It may remain in the camp itself with a day's provisions for the horses and not be forced to gather fodder and forage in such great confusion and be easily harmed by the enemy, or to wander around villages <seeking> provisions with the enemy hard upon them, or to march on with so few provisions for themselves and their horses that they come unstrung.

14. But if they should march on and have no need of the supplies, you will detail some men to burn the fodder and then proceed up to the front because the enemy may be expected to attack from the rear.

15. On the march, when the enemy are nearby, it is essential that the baggage train always be in the middle so that it may not be subject to harassment for lack of protection. As we have already said above, troops on the march must not

κριμένας καὶ κεχωρισμένας, ὥστε ἰδίως τὸν τοῦλδον ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους
70 ὁδοιπορεῖν καὶ ἰδίως τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξπλήκτους.]

16. Δεῖ δὲ τὸν τοῦλδον, ὡς εἴρηται ἡμῖν ἀνωτέρω, καὶ ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν ἴδιον, 317'
ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ διατάξει καὶ διευθυνεῖ, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν οὕτως· ἢ πρὸ τῆς παρα-
τάξεως, ἐὰν ἐκ πολεμίας γῆς ὑποστρέφῃς, ὀπίσω δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως, ἐὰν εἰς
πολεμίαν γῆν ἐμβάλλῃς, ἐνθένδε ἢ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐὰν τὰ πλάγια τῆς παρατάξεως
75 φοβούμενος πορεύῃ, ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐὰν τὰ πανταχόθεν ὑποπτα ἔχῃς.

17. Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τοῦλδου διὰ βραχέων σοι διεξήλθομεν, ὦ
στρατηγέ, εἴτε ἐν ἀμάξαις μετὰ πεζικοῦ στρατοῦ εἴτε ἐν σαγμαρίοις μετὰ καβαλ-
λαρίων εἴτε ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς τοιαύτης μετὰ συμμίκτου, ὡς ἂν ἐν μηδενί, ὅσον
ἐστὶ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν, ἐλλίπῃ σοι κεφαλαίῳ ἢ ἡμετέρα παρακέλευσις. ἐπόμενον
80 δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀπλίκτων διασαφήσομεν τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξό-
τητι τύπον.

get mixed up with the baggage train, but they must be kept apart and separate. The train should proceed by itself behind its own division and the soldiers, unburdened, should travel by themselves.

16. As we have previously remarked, the baggage train must have its own commander, who will draw it up in formation and manage it. He should lead it as follows: ahead of the main body of troops, if you are returning from enemy territory; behind the main body, if you are entering into enemy territory. Proceed on either side if you are worried about the flanks of the main body, but inside the marching column if all sides look suspicious to you.

17. We have, therefore, in summary fashion, gone through all those matters concerning the baggage train, O general, whether it <consists of> wagons with an infantry army or of pack animals with cavalry or any other such <way of carrying> supplies with a mixed force. Thus, to the best of our ability, we have not omitted a single topic in these ordinances we have given you. Following them, now, we shall explain to Your Excellency the rules regarding the so-called encampments.

69 κεχωρισμένας MBE διαχωρισμένας A 69-70 ὀπισθεν...στρατιώτας MABE sed iteravit B 70 ἐξπλήκτους Va εὐπλίκτους M ἀνενοχλήτους καὶ ἐλεύθερους ABE 71 τὸν ABE τὸ M | ὡς εἴρηται MAE om. B | ἡμῖν ἀνωτέρω M om. ABE 72 διευθυνεῖ MA διευθυνεῖ αὐτὸν BE | αὐτὸν² A αὐτὸ M om. BE 72-73 ἢ...παρατάξεως M om. ABE 73 ἐὰν¹ M ἐὰν μὲν ABE | ὑποστρέφῃς M ὑποστρέφῃς ἐμπροσθεν τῆς παρατάξεως ABE | ὀπίσω...παρατάξεως MA ὀπισθεν E om. B 74 ἐμβάλλῃς MA ἐμβάλῃς BE | ἐνθένδε MA ἐνθεν BE 75 ἐντὸς M ἔσωθεν ABE scr. mg. τὰ πανταχόθεν A (alia m.) 78 ἀποσκευῆς M κατασκευῆς ABE 78-79 ὅσον...ἡμῖν M om. ABE 79 ἐλλίπῃ...κεφαλαίῳ M κεφαλαίῳ ἐλλίπῃ σοι ABE | ἐπόμενον M ἀκολουθῶς (cum quo inc. const. xi) ABE 80 τούτοις ABE τούτων M | διασαφήσομεν M ἐκθήσομεν ABE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΑ'

Περὶ ἀπλίκτων

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XI

About Camps

1. Δεῖ οὖν τὰ ἀπλικά ἦτοι τὰ φοσσάτα—κυρίως γὰρ φοσσάτον τὸ ἀπλίκτον τοῦ ὅλου στρατοῦ καλεῖται—ταῦτα οὖν ἀσφαλῶς σε ποιεῖν καί, εἰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται, εἰς ἀραιότερους τόπους κατασκηνοῦν τὰ στρατιωτικά, εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ, μὴ ἀμελῶς ἀλλὰ σφιγκτῶς καὶ ὀχυρῶς ἀπλικεῦν καὶ ἀποφεύγειν τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους, ὅσοι ἔχουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον ὑψηλότερους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνους οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἀθρόως ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ προκαταλάβοντες κακὰ τινα διαθήσουσι τῷ φοσσάτῳ.
2. Ὅτ' ἂν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν χώρα στρατοπεδεύης, περιβαλοῦ τάφρον βαθεῖαν, κἂν εἰς μίαν μόνην, ὡς εἴρηται, ἡμέραν μέλλης ἀπλικεῦν. ἀμετανόητος γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη στρατοπεδεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλὴς διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἀπροοράτους ἐπιβουλὰς. καταστήσεις δὲ καὶ φυλακάς, κἂν μακρὰν εἶναι νομίζῃς τοὺς πολεμίσους, ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντων.
3. Ὅπου δὲ μέλλεις ποιεῖσθαι χρόνιον τὸ ἀπλίκτον, μὴ ἐχθρῶν ἔφοδον δηλονότι ὑφορώμενος καὶ φθείρειν χώραν ἐναντίαν βουλόμενος, ἐκλέγου χωρία χρήσιμα, μὴ ὑλῶδη ἤγουν ὕλας καὶ πηλὰ καὶ βάλτας ἔχοντα καὶ ὕδατα σεσημμένα. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα διὰ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων δυσωδίας νοσηρὰ εἰσι καὶ λοιμοὺς καὶ νόσους φθαρτικὰς ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πολλακίς ἐκάκωσε τῇ νόσῳ, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ὀλίγον ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσθενὲς τὸ στράτευμα.

M W (mut.) A B E Va PG 107:792

3-9 *Strat.*, 12.20. 10-27 *Onas.* 8-9.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MA om. BE 5 εἰς...οὐκ MAB om. E | ἀπαντᾷ M ἐνδέχεται AB om. E 6 σφιγκτῶς MAE σφικτῶς B 7 ἔχουσιν MAE ἔχουσιν B 8 ἀθρόως ABE ἀθρόων M | κακὰ τινα M κακόν τι ABE 8-9 φοσσάτω M φοσσάτον ἡμῶν ἐμποιήσουσιν ABE 10 στρατοπεδεύης MA στρατοπεδεύη BE | τάφρον M σούδαν ABE 11 κἂν MAE καὶ B | εἰς...μέλλης M εἰς μίαν μόνην ἡμέραν εἴρηται ὀφείλης A ὡς εἴρηται εἰς μίαν μόνην ἡμέραν ὀφείλης B om. E | ἀπλικεῦν M ἀπληκεῦν AB om. E 12 ἀπροοράτους ABE ἀοράτους M 13 κἂν MA καὶ BE 15 ποιεῖσθαι χρόνιον MA trsp. BE 17 ἤγουν ὕλας M μὴδὲ δάση ABE 18 σεσημμένα M διεφθαρμένα ABE 19 νοσηρὰ Va νοσηρὰ codd. | εἰσι MBE εἰσιν A

1. You must assure the security of our camps and entrenchments—entrenchment is the specific term used for the camp of the entire army.¹ If possible, the military units should pitch their tents in open country, but if this cannot be done, we should not be careless. Our camps should be strong and tightly guarded. Avoid those places that have higher ground close by, so that the enemy will not occupy them ahead of us and, all of a sudden or at night, cause damage to the entrenchment.

2. When you set up camp in enemy territory, surround it with a deep ditch, even if you intend to camp there only for one day, as has been said.² You will not regret setting up a camp of this sort that will be safe from sudden and unexpected attacks. Even if you believe that the enemy are far off, be sure to place guards as though they were in the immediate vicinity.

3. When you intend to camp there for a long time, say, because you do not suspect an enemy attack and you wish to ravage their country, choose beneficial places, not woody areas covered with trees, mud, or swampy ground, all water-soaked. The rising vapors and foul smell of such places are unhealthy and bring pestilence and deadly diseases to the army.³ The health of many men has often been impaired and many have been taken by death. As a result, not only is the army reduced in numbers but it is also greatly weakened.

1. *Strat.* 12.20. See CampOrg, 1; J. Kulakovskij, "Vizantijskij lager' kontsa X veka," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 10 (1903): 63-91.

2. Sections 2-4 derive from Onasander 8-9.

3. Cf. *infra*, §§27-28; also Kekaumenos, 11.18-21.

4. Χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ σωτήριον τῷ στρατῷ γίνεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 μένη ἀπλίκτου πολὺν χρόνον, εἰ μὴ ἄρα χειμάζει καὶ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὥσπερ
 25 πεπολισμένα ἔχει τὰ ἀπλίκτα τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αἱ σωτηριῶδεις ἐκκρί-
 σεις ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν γινόμεναι τόπων ἀτμούς διεφθαρμένους ἀναπέμπουσι καὶ
 συμμεταβάλλουσιν εἰς νόσον καὶ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος εὐεξίαν.

5. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς παραχειμασίαις πάντως, ὡς ἄνω που εἴρηται, γύμναζε τὰ στρα-
 τόπεδα καὶ πολεμικὰ ποιεῖ, καὶ ἵνα συνεθίζωνται τοῖς πόνοις ἵνα μὴτε ἀργῶσι
 30 μὴτε ῥαθυμῶσιν.

6. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ὑγιεινῶν σε δεῖ φροντίζειν ἀπλίκτων, ὅτ' ἂν ἄδειαν ἔχῃς ἀπὸ
 τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ἔχειν αὐτὰ τὰς χορηγίας καὶ
 μάλιστα ἐν τῷ ἐξπεδίτῳ ἦγουν ἐν τῇ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦ ὅλου στρατοῦ συναγωγῇ,
 ἔνθα μάλιστα καὶ χρονίζειν δέον.

7. Φροντίζειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἵνα μὴ ἀδικούμενοι λυποῦνται καὶ οὐ
 φέρουσι τὰς χορηγίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

8. Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐλπίς ἐναντία ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀσφαλιζεσθαι ἢ ὀρύγμασιν ἢ πάλοις ἢ
 ὀλοκλήρῳ τράφῳ, ὃ λέγουσι φόσσα, ἢ τριβόλοις ἢ οἰκοδομαῖς ἢ ἀπὸ ξύλων ἢ
 ἀπὸ λίθων ἢ ἄλλως, ὡς δύνασαι ἐπινοῆσαι. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ βίγλας ἐξωθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 40 ἀμάξας εἰς χαρακώσεις, ἐάν εἰσιν, λίαν δυνατόν, ἢ χάρακα πῆξεις, ὃ λέγεται
 σταβαρώσαι, εἴτε ἀραιῶς εἴτε πυκνότερον, ὡς ἡ δύναμις ἔχει, ἥτε διὰ ξύλων
 τελείων ἢ δένδρων κοπέντων. δεῖ γὰρ πάντως ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν τὸ ἀπλίκτον, εἰ
 μὴ ἄρα ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐστὶν χώρα ἢ γυμνασίας χάριν γίνεται ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς
 χρειώδους τρόπου ἢ τοῦ στρατοῦ κίνησις.

9. Μάλιστα δὲ φροντίσεις καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ὑποτελῶν τῆς βασιλείας
 ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῦνται παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ κατεξαίρετον τῶν γεωργῶν.
 δύο γὰρ ταῦτά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐπιτηδεύματα λίαν ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς ἔθνους σύστα-

34 ad δέον de novo inc. W

39-66 *Strat.*, 7.B.13.

23 γίνεσθαι M γίνεται ABE | μὴ M μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ABE 24 πολὺν χρόνον M om. ABE |
 ὥσπερ M ὥσπερ κατησφαλισμένα καὶ ABE 25 τὸ στράτευμα M om. ABE 28 ἄνω που M
 ἀνωτέρω ABE 28-29 στρατόπεδα MA στρατεύματα BE 29 καὶ² M om. ABE | ἵνα¹ M καὶ
 ABE 31 σε...ἀπλίκτων M ἀπλίκτων φροντίζειν δεῖ σε ABE 35 ἐμπόρων MW
 πραγματευτῶν ABE | λυποῦνται MWBE λυπῶνται A 36 φέρουσι MABE φέρωσι W
 38 τράφῳ MW τάφῳ ABE | ὃ...φόσσα M ὃ λέγουσιν φόσσα W om. ABE 39 ἔχεις MW
 ἔχειν ABE 40 εἰς...δυνατόν MW ἐάν εἰσιν (ῶσιν BE) γυρόθεν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τιθέναι ABE |
 εἰσιν W εἰσι M | ἢ MW ἢ καὶ ABE | πῆξεις MW πῆσσειν ABE 42 ἀσφάλειαν MW ἀσφαλὲς
 AE ἀσφαλῶς B 43 ἐστὶν MW ἐστὶ ABE 44 στρατοῦ De στρατηγοῦ codd.
 46 ἀδικοῦνται MW ἀδικῶνται ABE

4. It is advantageous and healthy for the army not to remain in the same
 camp for a lengthy period, unless it is winter, for at that time of year the soldiers
 may be billeted in some sort of building. The bodily excretions deposited in the
 same place will give off harmful vapors and will transform the fresh air sur-
 rounding the place into disease-bearing air.

5. As mentioned above, in winter quarters, by all means, continue to drill the
 army and practice warlike actions to get the men used to hard work, so that they
 may not become idle or too relaxed.⁴

6. Not only are you to be concerned about healthy encampments when you
 are free from the enemy, but you should also make sure that the men have
 plenty of provisions of various kinds, especially on the march and at a time
 when the whole army is gathered together in a place where you must spend
 some time.

7. Be concerned too about the merchants. See that they are not unfairly
 treated and so come to bear a grievance that may lead them to discontinue
 furnishing the supplies we need.

8. If you are worried about some unexpected opposition, secure your camp
 by means of ditches, palisades, or by a trench, called fossa, around the whole
 camp, or by caltrops or some type of construction, whether of wood or stone, or
 in some other manner that you will be able to devise. Post sentries outside.⁵
 Wagons, if you have them, make very effective defenses. Or make a wall of
 pointed stakes, called stabarosai, either spread out or placed more closely
 together, depending on their strength, either of finished lumber or of trees felled
 <on the spot>. By all means, the camp must be kept secure, unless perhaps the
 army may be moving about in our own country, on training exercises or
 <engaged in> some other useful activity.

9. Take thought especially for the subjects of Our Majesty in neighboring
 locations so they may not be mistreated by our soldiers. In particular, be
 concerned about the farmers. It seems to me that these two institutions are truly

4. For example, see Leo the Deacon, 1.9; 2.1 (Talbot and Sullivan trans. pp. 68-70).

5. Here through §11 derives from *Strat.* 7.B.13. Cf. Skirmishing, 15.

σιν και διαμονήν, γεωργική μὲν τρέφουσα καὶ αὖξουσα τοὺς στρατιώτας, στρα-
τιωτική δὲ ἐκδικούσα καὶ περιφυλάττουσα τοὺς γεωργούς. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἐπιτη-
50 δεύσεις δεύτεραι τούτων ἐμοὶ καταφαίνονται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αἰ | 310
τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φροντίζειν ἐκάστοτε, ὥς ἂν καὶ οἱ
στρατιῶται δικαίως τρεφόμενοι ἀνδραγαθῶσιν καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι
εὐχαῖς αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἀρμοζούσαις προπέμπουσιν.

10. Πολεμίων δὲ ἐγγιζόντων καὶ προσδοκωμένου πολέμου, ἐὰν προλάβω
55 ἐν φοσσάτῳ διάγῃς, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναμένης ἐκείσε, δεῖ εὐτρε-
πίζειν καὶ ἀποτιθέναι χόρτον ἢ ἄχυρον ἢ κριθὴν μιᾶς ἢ δευτέρας ἡμέρας τῶν
ἀλόγων, ὥς ἤδη σοι καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ ὁδοιπορίας κεφαλαίῳ προδιεθέμεθα. καὶ
πάλιν ἐὰν ἐκείθεν βουληθῇς εἰς ἕτερον ἀπλίκτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν παρατά-
ξασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον χόρτον καὶ ἄχυρον ἂν μιᾶς ἡμέρας βαστάζειν καὶ οὕτως ἐν
60 τῷ γινομένῳ φοσσάτῳ ἀποτιθεσθαι τοῦτον. ἴσως γὰρ οὐ συγχωροῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν οἱ εἰς δουλείαν ἀφωρισμένοι παῖδες αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξελθεῖν καὶ χορτο-
λογῆσαι, οὔτε δὲ τὰ ἄλογα εἰς βοσκήν ἐκβαλεῖν.

11. Εἰ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἐγγιζουσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν, ὥς
εἴρηται, ἕκαστον συνάγειν τὸν χόρτον, τὸν ὀφείλοντα ἀποτεθῆναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ
65 μετὰ τὸ ἀπλικοῦσαι πολλάκις συγχωροῦνται οἱ παῖδες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ χορτολογῆ-
σαι, πλειόνων μάλιστα καβαλλαρίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐρισκομένων.

12. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον καὶ τὰ εἰς δευτέραν τύχην ἀφορὰν πολλάκις καὶ
τὰς ἐκείθεν ἐναντιώσεις σκοπεῖν καὶ προασφαλίζεσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα, μὴ μετα-
μέλλεσθαι ὕστερον καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἀποτροφὰς ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τῶν τε στρατιω-
70 τῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων, καὶ φοσσάτα ὀχυρὰ ποιεῖν ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις τόποις ἔνθα
δυνατὸν εἴτε ὕδωρ ποταμοῦ εἴτε τόπος δυσχερὴς εἴτε ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα διεκδι-
κεῖν τὸ φοσσάτον ἐν καιρῷ ἀνάγκης;

13. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τοῦ πεζικοῦ ἀπλίκτου καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, ὥς εἴρηται,
περικύκλω καθίστα τοῦ ἀπλίκτου, εἴτε ἐν πεζικῷ στρατῷ ἢ καὶ, ἐὰν εἰσιν, καὶ ἐν
75 καβαλλαρικῷ ἢ συμμίκτῳ, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν, ὥς μοι εἴρηται, ἐὰν ὁ τόπος ἔχη, καὶ

67–72 *Strat.*, 7.A.7. 73–115 *Strat.*, 12.B.22.

48 διαμονήν MWBE διανομήν A 52 ἀνδραγαθῶσιν MW ἀνδραγαθῶσι ABE
53 προπέμπουσιν MW προπέμπωσιν A προπέμπωσι BE 54 προσδοκωμένου MWA
προσδοκομένου B προσδοκουμένου E 55–56 δεῖ εὐτρεπίζειν MWA διευτρεπίζειν BE
58 καὶ MWA om. BE 64 ἕκαστον MWAE ἕσχατον B 67 τὰ MW om. ABE
68 ἐναντιώσεις MWAE ἀντιώσεις B | τὰ MW τὸν ABE 68–69 μεταμέλλεσθαι MW
μεταμελεῖσθαι ABE 74 πεζικῷ MWA πεζῷ BE | εἰσιν WA εἰσι M ὧσιν BE | καὶ MWB om.
AE

essential for the constitution and permanence of the nation; farming nourishes
and strengthens the soldiers, and the military avenges and protects the farmers.
The other institutions impress me as second to these. For this reason it is
necessary always to take care and to be concerned for their welfare in both
respects, so that the soldiers, properly nourished, will do valiant deeds and the
farmers, being fairly treated, will cheer them on their way with appropriate
prayers.

10. As the enemy approaches and the time for battle is near and, in anticipa-
tion of it, you are spending time in the entrenchments, O commander, and you
await the enemy there, you must prepare and set aside one or two days' supply
of grass or hay or barley for the animals, as we have already prescribed for you
in the chapter on marches. Again, if you should wish to go off from there to
another campsite and there line up for battle, it is necessary to transport enough
grass and hay for one day and to store it in the new entrenchments. It is unlikely
that, on that day, the enemy will permit the servants assigned to this work to go
out and gather fodder or to graze the horses.

11. But if the enemy get very close, it would be a good idea, as mentioned,
for each man to gather forage on the march and stow away what he needs. Most
of the time, after they have set up camp, the servants will not be allowed to go
out and gather forage, especially if the enemy cavalry outnumbers ours.

12. Is there anything wrong about frequently considering the possibility of
secondary fortune, checking out its adverse effects, and taking measures to
guard against future contingencies, so that you will not regret it later, especially
when it comes to provisions for a few days for the soldiers and the horses, as
well as setting up strong fortified camps in suitable locations where there is the
water of a river or difficult terrain or some other obstacle able to provide protec-
tion for the camp in emergencies?⁶

13. When the infantry camp comes under heavy pressure, park the wagons,
as we said, all around the camp site, whether it be for the infantry army or also,
if they are present, for the cavalry or a mixed army.⁷ Also construct, as I have

6. *Strat.* 7.A.7.

7. Sections 13–20 derive from *Strat.* 12.B.22.

ἔξωθεν τράφον ποιεῖν πλάτους μὲν ποδῶν ε' ἢ καὶ ἕξ, βάθους δὲ ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτώ, καὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ ὧσει τεθῆναι, ἔξωθεν δὲ ταύτης τριβόλους καὶ λάκκους μικροῦς, ἔχοντες πάλους ἐντὸς πεπηγμένους, οὓς δεῖ ἐν γνῶσει ποιεῖν τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τὸ μή, ἀγνοοῦντας, ὑπ' αὐτῶν βλάπτεσθαι.

80 14. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ τὴν περίμετρον τοῦ φοσσάτου τέσσαρας μὲν πόρτας | 319
μεγαλωτέρας καὶ δημοσίας, παραπόρτια δὲ μικρὰ πλείονα, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην
πόρταν ἡγουν ἔξοδον ἔχειν ἄρχοντα, τὸν πλησίον ἀπλκεύοντα πρὸς παραφυ-
λακὴν αὐτῆς. ἔσω δὲ παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς ἀμάξας <τάς> τῶν ψιλῶν τέντας ἀπλᾶς
85 παρακειμένας, ἡγουν τῶν τε ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων
εὐκαιρον διάστημα ὡς ποδῶν τριακοσίων ἢ ὑ', καὶ τότε τὰς λοιπὰς ταγῆναι
τέντας, ὥστε ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοξείαις μὴ πλήττεσθαι τὰς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ἀλλ'
ἐν τῷ εὐκαίρῳ τόπῳ πίπτειν τὰς σαγίττας.

15. Ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ φοσσάτου σταυροειδῇ πλατεῖαν εἶναι στράταν τὸ
πλάτος μ' ἢ ὑ' ποδῶν, καὶ ἐνθεν κάκειθεν παρακεῖσθαι αὐτῇ τὰς τέντας ῥυμο-
90 ειδῶς κατ' ὄρδινον, ἐχούσας αὐτὰς ὀλίγον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διάστημα.

16. Καὶ ἕκαστον τουρμάρχη μῆσον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀπλκεύειν, σὲ δέ, τὸν
στρατηγόν, εἰς ἓν μέρος καὶ μὴ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τῇ μέσῃ
ἐμποδίῃς πρὸς πάροδον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παρερχομένων ὀχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καβαλ-
95 λαρίους, ἐὰν γένηται καιρὸς εἰσελθεῖν, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀπλκεύειν
καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις.

17. Τοὺς δὲ χρησιμωτέρους τῶν κομήτων μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταγμάτων εἰς
τὰς πόρτας τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀφορίζεσθαι, ὥστε μετὰ τὰς ἑσπερινὰς μίσσας μηδέ-
να θαρρεῖν μέχρι τοῦ δεδομένου σημείου παρὰ γνῶμην τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτῶν

written previously, if the ground permits, a trench on the outside. Make it five or
six feet wide and seven or eight deep, with the earth thrown up on the inner
side. On the outside of the trench put caltrops and small pits with sharp stakes
set in them. You must make sure that the troops know their location since, if
they do not, they may be injured.

14. Along the perimeter of the camp there should be four really large, public
gates and a larger number of small postern gates. The officer who is camped
closest to each gate or exit is responsible for guarding it. Inside the line of
wagons the simple tents of the light-armed troops, the javelin throwers and the
archers, should be pitched. There should be a clear space for a distance of three
hundred or four hundred feet from them and then the rest of the tents should be
set up. When the enemy start shooting, their arrows will fall in the clear space
and not hit the tents in the middle.

15. <Two> broad streets, forty or fifty feet wide, should run through the
middle of the camp in the shape of a cross. On both sides of the street the tents
should be lined up in rows with a little space between each one.

16. Each tourmarch should camp in the middle of his troops. But you, the
commander, should be off to one side, not at the central crossroads, to avoid
obstructing the flow of traffic in the middle and to avoid being bothered by
troops passing by. If the cavalry have the opportunity to enter the camp, they
should pitch their tents in the middle of the camp and not near the edges.

17. The more competent counts, with the units under their command,
should be assigned to the gates of the camp, so that from the evening dismissal
until the signal is given <in the morning>, nobody shall dare to pass in or out of

76 scr. mg. περὶ τάφρου W | πλάτους MW πλάτος ABE | καὶ ἕξ MBE ἕξ A καὶ ζ' W | βάθους
MW βάθος ABE | ὀκτώ MWA ἡ' E καὶ ἡ' B 77 τεθῆναι MW τιθέναι ABE 78 ἐντὸς MW
ἔσωθεν ABE 79 διὰ τὸ MW ἵνα ABE | ἀγνοοῦντας MWE ἀγνοοῦντες AB
80 τέσσαρας...πόρτας ABE τέσσαρας μὲν παρὰ τὰς M πόρτας (scr. supra lin.) τέσσαρας
παρὰ τὰς W 82 ἡγουν ἔξοδον MW om. ABE 82-83 τὸν...αὐτῆς MW πρὸς παραφυλακὴν
αὐτῆς τὸν πλησίον ἀπλκεύοντα ABE 83 παρ' MW παρὰ ABE | τὰς² Va om. codd. | τέντας
MW τένδας ABE 84 ἡγουν MW om. ABE | τῶν² MW om. ABE 85 τριακοσίων...ὑ' M
τριακοσίων ἢ τετρακοσίων A τ' ἢ ὑ' WBE 86 τέντας MW τένδας ABE | ἐν¹ MWA om. BE |
τὰς MW τοὺς ABE 87 τῷ MW τῷ ἀργῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ABE 88 scr. mg. πῶς ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι
τὸ ἀπληκτον W | σταυροειδῇ MWAE σταυροειδῇ καὶ B | στράταν MW ὁδον ἔχουσαν ABE
89 μ'...ποδῶν MW τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ἢ καὶ πεντήκοντα A μ' πόδας ἢ καὶ ὑ' E μ' ἢ καὶ ὑ'
B | τέντας MW τένδας ABE 91 ad τῶν scr. mg. μεσον του ιδίου λαοῦ W | αὐτὸν MWA
αὐτῶν E αὐτὰ ὑ' B | δέ MWAE om. B 93 ὀχλεῖσθαι Du ὀχλῆσαι codd. 96 τῶν¹ MWA
τοὺς BE 97 μίσσας MW μίνσας ABE 98 δεδομένου MW διδομένου ABE

εἰσέρχεσθαι ἢ ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ. τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς βίγλας τῶν καβαλ-

100 λαρίων ἔσωθεν ὄντων ἀσφαλῶς γίνεσθαι.

18. Ἐκαστος δὲ τουρμάρχης ἵνα ἴδιον μανδάτωρα ἀφορίσῃ, ὥστε εἶναι εἰς τὴν κόρτην τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προσεδρεύοντα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δρουγγαρίους καὶ κόμητας εἰς τὴν τένταν τοῦ τουρμάρχου, ἵνα διὰ τούτων συντόμως γινώσκουσι πάντες τὰ ἐντελλόμενα.

105 19. Ἐχειν δέ σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, περὶ ἑαυτὸν βουκινάτωρα καὶ μικρῶν βουκίων καὶ μεγάλων. καὶ τοῦ εἰθισμένου βουκίνου σαλπίζοντος περὶ ἑσπέραν παύεσθαι τῶν πόνων καὶ δειπνοῦντας ψάλλειν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον.

20. Ἀφορίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἰδικούς σου ἀνθρώπους πιστοὺς ἵνα καταμανθάνωσι τὰς βίγλας καὶ πᾶσι παραγγέλλωσι σιωπὴν ἔχειν, ὥστε ἐξ ὀνόματος μὴ 110 θαρρεῖν μετὰ κραυγῆς καλεῖν τὸν ἐταῖρον αὐτοῦ. πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῆς σιωπῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις κατάσκοποι πολεμίων ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λανθάνοντες ἐφω|ράθησαν καὶ ἐκρατήθησαν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς 319 κραυγῆς πολλὰ τὰ συμβαίνοντα βλαβερά. κωλύειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἑσπερινὰς καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι παίγνιον, ὥς μὴ μόνον ἀκόσμους καὶ 115 θορυβώδεις ποιοῦντα ἀταξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόπους ἀνωφελεῖς παρέχοντα.

21. Ἐὰν δὲ μέλλῃς μεθιστᾶν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἀπὸ ἀπλίκτου τὸ στράτευμα καὶ βούλει λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ τόπους ὀχυροὺς προκαταλαβέσθαι προαιρῆσαι ἢ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας τοιοῦτους φεύγῃς διὰ τινὰς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων βλάβας. <εἰ> καὶ οὐ βούλει ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ μάχεσθαι, πυρὰ πολλὰ καύσας 120 ἀναχώρει. βλέποντες γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι τὰ φῶτα, δόξουσιν ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀπλίκτῳ σε μένειν, καὶ ἐκτελέσεις σου τὸ βούλημα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Νικηφόρον ἴσμεν, τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγόν, πεποικέναι, ὅτε κατὰ Συρίας ἀπεστάλῃ παρ' ἡμῶν μετὰ δυνάμειος ἱκανῆς, πολλὴν τε ποιησάμενος λεηλασίαν καὶ οὕτω μετατεθεὶς ἐν

107 cant. ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

103 τένταν MW τέندان ABE 103-104 γινώσκουσι MBE γινώσκωσι WA 105 ἑαυτὸν MW σεαυτὸν ABE 106 εἰθισμένου MWA ἐθισμένου BE 109 παραγγέλλωσι ABE παραγγέλλουσι MW | ἔχειν MWA ἄγειν BE 110 τὰ MWA om. BE 115 θορυβώδεις WABE θορυβοείδεις M | ποιοῦντα AE ποιοῦντας MW ποιοῦνται B | κόπους MWA σκόπους BE | παρέχοντα MABE παρέχοντας W 116 μεθιστᾶν...στράτευμα MW ἀπὸ ἀπλίκτου εἰς ἕτερον τόπον τὸ στράτευμα μεθιστᾶν ABE 117 προκαταλαβέσθαι MW προκαταλαβεῖν ABE 117-118 προαιρῆσαι MW σπουδάξῃς ABE 118 μὴ ABE om. MW | ὄντας τοιοῦτους MW trsp. ABE 119 εἰ Va om. codd. | ἐλθεῖν MW om. ABE | εἰς...τοῦ MW ἐξ ἀναγκαίου ABE | πυρὰ πολλὰ MW πυρκαϊὰς πολλὰς ABE | καύσας MWE ἄψας AB 121 ἴσμεν MW οἶδαμεν ABE 123 τε MWA δὲ BE | λεηλασίαν MW πραιδαν καὶ ἀφανισμόν ABE | μετατεθεὶς MWAB μετατιθεὶς E

the camp without the commander's permission. When the cavalry are safely inside, night patrols are <sent out>.

18. Each tourmarch should assign his own herald to stay in attendance at the pavilion of the general and, in like manner, the droungarioi and the counts should have someone at the tent of the tourmarch. These will expedite the transmission of orders for everyone.

19. Trumpeters, playing both large and small trumpets, should be on duty with you, O general.⁸ The customary trumpet should sound in the evening; work should cease and, after supper, the men should chant the Trisagion hymn.⁹

20. Detail some of your own trusted men to inspect the sentries and to proclaim that all should observe silence. Nobody should dare even to shout out the name of his comrade. There are many advantages to keeping silence. Our observance of this has frequently led to the detection and capture of enemy spies lurking in the camp. Likewise, shouting can lead to a great deal of damage. Forbid dancing, especially in the evening, or any other frivolity.¹⁰ Not only are they disorderly, annoying, and destructive of discipline, but they are a waste of energy for the soldiers.

21. If you intend to transfer the army from the camp to another location and you wish to do so without the enemy finding out about it or if you choose to occupy strong points beforehand or if you wish to abandon such places because of damage inflicted by the enemy and if you do not want to be forced into offering battle, light many fires and then withdraw. When the enemy see the lights, they will believe that you are still inside the camp, and you will be able to carry out your plan. We recall that our general, Nikephoros, did just this when he was sent by us to Syria with a fairly large force.¹¹ His troops severely ravaged <the country> and then moved into the middle of the enemy's land. While his

8. Cf. Const. 7, n. 10.

9. "Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us."

10. Cf. *Strat.* 12.B.22.41-43. While the dancing referred to here was undoubtedly wild, frivolous and, quite possibly, lewd, a more disciplined form of dancing was allowed and even encouraged: see Leo the Deacon, 7.9 (Talbot and Sullivan trans. p. 39). Cf. E. Wheeler, "Hoplomachia and Greek Dances in Arms," *GRBS* 23 (1982): 223-233.

11. The campaign took place about the year 900. This Nikephoros Phokas was the grandfather of the later emperor of the same name. See Skirmishing, 20.

μέση τῇ πολεμίας, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ που συνηγμένων, οὓς Ἀπουλφέρ, ὁ εὐ-
 125 νοῦχος, ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στρατηγός, ἐπεφέρετο ἡγουν τῶν βαρβαρικών
 δυνάμεων τὴν τε αἰχμαλωσίαν τὴν βαρβαρικήν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην πραιδαν
 ἦν εἶχεν ἀβλαβῶς διεσώσατο λεηλατήσας τὴν πολεμίαν.

22. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βουλγάρων ἐκστρατείαν καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἐπενοήθη πρὸς
 φυλακὴν ἀπλίκτου χρήσιμον, ὅπερ χρὴ μὴ λήθῃ παραπεμφθῆναι, ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ
 130 ἐλαφρὸν εἰς βασταγὴν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἰς φυλακὴν ἐγνωρίσθη. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον·
 κανόνια δύο σύμμετρα λαβῶν ξύλινα ἀνὰ τριῶν που σπιθαμῶν ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλέον
 λαβδαραίαν συνέμιξεν, ἕτερον δὲ κανόνιον ὁμοίως, ἔχον σπιθαμὰς πέντε ἢ καὶ
 ἕξ, τάξιν μεναύλου ἐν τῇ συμμίζει τοῦ δισκελίου ἐπιθεὶς τρισκέλιον ἐποίησεν,
 ἰστάμενον ἰσχυρῶς διὰ τῆς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τῶν σκελῶν συγκροτήσεως. περὶ δὲ τὸ
 135 ἄκρον τοῦ οἴον μεναύλου ξιφάριον μέγα καὶ ἄδρὸν ἐνέβαλεν προκύπτον τοῦ
 τρισκελίου, ὡς εἴρηται, σπιθαμὰς δύο ἢ μικρῷ πλέον, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ξυλίνους
 ἐκείνους τριβόλους ὅτε ἐβούλετο συστέλλων, ὅτε ἐβούλετο πάλιν συνίστα, καὶ
 εἰς ὀχύρωμα εἶχεν, ὁμοῦ καὶ ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις χρεαίαις | τοῦ ἀπλίκτου 320
 κατὰ τῶν δυναμένων ἐπέρχεσθαι καβαλλαρίων τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων ἡμῶν τάξει,
 140 τιτρωσκομένων ἐν ταῖς προσβολαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴον χάρακος, εὐκόλως καὶ ἐπαιρό-
 μενον καὶ βασταζόμενον καὶ πηγνύμενον, καὶ ὅτε πολλάκις ὀρύγματα οὐκ
 ἐγένετο ἔτοιμα, εἶχον ταῦτα εἰς ἀσφάλειαν.

23. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ μέλλῃς μετὰ ἀδείας κινεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλίκτου, δέον δίδοσθαι
 μανδάτα ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὖγος κατὰ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ
 145 κινήματος τὰ βούκινα τρισσάκις σημαίνειν καὶ τότε κινεῖν· καὶ κατὰ τάξιν

143–230 *Strat.*, 12.B.22.

125–126 ἡγουν...δυνάμεων MW om. ABE 126 τε MWA τε γὰρ BE 127 λεηλατήσας
 MW ἀφανίσας ABE 128 βουλγάρων MWA βουλγαρίων BE 131 κανόνια δύο MW trsp.
 ABE | σύμμετρα λαβῶν MWA λαβῶν σύμμετρον BE | ἀνὰ ABE om. MW | τριῶν...σπιθαμῶν
 MW τριῶν ἔχοντα σπιθαμῶν A τρεῖς ἔχοντα σπιθαμὰς BE | ὀλίγῳ MW καὶ ABE
 132 λαβδαραίαν MWA λαβδარέαν B λαμδαρέαν E | πέντε MWA ε' BE 133 ἕξ MWA ζ'
 BE | τάξιν μεναύλου MW ὥσπερ μεναύλον ABE | δισκελίου MW δισκελίου ἐκείνου A
 δισελλίον ἐκείνου BE | τρισκέλιον MWA τρισκέλλιον BE 134 σκελῶν MWAE σκελῶν B
 134–135 τὸ ἄκρον MW τοῦ ἄκρου ἐκείνου ABE 135 μεναύλου MW μεναύλου ὄντος ABE
 | ἄδρὸν Va ἄδρὸν MW παχὺ ABE 136 δύο MWA β' BE | ἢ...πλέον MW om. ABE | οὕτω
 MW οὕτως ABE 137 συστέλλων MW συνέστελλέ τε καὶ AB συνέστελλε καὶ E
 138 ἀπλίκτου M ἀπλήκτου ABE ἀπλήτου W 139 δυναμένων MW βουλομένων ABE |
 τῇ...τάξει MW om. ABE 140 χάρακος MW χάρακος τοῦτο δὲ ABE 141 καὶ³ MW om.
 ABE 142 ἐγένετο MW ἐγίνετο ABE | εἶχον ταῦτα MW ταῦτα εἶχεν ABE 144 μανδάτα
 MW τὰ παραγγέλματα ABE | πάλιν MW om. ABE | αὐτὴν τὴν MW trsp. ABE
 145 τρισσάκις σημαίνειν MW πρῶτον λαλεῖν ABE

adversaries, commanded by Apoulfer,¹² the eunuch general of the Saracens, that
 is, of the barbarian forces, were gathering together, he held on securely to the
 barbarian prisoners and all the other booty that he had taken after plundering
 enemy territory.

22. At the time of the Bulgarian expedition he invented another helpful
 device for defending the camp that should not lapse into forgetfulness. It is at
 once light to transport and clearly providing necessary protection. It was like
 this.¹³ He took two lengths of wood of equal size, about three spithamai or a
 little more,¹⁴ and joined them together to form a lambda. In like manner he then
 took another length of wood, of five or even six spithamai, and like a menaulon
 he placed it on the joint of the two-legged device and made it into a three-
 legged one, which got its strength from the legs being tightly bound to one
 another. On the tip of the menaulon-like pole he fixed a large and broad sword
 blade that extended out beyond the three-legged stand, as was reported, two
 spithamai or a little more. And so he set up those wooden caltrops when he
 wished and again took them down when he wished, using them for defense. At
 the same time, they could be used as weapons when the camp came under
 intense pressure from the <enemy> cavalry. As they advanced to attack the line
 of our forces, they would be wounded in charging against such a palisade. It
 could be easily taken up, transported, and set up again. When trenches could
 not often be gotten ready, these provided security.

23. Whenever you intend to move from the camp in safety, you must give
 the orders the evening before.¹⁵ Then at dawn on the day designated for moving,
 the bugles should sound three times to begin the march. The officers march out

12. See below, Const. 17.65.

13. This expedition took place ca. 894. See Skylitzes, *Leon.Phil.*, 12. On the three-legged
 device see E. McGeer, "Tradition and Reality in the Taktika of Nikephoros Ouranos," *DOP* 45
 (1991): 129–140.

14. Ca. 70 cm.

15. Sections 23–40 derive from *Strat.* 12.B.22.

ἐξέρχεσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πρότερον μὲν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, εἶτα τὰς ἀμάξας, ἑάν
εἰσι, καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον ἐπιφερόμενον εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

24. Ἡ δὲ τῶν τριβόλων χρήσις ἀναγκαία ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπλίκοις. ἑάν γὰρ ἡ
πετρώδης ὁ τόπος εὐρεθῇ ἢ μὴ δυνηθῶσιν ὀρύξαι ἢ βραδεία ἢ ὥρα γένηται, τὴν
150 αὐτὴν τῷ στρατῷ παρέχουσι χρεῖαν ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ αἱ τριβόλοι πρεπόντως
ἀποτιθέμεναι ἦν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα παρέχει.

25. Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι διαφόρους θέσεις καὶ σχήματα φοσσάτων οἱ ἀρχαῖοι
παραδεδώκασιν ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ· ἐπαινετὴ δὲ ἡ παραμήκης τετράγωνος ὡς
εὐτακτος καὶ ἀναγκαία.

155 26. Εἰς δὲ ἐπίδειξιν στρατοῦ καὶ φαντασίαν μᾶλλον τὰ πλάγια καὶ ἐπὶ ὕψος
ἄπλικτα πλείονα τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἴσους ἢ ἐγκειμένους τόπους
παραδείκνυσιν. ἑάν οὖν πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν χρεῖα γένηται, τοὺς πλαγίους δεῖ ἐπιλέγ-
εσθαι τόπους, ἑάν μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχῃσι τῆς ἀναγκαιοτέρας χρεῖας.

27. Ἀνόσους δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπιλέγεσθαι τόπους εἰς ἄπλικτα καὶ μὴ χρόνον
160 πολὺν ἐνδιατρίβειν ἐν ἐνὶ χωρίῳ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα διὰ τοὺς ἀέρας τοὺς καθαροὺς καὶ τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια χρεῖᾶδές ἐστιν καὶ οὐ κατεπείγει τις ἀνάγκη.

28. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς ἀναγκὰς χρεῖας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἴρηται, μὴ
γίνεσθαι ἔσωθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου, ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν, διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐάν
ἐπιμένη διὰ τινα χρόνον τὸ φοσσάτον ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ.

165 29. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς βραχὺν μὲν ἦτοι μικρὸν ὄντα τὸν ποταμὸν
ἐν μέσῳ δεῖ περιλαμβάνειν τοῦ χάρακος τοῦ φοσσάτου ἵνα ἐστὶν εὐβάτος τοῖς
τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἑάν δὲ τραχύς ἐστί καὶ μέγας, ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτὸν ποιεῖν σε χρή διὰ
τὸ εἰς ὄχλῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. ποταμοῦ δὲ παρατρέχοντος συμμέτρου 320'
οὐ δέον τοὺς ἵππους ἐξάγειν εἰς ποτὸν κατὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν μέρος, ἵνα μὴ τῇ κινήσει

150 ad στρατῷ des. W

146 ἐξέρχεσθαι MWA ἔρχεσθαι BE | ἑάν MWA εἴπερ BE 149 πετρώδης... εὐρεθῇ MW ὁ
τόπος εὐρεθῇ πετρώδης ABE 150 χρεῖαν... τῇ M om. ABE | στρατοπεδείᾳ M
στρατοπεδείαν ABE 151 ἀποτιθέμεναι ABE ἀποτιθέμενοι M 152 διαφόρους M διάφορα
ABE | θέσεις καὶ M om. ABE 153 ἢ MA om. BE 156 στρατὸν M στρατὸν
παραδείκνυσιν ABE 157 παραδείκνυσιν M om. ABE | δεῖ MAB δὲ E 159 δὲ M δὲ χρή
AE χρή B | ὡς εἴρηται M om. ABE | τόπους M τόπους ὡς εἴρηται ABE | καὶ MA om. BE
160 ἐνδιατρίβειν... χωρίῳ M ἐν ἐνὶ χωρίῳ διατρίβειν (ἀδιατρίβειν B) ABE | ἄρα M πολλάκις
ABE | τὰ MAB om. E 161 ἐστὶν M ἐστὶ ABE 162 φυσικὰς MB φυσικὰς καὶ AE | ὡς
εἴρηται M om. ABE 163 ἔσωθεν... φοσσάτου ME ἔσω τοῦ φοσσάτου A τοῦ φοσσάτου ἔσω
B 164 χρόνον De χρεῖαν codd. 165 ἐν... καιροῖς MAB om. E 165-167 βραχὺν...
στρατοῦ M ἑάν (εἰ BE) μικρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἀπληκεῖν χρή μέσον αὐτὸν τοῦ
ἀπλήκτου περιλαμβάνειν ABE 167 καὶ MA ἢ BE | σε χρή M om. ABE 169 τοὺς...
ἐξάγειν M trsp. ABE | ἄνωθεν MA ἔσωθεν BE

in order, the heavy-armed infantry first, followed by the wagons if they are
present and whatever else might be carried for the service of the army.

24. The employment of caltrops is essential in camping. For if the ground is
rocky and impossible to dig or if it is late <in the day>, caltrops properly
scattered about provide the same protection to the army on campaign as do
entrenchments.

25. We realize that ancient authorities have described various shapes for
setting up an expeditionary camp, but we prefer the four-sided, oblong form as
basic and making for good order.

26. Camps situated on a broad front and on high ground give the army
encamped there a more impressive appearance than those on level or sloping
ground. If, therefore, you feel the need to make an impression, you must select
sites with a broad front, especially if they have the basic supplies we really need.

27. As mentioned, choose healthy places for camp and do not stay too long
in one spot, unless the salubrious air and the availability of supplies are more
advantageous and there is no critical pressure.

28. As mentioned, the necessary physical needs of the men should not be
taken care of inside the camp but outside, because of the disagreeable odor,
especially if the army needs to remain in one place for some time.

29. In critical situations you must choose a site with a small or slow-flowing
river in the middle of the army's entrenchment, where it is easily crossed by the
soldiers. But if it is large and swift you must keep it on the flank, the better to
protect the army. If a good-sized river is flowing <there> the horses must not be
watered above the camp. Their trampling around will disturb the water and

170 τῶν ποδῶν ταρασσόντες τὸ ὕδωρ θολερὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ἄχρηστον ποιήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ
κάτωθεν μᾶλλον. ἐὰν δὲ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμός, διὰ ἀγγείων αὐτοὺς δέον
ποτίζειν καὶ μὴ ἐπαφίναί τοὺς ἵππους εἰς τὸ ταρασσεῖν αὐτόν.

30. Πλησίον δὲ λόφου, εἰς ὃν δύνανται οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἀναβῆναι, τὸ ἀπλίκτον μὴ
ποιοῦ, μήπως ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατατοξεύσωσιν εὐκόλως.

175 31. Ἐὰν δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐγγὺς οἱ πολέμιοι ἀλλὰ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἱκανῶν ἡμερῶν
ὁδοῦ, μὴ ἐπιτήδευε πλησίον ὕδατος τὰ ἀπλικά ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν καβαλ-
λαρίων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν συνηθείᾳ τῆς πολυποσίας γενό-
μενοι ἐν καιρῷ λείψεως, ὡς εἰκός, ὕδατος, ὅτε δεῖ καρτερεῖν, μὴ φέροντες ὀλιγω-
ρῶσιν.

180 32. Οὐδὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς μετὰ τῶν καβαλλαρίων δεῖ ἀπλικεῦν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ἐγγίσει, ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐξωθεν μὲν πλησίον δὲ τοῦ φοσσάτου,
ἵνα μὴδὲ στενοχωροῦνται μὴδὲ εὐαρίθμητοι φαίνωνται τοῖς κατασκόποις.
δοκίμαζε δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν εἰς πόσον διάστημα χωροῦνται καὶ πῶς
μέλλουσιν ἀπλικεῦν, ἐὰν γένηται αὐτοῖς καιρὸς εἰσελθεῖν μετὰ τῶν
185 καβαλλαρίων. ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐγγίζωσιν, ἵνα συνάπτωνται οἱ καβαλλάριοι τοῖς
πεζοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἀπλικεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις τόποις.

33. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ πολέμου καιρῷ δέον σε εἰς ὀχυροὺς τόπους τὰ ἀπλικά
ἐπινοεῖν καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, μὴ μόνον, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀποτροφῆς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον
190 τοῦ πολέμου· καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ διασκοπεῖν ἵνα διὰ πάντων δύνασαι τὸ ὕδωρ
ἐκδικεῖν. ἐν καιρῷ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔξεις δεομένους. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐστι
κάμπος ἐν ᾧ ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ πολέμου μέλλει γίνεσθαι, σπουδάζειν μὲν ἔχειν
πάντως εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἢ ποταμὸν ἢ λίμνην ἢ ἕτερον τοιοῦτον ὀχύρωμα.

174 ad ἐκεῖθεν de novo inc. W

170 θολερὸν M θολὸν ABE 171 ἐὰν M εἰ ABE 172 αὐτόν BE αὐτὸ MA 173 λόφου
M βουνοῦ ABE 174 ἐκεῖθεν MW ἐκεῖθεν εὐκόλως ABE | εὐκόλως MW om. ABE
175 ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE | ἱκανῶν ἡμερῶν MW trsp. ABE 176 ὁδοῦ MW om. ABE
177 ἄνδρες MW ἄνθρωποι ABE 178 ὡς εἰκός MW om. ABE 180-181 πρὶν...ἐγγίσει
MW πρὸ τοῦ πλησιάσαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ABE 182 στενοχωροῦνται MW στενοχωρῶνται
ABE | εὐαρίθμητοι MW ὀλίγοι ABE 184 ἀπλικεῦν BE ἀπλικεύουσιν MW ἀπληκεύωσιν A
185 ἐγγίζωσιν MW πλησιάζωσιν ABE 186 ἀπλικεύουσιν MW ἀπληκεύωσιν A
ἀπληκεύουσιν BE 189 ἀποτροφῆς MWAE ἀποστροφῆς B 190 διὰ πάντων MW om.
ABE | δύνασαι MWA δύνῃ BE 191 γὰρ MW γὰρ πολλάκις ABE | δεομένους MWA
θεομένους BE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 192 σπουδάζειν μὲν MW σπούδαζε μᾶλλον ABE
193 ἕτερον MWAE ἕτερόν τι B

make it muddy and useless. Water them downstream instead. If it is a small riv-
er, you must water them from buckets. Do not allow the horses into the stream
since they will stir it up.

30. Do not set up camp near a hill that is accessible to the enemy, since they
can easily shoot arrows into the camp from there.

31. If the enemy forces are not nearby but still several days' march distant,
do not try to set up camp near water, especially because of our cavalry. The
animals and the men will get into the habit of drinking a lot of water and, when
there is not much of it or it becomes completely unavailable, just when persever-
ance is needed, they will not endure it when water is in short supply.

32. Before the enemy gets close, the infantry should not camp together with
the cavalry within the entrenchments, but outside although close by. In this way
they will not feel cramped for space and may not appear to spies as few in
number. A few days beforehand, determine how much room they will require
and how they plan to set up camp, if the situation calls for them to enter in with
the cavalry. When the enemy approach, the cavalry should join together with
the infantry and should camp with them in assigned locations.

33. In time of combat you must plan to situate the camp in a strong location
and give thought to supplies for a few days, not only, as said, for provisions for
the men but, if possible, also for the animals, for the outcome of battle is uncer-
tain. Above all, give special consideration to the water supply and devise ways of
defending it. When the situation arises you will find that the enemy too are in
need of it. If the crush of battle is about to take place in an open area, always
take care to have a river or lake or some other defense of that sort behind you.

34. Καὶ τὸ μὲν φοσσάτον ποιεῖν ὄχυρόν καὶ στρατὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιμπάνειν
195 τὸν ἀρκοῦντα, ἵνα μὴ ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατηγὸς ἐπιβουλεύσῃ τὸν χάρακα καὶ
διαφθείρῃ τοὺς ἔσωθεν, τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐν τάξει.

35. Εἰ δὲ δύσβατός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ἀνώμαλος, τὸν μὲν караγὸν ἦτοι τὰς
ἀμάξας | καὶ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦλδον ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ καταλιμπάνειν 331
μετὰ ὀλίγων τῶν ἀμαξελατῶν εἰς παραφυλακὴν, τὴν δὲ παράταξιν πλησίον τοῦ
200 φοσσάτου τάσσειν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ.

36. Εἰ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τόποι δύσβατοι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καβαλ-
λαρίων, ἀρκεῖ τῇ παρατάξει εἰς ὄχύρωμα ἢ τοῦ τόπου δυσχέρεια. ἐὰν γὰρ αἱ
ἀμαξαὶ ἀκολουθῶσιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις, ἐπωφελεῖς μὲν τοῖς τασσομένοις
οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσμετάθετοι εὐρίσκονται.

37. Ἐπινοήσεις δὲ εἰς τοὺς βόας τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἵνα, ὅτ' ἂν ἀκολουθῶσι τῇ
205 παρατάξει, ἐὰν χρεῖα γένηται ἄρα καὶ ἀναμεῖναι τὰς ἀμάξας, ὥστε μὴ διαταράσ-
σεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν, ὡς εἰκός, βαλλομένων σαγιτῶν
καὶ ἀτακτεῖν καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν τῇ παρατάξει, ἀλλὰ ἢ πεδικλοῦν ταύτας ἢ δεσμεῖν ἵνα,
ὡς εἴρηται, εἰ καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ σαγιτῶν τιτρώσκονται, μὴ διαταράσσῃσι
210 τοὺς πεζοὺς. διὸ οὐδὲ χρὴ πολὺ ἐγγὺς τάσσεσθαι αὐτάς.

38. Εἰ δέ, ὡς εἰκός, γένηται χρεῖα ἐνοχλουμένῳ βοηθῆσαι τόπῳ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν
ἢ προκαταλαβεῖν ταχύτερον καὶ οὐ φθάζουσιν αἱ ἀμαξαὶ, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνωσιν αἱ
χρεῖαι, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τοῦλδον καὶ τὸ φοσσάτον καταλιμπάνειν ἐν ὄχυρῳ τόπῳ,
παραλαμβάνειν δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τὴν δαπάνην αὐτῶν, εἰ τοιαύτη γένηται
215 χρεῖα, καὶ παρασκευάζειν βασταάζεσθαι ἢ διὰ σαγμαρίων ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀφωρισ-
μένων ἵππων καὶ τὰς τριβόλους, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

195 τὸν¹ MWA om. BE | τῶν πολεμίων MW στρατηγὸς τῶν πολεμίων λαθραῖως ἀποστείλας
ABE | τὸν χάρακα MW om. ABE 196 τοὺς ἔσωθεν MW αὐτὸ ABE 197 δύσβατός A
δυνατός MWBE | τὸν Va τὸ MW om. ABE | μὲν... ἦτοι MW om. ABE | τὰς MW τὰς μὲν
ABE 198 καὶ¹... ὅμοια MW om. ABE | τὸν WABE τὸ M 199 ἀμαξελατῶν MWA
ἀμαξελατῶν BE 201-202 ὄντων καβαλλαρίων MW trsp. ABE 202 δυσχέρεια MW
τραχυτῆς ABE 203 μὲν MW om. ABE | τασσομένοις MW παρατασσομένοις AE
περιτασσομένοις B 205-209 ἐπινοήσεις... εἴρηται MW ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἀκολουθῶσι τῇ παρατάξει
αἱ ἀμαξαὶ ἐὰν χρεῖα γένηται ἀναμεῖναι τὰς ἀμάξας προσήκει ἢ πεδικλοῦν ἢ δεσμεῖν τὰς (τοὺς
BE) βόας ὥστε μὴ διαταράσσεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ριπτομένων
σαγιτῶν ἵνα ABE 205 τοὺς MWBE τὰς A 211 βοηθῆσαι MW om. ABE | ἐχθρῶν MW
ἐχθρῶν βοηθῆσαι ABE 212 φθάζουσιν MWAE φθέγγουσιν B 212-213 ἵνα... χρεῖαι MW
om. ABE 214 παραλαμβάνειν MWA προλαμβάνειν BE 214-215 εἰ... χρεῖαι MW om.
ABE 215-216 καὶ... ἵππων MW ἢ διὰ σαγμαρίων βασταζομένην ἢ διὰ ἵππων ἐπὶ τούτῳ
ἀφωρισμένων ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι δὲ ABE

34. Make a strong camp and leave a good-sized army behind in it, so that the
enemy commander will not plan an attack against the entrenchments and
destroy those within. Have the wagons follow in order.

35. If the place is difficult and uneven, leave the trains or the wagons and
things like that and the rest of the baggage train in the camp, with a few wagon
drivers to guard them, and draw up the battle line in a suitable place near the
camp.

36. If the ground is difficult, especially when the enemy are mounted, the
difficult ground itself is a good protection for our battle formation. If the
wagons follow along in such places, not only will they be of no use to the troops
in line, but they will be very much in the way.

37. Take care with the oxen pulling the wagons so that, when they follow the
battle formation and it becomes necessary for the wagons to come to a halt, they
may not be disturbed by the noise made by the enemy and, as is likely, by the
arrows flying about, and panic and throw the line into confusion. They should
be hobbled or tied so that, as mentioned, even if some of them are wounded by
the arrows they may not cause confusion among the infantry. For this reason
they should not be lined up close to them.

38. When the need arises, as is likely, to relieve a position under enemy
attack or to seize a place quickly before the wagons should arrive, then, in order
not to slow things down, leave the rest of the baggage train and the army behind
in a strong place. If such a need does arise, take the foot soldiers and their
provisions, as well as the caltrops, and arrange for them to be carried either by
pack animals or by horses requisitioned for this purpose, and in this way let
them march out with the army.

39. Τότε γάρ, ἐὰν καὶ γένηται καιρὸς ἀπλίκτου, τοῦ ὀρύγματος κατὰ τὸ δέον
 γινομένου καὶ τῶν τριβόλων ἀποτιθεμένων ἢ οἰκοδομῆς γινομένης ἔσωθεν ἢ
 220 χάρακος ἀπὸ ξύλων πηγνυμένου, τοιαύτην ἀσφάλειαν ἔχει τὸ φοσσάτον, ἢν
 ὠφείλεν ἔχειν μετὰ τοῦ карагоу. карагὸν δὲ λέγομεν τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὸν δι'
 αὐτῶν περιτειχισμόν τοῦ φοσσάτου.

40. Ἐὰν δὲ τύχη ὥστε τοὺς καβαλλαρίους πλείονας εἶναι, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς
 πεζοὺς, καὶ οὕτως δόξη, ὥστε μείναι τὸ τοῦλδον ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, μὴ πάντας
 τοὺς πεζοὺς ἵστασθαι ἔσωθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου, ἀλλὰ τινας μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φοσ-
 225 σάτῳ παραφυλάττειν, τινὰς δὲ ἔξωθεν τῶν πόρτων καὶ τῶν ὀρυγμάτων τοῦ
 φοσσάτου ἐν τάξει ἵστασθαι ἵνα, ἐὰν συμβῇ τῶν καβαλλαρίων τροπὴν γενέσθαι
 καὶ μὴ σύνεισιν αὐτοῖς πεζοί, αὐτοὶ δεχόμενοι αὐτοὺς | δύναμιν καὶ ἄδειαν 311
 αὐτοῖς διδῶσιν ἢ ἀντιστραφεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ εὐτάκτως ἐπέρχεσθαι εἰς
 τὸ φοσσάτον καὶ μὴ στενοχωρεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς πόρτας ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ καὶ
 230 κινδυνεύειν.

41. Τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας τῶν ὑπὸ σε ταγμάτων δέον σοι παραγγέλλειν ἵνα
 διάγνωσιν ποιῶσιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ παραχειμαδίου καὶ διὰ τῶν τουρμαρχῶν
 δηλοποιεῖν, πόσων ἵππων καὶ ποίων ὀπλῶν δέονται οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τεταγμένοι
 στρατιῶται, ἵνα ἀναγκαιῶς παρασκευάζῃς ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ταῦτα εὐτρεπί-
 235 ζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι αὐτὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς τοξείας ἐπι-
 μεληθῆς ὥστε, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἀστρατεύτους ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἐπιφέρεισθαι
 τόξα. ἢ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἀμέλεια πολλὴν βλάβην καὶ ἀπορίαν τῷ
 καθόλου Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατεύματι ἐνεποίησεν, ὥς μοι καὶ ἄνω που εἴρηται. Τοσαῦ-
 τα μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ ἀπλίκτων ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω. ἀκόλουθον δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰς

39. Then, if the time comes to set up camp, the entrenchments are dug as
 regulated, the caltrops are scattered about, and on the inside a wooden wall or
 palisade is constructed and fixed firmly. This will provide the camp with as
 much security as it would have had with the line of wagons. Karagos is the term
 we use for the wagons and the defensive wall they form around the camp.

40. If it should happen that there is a very large number of cavalry and only
 a few infantry and the decision is made to keep the baggage train in the camp,
 do not have all the infantry stay there. Keep some on guard duty in the camp
 and station others in formation outside the gates and trenches of the camp.
 Then, if the cavalry should be driven back, without the foot soldiers, these
 infantry can cover them and give them the ability and freedom to turn around
 against the enemy or to withdraw in good order into the camp and not risk
 being crowded together at the entrance around the gates.

41. You must announce to the officers of the units under your command
 that they must make their enquiries during winter quarters. Have the tour-
 marshs make clear how many horses and what sort of weapons the soldiers
 under their command need. In good time, then, you may make the necessary
 preparations to get them ready and to allow the soldiers to take charge of them.
 Show particular concern about archery; have those not registered for military
 service store bows in their houses, if possible. Neglect of this provision has
 caused the entire Roman army great harm and rendered it ineffective, as I have
 indicated somewhere above. Therefore, let us conclude all that we have to say

217 καὶ MW om. ABE | δέον MW πρόπον ABE 218 γινομένου MA γενομένου WBE
 219 χάρακος... πηγνυμένου MW σταβάρων πηγνυμένων ABE 220 ὠφείλεν ABE ὀφείλει
 M ὀφείλει W | ἔχειν MW ἔχει ABE | τοῦ карагоу MW τε τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ
 τοῦλδου ABE 220-221 δι' αὐτῶν Du δ' αὐτὸν codd. 222 τύχη MWA τύχης BE | ὥστε
 MW om. ABE 223-224 καὶ... πεζοὺς MWAE om. B 223 οὕτως MW om. ABE | τὸ MW
 τὸν AE om. B 225 ἔξωθεν ABE ἔμπροσθεν MW 227 σύνεισιν MW εἰσὶ A ὥσι BE |
 αὐτοῖς πεζοί MW πεζοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ABE 228 διδῶσιν MW παρέχωσιν ABE | ἀντιστρα-
 φεῖν ABE ἀναστραφεῖν MW | ἐπέρχεσθαι MW εἰσελθεῖν ABE 231 σοι MW σε ABE
 232 διάγνωσιν ποιῶσιν MW om. ABE 232-233 καὶ... δηλοποιεῖν MW ἐξετάζωσιν ABE
 233 αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοὺς AE αὐτοῦ B 234 στρατιῶται MW στρατιῶται καὶ διὰ τῶν
 τουρμαρχῶν σοι ταῦτα δηλοποιεῖν (δῆλα ποιεῖν A) ABE | παρασκευάζῃς... ταῦτα MWA om.
 BE 234-235 εὐτρεπίζεσθαι MW ἐτοιμάζεσθαι ABE 236 οἴκοις MABE οἴκοις W
 237 τούτου τοῦ MW τοῦ τοιοῦτου ABE | ἀπορίαν Va ἀμέλειαν MW ἀπώλειαν ABE
 238 καθόλου MW om. ABE | μοι... που MW ἀνωτέρω μοι ABE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΒ΄

Περὶ προπαρασκευῆς πολέμου

1. Ὅτ' ἂν μὲν οὖν καιρὸς πολέμου ἐλπίζεται σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ τὸν ἤδη
προγυμνασθέντα στρατὸν ἐπισυνάξεις, καλὸν ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ εἰς
5 μίαν ἐκτάττης παράταξιν καὶ μάλιστα πολὺν ὄντα καὶ ἱκανόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀκαί-
ρου πλήθους συγχέσεις τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς παρατάξεως, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ
μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος καλῶς πείθεσθαι αὐτὴν πρὸς τὰ κελευόμενα. ἀλλὰ τὸν
περισσὸν στρατὸν διαμέρισον καὶ ποιήσον καὶ δευτέραν παράταξιν.
2. Ὅτ' ἂν γὰρ δημοσία μέλλη καβαλλαρίων μάχη γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς μίαν μόνην
10 παραταγὴν τις τὸν ὅλον στρατὸν κατ' ὅψιν τῶν πολεμίων παρατάσῃ καὶ μὴ
ἀποβλέπῃ πρὸς ἐναντίαν τύχην, μηδὲ μελετᾷ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιτηδεύειν κατὰ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν ἥγουν | καὶ δι' ἐτέρας παρατάξεως, οὗτος, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀνὴρ ἀπειρὸς 333
ἐστίν καὶ προφανῶς εἰς κίνδυνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιρρίπτει.
3. Καὶ γὰρ οὐχὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σωμάτων οὐδὲ ἡ ἄτακτος θρασύτης οὐδὲ ἡ
15 ἀπλὴ προσβολὴ τὸν πόλεμον κρίνουσιν ἢ κατορθοῦσιν, ὥς τινες τῶν ἀπείρων
νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Θεὸν διὰ τέχνης καὶ φρονημάτων στρατηγικῶν μετὰ τῆς
προθυμίας τοῦ στρατοῦ κατορθοῦται ὁ πόλεμος.
4. Διὰ μὲν φρονημάτων καὶ τροπαίων, οἷον εἰς καιροὺς ἥγουν ἡμέρας ἢ
νυκτὸς ἢ χειμῶνος ἢ εὐδίας ἢ πάλιν εἰς τόπους ἥγουν δι' ἐγκρυμμάτων ἢ στενω-
20 μάτων καὶ δι' αἰφνιδισμοῦ ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων καὶ διαφορῶν τρόπων ἵνα
ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ὥστε χωρὶς δημοσίου πολέμου κατορθῶσαι τὴν νίκην

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XII

About Advance Preparation for Battle

1. When you await the hour of battle, O general, and you gather your army
together, already well drilled, it is wise not to draw them all up, at the same time,
into one battle line, particularly if it is a large and combat-ready army. Such an
inconvenient multitude utterly destroys the good order of the battle line. Its size
and numbers render it unable to obey the commands properly. Divide an
excessively large army and make it into two lines.
2. A man who forms the whole army in just one line facing the enemy when
a general cavalry engagement is about to take place, and who does not consider
the chance of a reverse or does not consider other ways of dealing with the
enemy, say, by a second battle line, strikes me as inexperienced and clearly
throwing himself into danger.
3. For it is not, as some inexperienced men imagine, the multitude of bodies
or undisciplined boldness or simple assault that determine the outcome of battle
or bring it to a successful conclusion but, after God, skill and strategic planning.¹
These, together with the enthusiasm of the troops, lead to victory in battle.
4. It is by means of intelligent planning and changes <in strategy>, with
regard to time, that is, day or night, stormy or clear weather, and also place, such
as narrow passes, and by ambushes, by surprise attacks, and by a great variety of
ways to trick the enemy, that you will achieve victory over them without actual

MWABE Va PG 107:805

18-430 *Strat.*, 2.

1 πολεμικῶν...ιβ' MWA om. BE 5 ἐκτάττης W τάττης M παρατάξης AB om. E
5-6 ἀκαίρου MWA εὐκαίρου BE 6 συγχέσεις Va συγγέεις W συγγέης MABE 7 μέγεθος
καὶ MW om. ABE 9 μέλλη...μάχη MW μάχη καβαλλαρίων μέλλη ABE | γίνεσθαι ABE
om. MW 10 τις MW om. ABE | κατ'...παρατάσῃ MW παρατάσῃ κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν
πολεμίων ABE 11 μελετᾷ MW μελετᾶν ABE 13 ἐστίν MWA ἐστὶ BE 15-16 τινες...
νομίζουσιν MW νομίζουσι τινὲς τῶν ἀπείρων ABE 16 μετὰ¹ MW καὶ ABE
18-19 ἥγουν...τόπους MWAE om. B 20 δι' MWBE om. A | τρόπων ABE τόπων MW

1. Sections 3-58 derive from *Strat.* 2.

κατ' αὐτῶν. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι καὶ σωτήριον καὶ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖον, ἵνα διὰ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ τέχνης νικᾷς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς.

5. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διὰ τῶν φρονημάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγημάτων· διὰ δὲ τῆς
25 ἐπιστήμης κατορθώσεις τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν μετὰ τάξεως τῆς πρεπούσης διαμερί-
σης ἢ συνάψης τὸν στρατόν, ποικίλως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ παρατάξης μετὰ εὐταξί-
ας πολεμικῆς καὶ οὕτως τὰς τῶν πολέμων ἐγχειρήσεις ποιήσεις. καὶ μὴ μόνον
φυλάξης σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δόλων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡγουν φρονημάτων
τῶν ἐναντίων σου, ἀλλ' ἵνα μᾶλλον καὶ σὺ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύης καὶ ἀντιστρα-
30 τεύῃ.

6. Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ στρατηγοὶ τοῦτο παρετήρησαν ὡς χρήσιμον ἡγουν
τὴν εὐταξίαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τούρμας καὶ δρούγγους καὶ κόμητας καὶ κεντάρ-
χους καὶ εἰς ἄλλα μέρη πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τὴν παροῦσαν τὸν ὅλον στρατόν
διαμερίσαντες οὕτως παρετάσσοντο. οὐ γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν εἰς μίαν μόνην παρά-
35 ταξιν ἐκτάσσειν τὸν στρατόν καὶ ἐν μιᾷ μόνῃ ῥοπῇ κρίσιν καὶ διοίκησιν τοσού-
των χιλιάδων καβαλλαρίων πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν, πολλάκις καὶ τρίτην,
παράταξιν κατόπισθεν διαιρεῖν καὶ οὕτως τὰς τάξεις ποιεῖν, μάλιστα, ὅτ' ἂν σοί
ἐστὶν, καθὼς εἴρηται, πλῆθος στρατιᾶς. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ποιῶν, ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη καὶ
ἀπαιτήσῃ ἡ χρεία, ποικίλως καὶ διαφόρως τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις ποιήσεις.

7. Πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία λογιζόμεθα γίνεσθαι, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς μίαν παράταξιν | 322
τὸν ὅλον στρατόν τις συναγάγῃ καὶ κατεξαίρετον τοὺς κοντάρια ἔχοντας.
συμβαίνει γάρ, πλῆθους ὄντος στρατοῦ καὶ εἰς πολὺ διάστημα ἐξ ἀνάγκης
ἐκτεινομένου, εἴτα καὶ ἀνωμάτων τόπων ὑποπιπτόντων, ἄνισον εὗρσκεσθαι καὶ
ἀπειθῇ τὴν παράταξιν ὡς μακρὰν οὖσαν καὶ μὴ συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ μέρη
45 αὐτῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸ τῆς συμβολῆς διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν εὐδιάλυτον αὐτὴν
καὶ πεφυρμένην γίνεσθαι.

8. Εἴτα, ἐὰν ποτε συμβῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ ὑπερεκταθῆναι κατὰ τὸ πλάγιον
ἡγουν ἐπὶ κέρας ἐπεξελθεῖν πρὸς κύκλωσιν αἰφνιδίως, λοιπὸν ἢ παράταξις διὰ

fighting. This is absolutely essential for survival. It is by your intelligence, plan-
ning, courage, and skill that you will defeat the enemy.

5. So much for intelligent planning and stratagems. It is through practical
knowledge that you will be successful against the enemy, that is, provided that,
in various ways, you divide up or unite your army securely and in proper order.
After you line it up in good military formation, then launch attacks against the
enemy. Not only will you protect yourself against the wiles and machinations or
plans of the enemy but, rather, you will turn their machinations and stratagems
against them.

6. With this in mind, commanders in the past carefully observed the follow-
ing as beneficial, namely, good order. This is why they organized the entire army
into tourmai and droungoi with counts and kentarchs and into other divisions
as conditions required, and so drew it up in this fashion. It is a mistake to draw
up the army in only one battle line, staking the management, as well as the fate,
of tens of thousands of cavalymen on only one throw. But behind the main
battle line form a second, often a third, and draw up your formation in this way,
especially when, as was said, you have a large army. When, in your judgment,
the situation requires, you can launch a great variety of attacks.

7. To draw up the whole army in one battle line, especially if it includes
lancers, is, in our opinion, to invite a host of evils. For it happens that, if it is a
large army, it will have to stretch over a great distance, with part of it located on
unfavorable terrain. The length of the line will make it uneven and hard to
manage. There will be no coordination between its divisions. It will end up in
disarray and, even before contact, will be easily broken up and thrown into
confusion.

8. If the enemy should happen to extend their own lines by the flank and
launch a sudden encircling movement there, then, without support from the

22 σῆς MWA om. BE 24 τῶν² MWBE om. A 27 πολέμων Strat. πολεμίων codd. |
ποιήσεις MW ποιείσθαι ABE 31 καὶ MW om. ABE 32-33 κεντάρχους MWA κεντάρχας
BE 34 διαμερίσαντες WABE διαμερίσαντας M | παρετάσσοντο MWA παρατάσσονται BE
35 ἐκτάσσειν...στρατόν MW τὸν στρατόν παρατάσσειν ABE 36 χιλιάδων MW om. ABE
38 ἐστὶν MW ἐστὶ ABE 40 πολλὰ MWAE πολλάκις B | τὰ MW om. ABE 41 τοὺς MW
τὰ ABE 42 πλῆθους MW πλῆθος ABE 43 ἐκτεινομένου ABE ἐκτεινομένους MW
45 διὰ²...ἀταξίαν MWA καὶ διαταξίαν B καὶ διὰ ἀταξίαν E 47 τοῖς πολεμίοις MW τοὺς
πολεμίους ABE

τε τῶν ὀπίσω καὶ τῶν πλαγίων αὐτῆς ἀποροῦσα βοηθείας καὶ μηδενὸς ὑπάρ-
 50 χοντος τοῦ συνηγοροῦντος αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸς τελείαν φυγὴν ὀρμήσει.

9. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου συμβολῇ διὰ τὸ μὴ τὸ μήκος τῆς
 παρατάξεως ἐπιβλέπειν τινὰ ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν, πολλάκις τινὲς τῶν ταγμάτων μετὰ
 καὶ τῶν βάνδων ἀφανῶς λιποτακτοῦσι. καὶ γίνεται καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀναχω-
 ρήσεως πρόφασις καὶ πρᾶγμα ἐλεεινόν, τρεπομένων <δὲ> αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀνακοπὴ
 55 τῆς φυγῆς οὐδὲ ὑποστροφή οὐδεμία γίνεται. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀναφαίνεται ὁ μέλλων
 ἀνακαλεῖσθαι ἢ ἐπισυνάγειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τροπὴν, ὥς εἴρηται, καὶ φυγὴν ὀρμήσαν-
 τας.

10. Ἐὰν δὲ τάχα καὶ νομίσουσιν μετὰ ἐπιτυχίας τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖν οἱ εἰς
 μίαν παράταξιν τασσόμενοι καὶ προωθεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅτ' ἂν
 60 διαλυθῇ πάντως ἡ παράταξις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ποιῶσι τὴν
 διώξιν ἀτάκτως οἱ διώκοντες, ἐὰν συμβῇ πολλάκις τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀντιστραφεῖ-
 ναι κατὰ τῶν διωκόντων αὐτοὺς ἢ δύναμιν ἄλλην αἰφνιδίως ἀπὸ ἐγκρύμματος
 ἀναφανῆναι, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα, οἱ διώκοντες εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμήσουσι μηδένα ἔχοντες,
 ὥς εἴρηται, τὸν δυνάμενον ἀπαντῆσαι ἢ ἀποσοβῆσαι τοὺς διὰ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς
 65 ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπερχομένους.

11. Ἐν δὲ μόνον νομίζω προτέρημα ἔχειν τὸ πάντας εἰς μίαν τάσσεσθαι
 παράταξιν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μήκοθεν τελείαν καὶ ἐξωγκω-
 μένην τὴν τάξιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ μέχρι θεωρίας καὶ μόνης ἔχει τὸ κέρδος, ἔχει δὲ
 τάχα καὶ ἕτερον προτέρημα, τὸ δύνασθαι διὰ τῆς μιᾶς παρατάξεως καὶ μεγάλης
 70 ποιεῖν κύκλωσιν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς | μέρους καὶ ἀποκλείειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ
 τούτῳ μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος λόγου καὶ τέχνης τις χρήσεται.

12. Τὸ δὲ διπλᾶς ποιεῖν τὰς παρατάξεις ὥστε εἶναι εἰς ὑποβοήθειαν τῆς
 πρώτης παρατάξεως τὴν δευτέραν, κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν πολλὰ τὰ
 ἐξαίρετα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα νομίζομεν συντρέχειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι οἱ τῆς πρώτης

rear or from the flanks and without anyone coming to its aid, our line will be
 forced to rush into headlong flight.

9. In actual combat, furthermore, because nobody has a good view of the
 long battle line from the rear, frequently some men desert from their units or
 banda unnoticed and provide the rest of the troops with an excuse to retreat.
 This is truly pitiable. When they do retreat there is no way of turning back or of
 checking the flight. None of those present, as was said, is able to call them back
 or get them to turn around after they have rushed into flight.

10. Sometimes troops drawn up in a single line will seem to be pursuing the
 battle with success and driving the enemy back in the fighting, but in the melee
 of battle their formation will surely be broken up and they will continue the
 pursuit in a disorderly manner. If, perchance, the fleeing enemy should happen
 to turn around against the men pursuing them or if some other force should
 suddenly appear out of an ambush, then, without any doubt, the pursuers will
 be forced to take to flight since, as mentioned above, they have nobody in
 position to ward off or repel those who have turned about unexpectedly and are
 charging against them.

11. I think that forming all the troops in one battle line has only one advan-
 tage, and that is, from a distance the formation will impress the enemy as very
 large and imposing. But this advantage is theoretical only. It may, perhaps, have
 another advantage, namely, because there is one large battle line, it is able to
 circle around from one side and close in on the enemy, presuming that a person
 can make use of this maneuver with proper reason and skill.

12. We believe that, as far as human reasoning goes, there are many
 exceptionally compelling reasons that lead to the conclusion that there should
 be a twofold battle line, the second of which should be for the support of the

49 αὐτῆς MW om. ABE 50 συνηγοροῦντος MW συνεργοῦντος ABE | αὐτὴν MW αὐτὴ A
 om. BE 50-51 ἐξ... ἐν MWA om. BE 51 μὴ τὸ MABE om. W 52 τινὰ... ὀπισθεν ABE
 om. MW 53 καὶ¹ MW om. ABE | λιποτακτοῦσι MB λιποτακτοῦσιν WAE 54 δὲ Va om.
 codd. 56 καὶ MWAE om. B 58 νομίσουσιν MW νομίσουσι ABE 60 ποιῶσι MW
 ποιῶσι ABE 63 πᾶσα MW πάντας A πάντως BE | οἱ διώκοντες W ἀνδιώκοντες M τοὺς
 διώκοντες ABE | ὀρμήσουσι M ὀρμήσουσιν W ὀρμήσαι ABE | ἔχοντες MW ἔχοντας ABE
 64 ἀποσοβῆσαι MW ἀποδιῶσαι ABE 65 ἐπερχομένους MWA ἐπερχομένους πολεμίους
 ABE 67 τοῦτ' ἔστι De τοῦτέστι M τουτέστιν WA τουτέστι BE | καὶ ABE om. MW
 68 αὐτὸ MWA αὐτὸ τὸ BE | καὶ² MW om. ABE | μόνης MWAB μόνης μόνης E | ἔχει¹ MWA
 ἔχειν BE 71 καὶ MW καὶ τῆς ABE | χρήσεται W χρήσεται M διαπράξεται ABE
 73-74 πολλὰ... συντρέχειν MW κατὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶν ὠφελιμώτερον ABE

75 παρατάξεως ἔχοντες ὀπισθεν κατὰ τοῦ νώτου αὐτῶν τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν φυλάττουσαν αὐτοὺς προθυμότερως μάχονται πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡγουν τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τῆς παρατάξεως διὰ τῶν πλαγιοφυλάκων φυλαττόμενα ἀφόβως πρὸς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν πολεμοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ πλεον προτέρημα, ὅτι τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως ὀπισθεν οὔσης οἱ πολλάκις λιποτακτοῦντες
80 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παρατάξει οὐ τρέπονται, ὥς ἔτυχεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ὑποπτευόμενοι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μεγάλην ὠφέλειαν ποιεῖ τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ ἐν καιρῷ δὲ τροπῆς, ὥς πολλάκις συμβαίνει τῇ πρώτῃ τάξει, γίνεται ἡ δευτέρα εἰς ἀντίληψιν καὶ καταφυγὴν, ὅθεν πάλιν δυνατόν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι βοηθουμένους ὑπὸ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιπεσόντων ἐχθρῶν πάλιν ἀντιστρέφειν.

85 13. Ἀλλὰ καί, ὅτ' ἂν διώκωσι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἱ τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως ἀσφαλῶς καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας ποιοῦνται τὴν δίωξιν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀντιστραφῶσιν, ὥς πολλάκις γίνεται, φεύγοντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἢ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν αἰφνιδίως ἐπέλθωσιν ἐχθροὶ, γίνεται ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἀπαντῶσα καὶ συνάγουσα καὶ φυλάττουσα τοὺς τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως. ἀλλὰ καί, ὃ μὴ γένηται, ἐὰν συμβῇ τελείαν τροπὴν
90 γενέσθαι τῆς πρώτης τάξεως καὶ οὐ δύνασαι ἀντιστραφεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπελθόντων αὐτῇ πολεμίων, εὐρίσκεται ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἐτοιμὴ καὶ εὐκόλως πολεμεῖ καὶ καταγωνίζεται τὴν ἐναντίαν δύναμιν, κἂν τάχα παντελῶς τραπῇ ἡ πρώτη παράταξις.

14. Καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκροτήσεως τοῦ
95 πολέμου ἀκατάστατον γενέσθαι καὶ διαλελυμένην, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δευτέρας τάξεως εὐτάκτως ἱσταμένης καὶ μετὰ καταστάσεως, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεφυρμένης προτερεῖν μᾶλλον τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν τοὺς | διαλύσαντας τὴν τάξιν.

75 κατὰ...νώτου MW καὶ κατὰ νῶτον ABE 77 τὰ² MWA om. BE 78 πολεμοῦσιν WA πολεμοῦσι M πολεμῶσι BE 78-79 πλεον προτέρημα MW μεῖζον ABE 80-81 ὑποπτευόμενοι MW ἐπιβλεπόμενοι ABE 81 τοῦτο MW ὅπερ ABE | γὰρ MWB om. AE | ποιεῖ... μάχῃ MW ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ποιεῖ ABE | καί² MW om. ABE 82 πρώτη τάξει MWA παρατάξει B τάξει E | δευτέρα MW δευτέρα τάξις A β' τάξις BE 84 δευτέρας MWA β' BE 85 διώκωσι MABE διώκουσιν W 87 ἐχθροὶ MW om. ABE 88 γίνεται MW εὐρίσκεται ABE | τάξις MW παράταξις ABE 89-90 ἀλλὰ...τάξεως MWA om. BE 89 ἐὰν συμβῇ ABE om. MW | τροπὴν MABE τροπὴν εἰ συμβῇ W (alia m.) 90 δύνασαι MA δύναται W (corr. e δύνασαι) δύνῃται BE 91 καί¹ MWA om. BE | εὐκόλως MW μετὰ τάξεως ἱσταμένη καὶ εὐκόλως A μετὰ τάξεως ἱσταμένη BE | πολεμεῖ MW καταπολεμεῖ A καταπολεμεῖ εὐκόλως BE 92 τὴν ἐναντίαν MW τῶν ἐναντίων ABE 94 ἐχθρῶν De ἐναντίων ἐχθρῶν codd. | συγκροτήσεως MABE συγκρούσεως W 96 τάξεως MW παρατάξεως ABE 97 προτερεῖν MW ὑπερέχειν ABE | τὴν ἡμετέραν MWA τῇ ἡμετέρα BE | ἐπιδιώκειν MWAE ἐπιδιώκει B

first. One reason is that the troops in the first battle line will fight more eagerly against the enemy when they have the second line behind protecting their rear. In like manner, with their flanks, that is, the right and left wings of the battle line, protected by the flank guards, they will fearlessly carry on the battle against those in front of them. There is a further advantage: as has often happened, the soldiers in the first line are not likely to turn and run away while the second line is to their rear, for they will be observed by the troops behind them. In combat this can be extremely important. In the event, a fairly frequent one, that the first line turns back, the second is there as a support and a place of refuge. The support provided by the second line makes it possible to rally the troops once again and gets them to turn back against the attacking enemy.

13. Moreover, when they are pursuing the enemy, the men in the first battle line can safely and in good spirits carry out the pursuit. For if, as often happens, the fleeing enemy should turn back or if they should attack unexpectedly from another quarter, then the second line can confront them, join battle, and protect the troops in the first line. But even if—may this not happen—the first line should be completely routed and cannot turn back into action against the enemy attacking it, the second line is standing there ready. It will easily continue the battle and fight vigorously against the enemy forces, even though the first line may have been completely routed.

14. The enemy's formation will most assuredly be broken up and disordered by the crush of battle while our second line is still standing firmly in good order. The enemy line will be thrown into confusion and ours will gain the advantage and turn to pursue the foe, who will have broken up his formation.

15. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότερον παρὰ πάντα, ὅτι οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰς ἰσομέ-
 100 ρους δυνάμεις ἡγουν τῶν τε ἡμετέρων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀρμοδία ἐστὶ καὶ
 ἀναγκαία, ὡς εἴρηται, ἢ εἰς δύο παρατάξεις διαίσεις τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πρὸς τὰς ὑπερεχούσας καὶ πλεον τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐσας δυνάμεις.

16. Ἐὰν δέ τις λέγῃ, ὅτι τί ὄφελος; τῆς γὰρ πρώτης τάξεως ταρασσομένης
 καὶ τρεπομένης εὐχέρως καὶ ἡ δευτέρα συναπάγεται αὐτῇ καὶ συντρέπεται·
 105 ἀλλὰ ἀκουσάτω ὁ τοιοῦτος ὅτι, ἐὰν δύο παρατάξεων, καθὼς εἰρήκαμεν, γινο-
 μένων ἐπισηφαλὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται, τί ἂν τις ἐλπίσει ὅτ' ἂν καὶ μία μόνη ἐστὶ
 παράταξις καὶ ταύτη τραπίσα οὐκ ἔχει ἑτέραν, δι' ἧς βοηθηθῆναι δύναται καὶ
 ἀνακληθῆναι; ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν λέγῃ, ὅτι τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης ἡγουν τοῦ στρατοῦ
 μεριζομένου εἰς πρώτην καὶ εἰς δευτέραν παράταξιν ἀσθενεστέρα καὶ ἀδυνατω-
 110 τέρα ἢ τάξεις εὐρίσκεται, κατανοήσει καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν ἡ δύναμις ἐμερίζετο
 καὶ ἐχωρίζετο τοῦ πολέμου, καλῶς ἂν τοῦτο ἡπόρει. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ τὴν δύναμιν
 κελεύομεν μερισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλαγῆναι. καὶ γάρ, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ
 ἀλλαγῆναι τὸ σχῆμα συνέβαινε γενέσθαι, τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μίαν παρά-
 ταξιν τασσομένην μακρὰν καὶ λεπτὴν εὐρίσκεσθαι, τοῦτο ἐν τῇ διπλῇ τάξει
 115 εὐπορήσαμεν συμμέτρους τὰς δύο τάξεις ποιήσαντες διὰ τὸ πλησίον ἀλλήλων
 εἶναι, οὐ τῆς μάχης χωρίσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ σχῆμα ἐναλλάξαντες καὶ τὴν μὲν
 ἔμπροσθεν, τὴν δὲ ὀπίσθεν τάξαντες καὶ πλεον τὰς παρατάξεις διὰ τὸν προειρη-
 μένον τρόπον κατοχυρώσαντες.

17. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ εἰς μέρη διάφορα καλῶς ἂν καὶ πρέπον ἐστὶ τὸ τὸν πάντα
 120 καβαλλαρικὸν στρατὸν διαμερίζεσθαι, κἂν τε πολὺς ἐστὶ κἂν τε σύμμετρος.
 εὐδηλον γὰρ καὶ πρέπον, ἵνα χρεωστῆς, ὡς στρατηγέ, λόγον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατά-
 στασιν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, ὅτ' ἂν μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς ἔθνη πολεμῆς τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ
 τέχνην πολέμου.

100 ἡγουν...ἐναντίων MW om. ABE | ἐστὶ MABE ἐστιν W 101 ὡς εἴρηται MW om. ABE
 | ἢ MWA om. BE 103 τί ὄφελος MW οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως ABE |
 ταρασσομένης MW πρώτης γὰρ ταρασσομένης (παρατασσομένης BE) παρατάξεως ABE
 104 καὶ τρεπομένης MW om. ABE | συναπάγεται...συντρέπεται MW σὺν αὐτῇ τρέπεται
 ABE 105 ἀλλὰ MW om. ABE | καθὼς εἰρήκαμεν MW om. ABE 106 γίνεται MWAB
 γίνηται E | μόνη MWA μόνον BE | ἐστὶ MWA ὑπάρχει BE 107 ταύτη M αὕτη WABE |
 ἑτέραν MWA δευτέραν BE | δύναται MWAE δύνανται B 109 εἰς¹ MWA om. BE
 112 ἀλλὰ...ἀλλαγῆναι MWAE om. B 113 συνέβαινε MWBE συνέβαινε A
 115 εὐπορήσαμεν MWA ἐμπορήσαμεν BE | δύο MWA β' BE 117-118 τὸν...τρόπον MW
 τῶν προειρημένων τρόπων ABE 119 καλῶς...ἐστὶ MW (ἐστιν) πρέπον ἐστὶ καὶ καλὸν
 ABE | τὸ...πάντα M τὸ πάντα W τὸ πάντα τὸν A πάντα τὸν BE 120 ἐστὶ MABE ἐστιν W
 121 εὐδηλον...ποιεῖσθαι MW πρέπον γὰρ ἐστὶ (ἐστιν A) φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι σε ὡς στρατηγέ
 ABE

15. The most compelling reason of all is that the division of the army into
 two battle lines, as said, is appropriate and necessary not only against forces
 equal in numbers, ours and the enemy's, but also against forces greatly superior
 to ours.

16. If someone were to ask: What is the advantage of this? If the first line is
 thrown into confusion or driven back, the second will easily be carried along
 with it and pushed back. Let such a person listen to this. If, as we have said, the
 situation is precarious with two battle lines in position, what hope can one have
 when there is only one battle line? When that one is beaten back, there is no
 other line capable of providing assistance and rallying the first. Again, if
 someone should say: By dividing up the entire military force into a first and a
 second line, the battle line will be weaker and less effective. Let that man consid-
 er this. If the force had been divided and kept out of combat, this would surely
 be open to question. However, we are not ordering the force to be divided but
 are merely changing its formation. Before the formation came to be changed,
 the entire force was found to be drawn up in one long, thin battle line. We have
 now arranged this in a double line and made two equal lines to stand close to
 one another. We have not taken it out of action but have only altered its forma-
 tion, drawing it up into a forward line and a rear line and further strengthening
 the lines by the method noted above.

17. For these reasons it would be well and appropriate to divide every
 cavalry army, whether large or of average strength, into various divisions. For it
 is obvious and fitting that you, O commander, be obliged to act in accord with
 the dictates of reason and adapt to circumstances, as best you can, especially
 when you are waging war against a nation that is disciplined and skillful in
 combat.

18. Ἐὰν δὲ δύνασαι, μὴ ποιῇς φανερώς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτ' ἂν γινώσκῃς ὅτι
 125 πλείους σου εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ γὰρ πρέπον σοι πρότερον τὴν δύναμιν τῶν
 πολεμίων σου ἀναμαθεῖν καὶ οὕτως ποιήσασθαι τὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου.

19. Ἐὰν δὲ | ἔχῃς πεζικὸν στρατόν, ποιήσασθαι τούτου τὴν παράταξιν, ὥς 324
 μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσομεν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν συμμίκτων τοῖς καβαλ-
 130 λάρίοις διατάξει. ἂν δὲ μόνοι καβαλλάριοι εἰσιν καὶ πρὸς καβαλλάριους ὑπό-
 κειται ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ εἰς τρεῖς καβαλλαρικὰς τάξεις διαμερίσεις τὸν στρατόν καὶ
 τὴν μὲν πρώτην παράταξιν, ἣτις λέγεται πρόμαχος, εἰς τρία ἴσα μέρη ἐκτάξεις,
 ἀπὸ τριῶν μοιρῶν ἔχοντες ἐκάστου μέρους ἡγουν ἀπὸ τριῶν δρογγῶν ἐκάστης
 τούρμας, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μέρει τάξεις τὸν υποστράτηγόν σου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις
 135 δυσί, ἡγουν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ, τοὺς τῶν μερῶν ἄρχοντας, μέσους τῶν
 ὑποτεταγμένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων ἡγουν τῶν μοιράρχων.

20. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τρία μέρη συστήσεις ἀπὸ κουρσῶρων ἡγουν τῶν εἰς κοῦρ-
 σον τεταγμένων στρατιωτῶν, οὓς νῦν λέγουσι προκλάστας, καὶ διφενσῶρων
 ἡγουν τῶν ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς εἰς τὸ κοῦρσον ἐλαύνοντας καὶ ἐκδικούντων
 αὐτούς, ὥστε ἐκάστου μέρους τὸ τρίτον ποσὸν κουρσάτωρας εἶναι, τούτους δὲ
 140 εἶναι καὶ τοξότας, τὸ δὲ δίμοιρον, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ, διφένσωρας ἡγουν
 ἐκδίκους, τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους τοὺς κουρσάτωρας.

21. Παρατάξεις δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τάξει οὕτως· εἰς μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος, εἰς
 ὃ μάλιστα καὶ αἱ κυκλώσεις τῶν ἐναντίων εὐκόλως γίνονται, δύο ἢ τρία βάνδα
 ἵνα εἰσὶ πλαγιοφύλακες ἰστάμενοι ἴσοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους, καὶ βάνδον ἐν ἡ δύο
 145 βάνδα τοξότας, τοὺς λεγομένους ὑπερκεραστὰς ἡγουν ἐτοίμους ὄντας εἰς
 κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων, τούτους στήσεις εἰς τὸ μέρος τὸ δεξιόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν
 πρώτην τάξιν οὕτως παρατάξεις.

22. Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν παράταξιν, τὴν λεγομένην βοηθόν, τάξεις ἵνα ἔχῃ τὸ
 τρίτον ποσὸν τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ, καὶ ταύτην ποιήσεις εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, ἵνα
 150 ὥς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σαγιττοβόλου διαστήματος κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς ἀλλήλων περιπα-

18. If you are able, avoid openly engaging in battle when you know that the
 enemy force is more numerous than yours. Be sure to ascertain the strength of
 the enemy before engaging them in pitched battle.

19. If you have an army made up of infantry, you will line them up for battle
 as we will subsequently explain in the constitution about infantry and mixed
 formations with cavalry. If they consist only of cavalry and they are to do battle
 against other cavalry, divide your mounted forces into three lines. Draw up the
 first line, called promachos, into three equal divisions, with each division having
 three moirai, that is, each tourma with three droungoi. Station your hypostrate-
 gos in the middle division. In the other two divisions, that is, the ones to the
 right and to the left, post the officers of the divisions in the midst of the officers
 under their command, that is, the moirarchs.

20. You will organize these three divisions into formations of assault troops,
 that is, those assigned to assault, whom they now call proklastai, and into
 defenders, that is, those who provide refuge for the men riding on to assault and
 who cover for them. One third of each division should consist of assault troops:
 these are to be archers; and two thirds, in the center of the army, should be
 defenders or ekdikoi, who provide refuge for the assault troops.

21. Draw up the first line in this manner. Post three banda as flank guards to
 the side of the left division, where hostile encircling movements may easily
 occur, their front aligned with that of the division. To the side of the right
 division post one or two banda of archers, known as outflankers, who should be
 prepared to encircle the enemy. This is how you shall draw up the first line.

22. Organize the second battle line, referred to as the support line, consisting
 of a third of the whole army, into four divisions. These divisions should station
 themselves at about a bowshot's distance from one another's flanks. You will

124 δύνασαι MWA δύνη BE 125 πλείους MW πλείονες ABE | σοι MW σοι ἔστιν A σοι
 ἔστι BE 127 ἐὰν MWAB εἰ E 129 εἰσιν WA εἰσι MBE 130 τρεῖς MWA τρεῖς τάχα BE |
 καβαλλαρικὰς MWBE καβαλλαρικὰς τάχα A | τάξεις MW om. ABE | τὸν στρατόν MWE τὸ
 στράτευμα AB 134 τῷ¹ MW τῷ τε ABE 135 αὐτοῖς ABE αὐτοὺς MW | μοιράρχων
 MWBE τουρμάρχων A 137 στρατιωτῶν De στρατευμάτων codd. 138 ἐκδικούντων
 MWA διεκδικούντων BE 139 κουρσάτωρας BE κουρσάτορας MW κούσωρας ABE
 143 καὶ ABE om. MW 144 εἰσὶ MWA ὥσι BE | δύο MWA β' BE 145 βάνδα MW om.
 ABE 146 στήσεις MWA στήσει BE 149 τέσσαρα MWA δ' BE 150 ὥς MWA om. BE |
 ἀπὸ...διαστήματος MW ἀπὸ διαστήματος σαγιττοβόλου ἐνὸς ABE | τὰς πλευρὰς MW
 πλευρὰν AE πλευρῶν B 150-151 περιπατοῦσι W περιπατοῦσιν M περιπατῶσι ABE

τοῦσι τὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη. τὰ δὲ ταῦτα μέρη ἀμφίστομα ποιήσεις ἡγουν δίστομα, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον μέτωπόν εἰσιν δυνατοὶ καὶ καθωπλισμένοι, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ὀπισθεν πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην οὐρὰν δυνατοὶ καὶ καθωπλισμένοι, ἵνα καὶ, ἐὰν κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ἡγουν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ποιήσωσι προσβολὴν οἱ
 155 ἐχθροί, ἀντιστρέφονται καὶ εὐρίσκονται ἀπὸ τῶν δύο μερῶν ἔτοιμοι ἀντιτάσ-
 σεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσιν ὀπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκατέρωθεν ἡγουν ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σαγιττοβόλου διαστήματος ἐκτάξης ἀπὸ ἐνὸς βάνδου ἐν τάξει νωτοφυλάκων, οἷον εἰς τρίτην τάξιν.

23. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χωρία ἡγουν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς δευτέρας
 160 τάξεως ἡνωμένα εὐρεθῶσι διὰ παντὸς καὶ ἡ πᾶσα τάξις ὡς ἐν σώμα φαίνεται καὶ μὴ διαστρέφεται περιπατοῦσα, ἀναγκαῖόν σοί ἐστίν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ διαλείμματα ἀπὸ ἐνὸς βάνδου καταστήσαι εἰς ὅλον τὸ εὐκαιρον διάστημα, ἔχοντα τὸ βάθος ἡγουν τὸ πάχος ἢ ἀπὸ δύο καβαλλαρίων ἢ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ἀπὸ τεσσάρων, μάλιστα πολλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἵνα, ὅτ' ἂν καιρὸς γένηται τοῦ
 165 ὑποδέξασθαι τὰ τρεπόμενα μέρη τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως, ταῦτα τὰ τρία βάνδα, τὰ ὄντα ἐν τοῖς εὐκαίροις τόποις, ὑποστελλόμενα καὶ συσφιγγόμενα εὐκαιρα ποιοῦσι τὰ χωρία πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ὑποδοχήν· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς τρεπομένους εὐκαιρα χωρία ποιοῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀναστέλλουσι τοὺς θέλοντας σκορπίζεσθαι ἢ φυγεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἰς τρίτην τάξιν συνιστάμενα μετὰ τῶν
 170 νωτοφυλάκων ἀποσοβοῦσι πολλάκις τοὺς κατὰ νώτου ἡγουν ὀπισθεν ἐπιφαινομένους καὶ ἐπερχομένους ἐχθροὺς πρὸς τὸ ταραῖαι τὴν δευτέραν παράταξιν καὶ

151 τὰ²...μέρη² MW τὰ δὲ μέρη ταῦτα ABE | ἀμφίστομα MWA ἀφίστομα BE 152 εἰσιν MW εἰσι A ὡς BE 153-154 ὁμοίως...καθωπλισμένοι MWAE om. B 154 καὶ MW om. ABE | κατὰ...ἡγουν MW om. ABE 155 δύο MWA β' BE 157 ἐνὸς...διαστήματος MW διαστήματος ἐνὸς σαγιτοβόλου A διαστήματος σαγιτοβόλου ἐνὸς BE | ἐκτάξης MW παρατάξεις ABE 158 τάξιν MW παράταξιν ABE 159 χωρία...διαστήματα MW διαχωρίσματα ABE | δευτέρας MWA β' BE 160 τάξεως MW παρατάξεως ABE | τάξις MW παράταξις ABE | σώμα MWA σώματι BE 162 διαλείμματα MW διαχωρίσματα ABE | καταστήσαι MW περιβαλεῖν ABE 163 ἔχοντα MW εἶναι δὲ ABE | ἢ¹ MW τῶν παρεκβαλλομένων (παρεμβαλλομένων BE) εἰς τὰ διαχωρίσματα ABE | δύο MWA β' BE 164 τεσσάρων MWA δ' BE 164-165 τοῦ ὑποδέξασθαι ABE om. MW 165 τρεπόμενα MWAB πρεπόμενα E | πρώτης MWAE om. B 166 τὰ MWA om. BE | συσφιγγόμενα MW ὑποχωροῦντα ὀπίσω ABE 167 ποιοῦσι MBE ποιοῦσιν W ποιῶσι A 167-168 πρὸς...χωρία MWAB om. E 168 χωρία MW τὰ διαχωρίσματα AB om. E | ἀναστέλλουσι MA ἀναστέλλουσιν W ἀναστέλλωσι BE 169 φυγεῖν MW φεύγειν ABE 170 ἀποσοβοῦσι MW ἀπαντῶσι καὶ ἀποκυκλύουσι (ἀποκυκλῶσι BE) ABE | κατὰ...ἡγουν W κατὰ νῶτον ἡγουν M om. ABE 170-171 ἐπιφαινομένους καὶ MW om. ABE 171 ἐχθροὺς MWAE πολέμιους B

make these divisions double-fronted, or two-fronted, making sure that those in front, along the so-called front, are strong and well armed and, in like manner, those to the rear, along the so-called tail, are also strong and well armed. Then, if the enemy should launch an attack from the rear or behind, they will turn about and be ready to line up and face them from both sections. In the other divisions behind the main battle line on both sides, here and there, at about a bowshot away, draw up a bandon as a rear guard, that is, as a third line.

23. To make those spaces or intervals in the middle of the second line aligned all the way and to make the entire line appear to be one body and not become disordered when moving about, it is necessary for you to station one bandon in these central intervals along the entire distance of the clear space. They should be two mounted men deep, or thick; four is better, especially if it is a large army. And so, when the time comes to provide refuge for the retreating units of the first battle line, these three bandon drawn up in the clear spaces close up and pull back, leaving the clear spaces as a refuge for them. At the same time as they provide refuge in the clear spaces for the retreating troops, they can also turn back men dispersing or trying to run away. Moreover, when they form in the third line with the rear guard, they often take part in repelling enemy forces appearing in the rear or behind and attacking in order to harass the second line,

ἀδιάλυτον αὐτὴν διαφυλάττουσιν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἐὰν πολὺς ἔστιν ὁ στρατός, οὕτως ποιήσης.

24. Ἐὰν δὲ σύμμετρον ἔχῃς στρατόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ ε' χιλιάδων ἕως δέκα ἢ
175 δώδεκα, μηκέτι τὴν δευτέραν παράταξιν ἀπὸ δ' μερῶν ποιήσης, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δύο
καὶ μόνων, ὥστε ἐν καὶ μόνον χωρίον ἡγουν τόπον ἔχειν εὐκαιρον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν
τῶν καταφευγόντων. εἰ δὲ ὀλιγώτερον τῶν ε' χιλιάδων ἔχῃς στρατόν, τότε τὴν
δευτέραν τάξιν ἐν καὶ μόνον μέρος ποιήσεις.

25. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι κελεύομέν σοι ὥστε καὶ τρία ἢ τέσσαρα βάνδα, τοὺς
180 λεγομένους ἐνέδρους ἡγουν ἐγκρύμματα, ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τῆς παρατάξεως
ἀφορίσεις καὶ τάξεις, ἵνα εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν κωλύοντες τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγχειρού-
μενα ἐγκρύμματα κατὰ τῶν ἀριστερῶν τῆς παρατάξεώς σου, οἱ δὲ ἵνα ποιῶσιν
ἐγκρύμματα καὶ ἐπιδρομὴν κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ οἱ
τόποι εἰσὶν ἀρμόδιοι. |

26. Σημείωσαι γάρ, ὅτι αἱ κατὰ τῶν πλαγίων τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως
καὶ αἱ κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ἡγουν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν γινόμεναι ἐπιδρομαί, ἐὰν
καλῶς γίνωνται καὶ εὐκαίρως, μᾶλλον δραστικώτεραί εἰσι καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι παρὰ
τὰς γινομένας δι' ὀψεως μόνης συμβολὰς καὶ ὠθήσεις. κἄν τε γὰρ ὀλιγώτεροί
εἰσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, ὥς ἐξαίφνης ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ κυκλούμενοι διὰ τῶν τοιού-
190 των ἐπιδρομῶν, μεγάλην τὴν βλάβην ὑπομενοῦσι μὴ δυναμένων εὐκόλως
σῶζεσθαι τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν τρεπομένων, κἄν τε ἰσόμετροί εἰσιν ἢ καὶ πλείονες τοῦ
στρατοῦ τοῦ σου, εἰς ἀγῶνα μέγαν εἰσέρχονται καὶ φόβον, νομίζοντες πλῆθος
εἶναι πολὺ τοὺς τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιοῦντας.

27. Πρόσεχε δέ, ὅτι οὐ πρόπον ἐστὶ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης ὀλίγον στρατὸν πρὸς
195 πλῆθος πολεμίων εὐτάκτων φανερώς πρὸς μάχην συμπλέκειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη
τούτου γένηται, μὴ πάντα φανερώς καὶ διὰ ὀψεως ἐγχειρεῖν, κἄν τάχα πλείονές

172 διαφυλάττουσιν MWA δυαφυλάττουσι BE | ἔστιν MWA ἢ BE 174 ε' MWE πέντε AB
| δέκα MWA ι' BE 175 δώδεκα MWA ιβ' BE | δ' MWB τεσσάρων AE | ἀλλὰ MWAE ἀλλ'
B | δύο MWA β BE 176 καὶ MW om. ABE | χωρίον MW διαχώρισμα ABE | ἡγουν τόπον
MW om. ABE 177 ε' MWBE πέντε A 178 τάξιν MW παράταξιν ABE 179 τρία MWA
γ' BE | τέσσαρα MWAE δ' B 181 ἀφορίσεις MW ἀφορίσαι A ἀφωρίσαι BE | τάξεις MW
τάξαι ABE | εἰσὶν MW om. ABE | κωλύοντες MW κωλύωσι ABE 182 ἵνα MWA om. BE
183 ἐγκρύμματα MW ἔγκρυμα ABE 184 εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν BE 185 σημείωσαι...ὅτι MW
om. ABE | αἱ A οἱ MW αἱ γὰρ BE 186 αἱ MWAE om. B | κατὰ...ἀπὸ MW om. ABE |
γινόμεναι MWA γενόμεναι BE 187 γίνωνται...εὐκαίρως (γένωνται M) MW καὶ ἐν
ἐπιτηδείῳ καιρῷ γίνωνται ABE 189 εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν BE 190 ὑπομενοῦσι MBE
ὑπομενοῦσιν WA 191 εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν BE 192 στρατοῦ...σου MW σοῦ στρατοῦ ABE
194 ἐστὶ MABE ἐστὶν W 196 διὰ ὀψεως MW εἰς πρόσωπον ABE 196-197 πλείονές
εἰσὶν MW πλείων ἐστὶν A πλείων ἢ BE

and so they keep that sector intact. This is what you should do if you have a large army.

24. If you have an army of medium strength, that is, from five thousand to ten or twelve thousand, you may no longer organize the second line into four divisions but only into two. You will have only one clear space or location to receive the men fleeing for protection. If you have an army of fewer than five thousand, then you will post only one division in the second line.

25. In addition to all of the above, we order you to detail three or four banda, referred to as ambush troops or ambushers, and station them on this side and that side of the battle line. They are to prevent enemy attempts to ambush the left of your battle line and they themselves can set up ambushes and assaults against the right divisions of the enemy, if the terrain is favorable.

26. It should be noted that attacks against the flanks and the rear of the enemy's battle line or behind, if they are well timed and well carried out, are much more effective and decisive than limiting oneself to direct frontal attacks and charges. If the enemy force is smaller, such attacks will catch them by surprise, and by encircling them will subject them to great damage, since the troops driven back will not easily reach safety. If the enemy army is equal to yours or even superior, they will find themselves in a serious struggle and become fearful in the belief that the attacking troops are very numerous.

27. Pay attention to this: unless forced to do so, it is not right for a small army to engage a more numerous and disciplined enemy in open battle. If it should become necessary, though, do not undertake frontal operations only,

εἰσιν ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ νώτου ἤγουν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν πλαγίων ἐμβάλλεσθαι εἰς αὐτούς. καὶ γὰρ ἐπισφαλές ἐστι καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἢ δι' ὧσεως μόνον μάχῃ καὶ πρὸς οἰονδήποτε ἔθνος γινομένη, κἂν
200 τάχα καὶ ὀλιγώτερον πληθὺς ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντικαθιστάμενον.

28. Οὕτως οὖν ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ κελεύομέν σοι ἵνα πάντα τὰ καβαλλαρικά τάγματα εἰς πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν παράταξιν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου καταστήσης, ὅτ' ἂν μάλιστα καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἔχῃς, καὶ διατάξῃς κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα σοι τρόπον εἰς κούρσωρας ἤγουν προκλάστας, τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν τῆς παρατάξεως πρὸ
205 τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προτρέχοντας καὶ εἰς διφένσωρας ἤγουν τοὺς εὐτάκτως ἰσταμένους καὶ ὑποδέχεσθαι μέλλοντας τοὺς προδραμόντας κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἐὰν μὴ τελείως διώξωσιν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀνθυποστρέψουσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς πλαγιοφύλακας καὶ εἰς ὑπερκεραστάς ἤγουν τοὺς ἐτοίμους ἰσταμένους εἰς κύκλωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐνέδρους ἤγουν ἐγκρύμματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς
210 βοηθοὺς ἤγουν τοὺς ὀπισθεν τεταγμένους καὶ ἀναστέλλοντας τοὺς ὅσοι μέλλουσι φεύγειν τὴν ἰδίαν καταλιμπάνοντες τάξιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς νωτοφύλακας ἤγουν τοὺς ὀπισθεν εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ τεταγμένους.

29. Ἐὰν δὲ πολὺν ἔχωσι στρατὸν καὶ δύνασαι τοιαύτας διπλᾶς παρατάξεις ποιεῖν εἴτε δύο εἴτε τρεῖς ἢ καὶ πλείονας, | ὥστε μεριζομένην τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν
215 δύναμιν πρὸς αὐτὰς ὀλιγωτέρων ὄντων ἀσθενεῖς γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἢ προσβαλόντων ὁμοῦ πρὸς μίαν τῶν σῶν παρατάξεων ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ διώκεσθαι ἢ κυκλοῦσθαι. τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

30. Τὸ δὲ βάθος ἤγουν τὸ πάχος τῶν παρατάξεων, καθὼς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι διετάξαντο, ἤρκει μὲν ἐκάστῳ τάγματι εἰς τέσσαρας καὶ μόνους καβαλλαρίους
220 γίνεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλεόν τούτων ἀργὸν καὶ ἀνωφελές δείκνυται ἐπὶ τῶν καβαλλαρίων, οὔτε γὰρ δύνανται, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς πεζικῆς τάξεως, ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν διὰ

197 διὰ...ἀπὸ MW τῶν ὀπισθεν μερῶν ABE 198 ἐμβάλλεσθαι MW ἐπιτίθεσθαι ABE | εἰς αὐτούς MW αὐτοῖς ABE | ἐπισφαλές MW ἐπισφαλῆς ABE 199 ἐπικίνδυνον MW ἐπικίνδυνος ABE 200 ἐστὶ MA ἐστὶν W ἢ BE 201 ἐν MWAE ἐν τῷ B 204 ἤγουν MW ἤγουν ἐκδικητὰς ABE 206 προδραμόντας AE προσδραμόντας MWBE 207 ἀλλ' MWBE ἀλλὰ A | ἀνθυποστρέψουσιν MW ἀνθυποστρέψωσιν ABE | εἰς AB om. MWE 208 ἐτοίμους W ἐτοίμως MABE 210–211 ὅσοι μέλλουσι MW βουλομένους ABE 211 φεύγειν MW φεύγειν καὶ ABE | καταλιμπάνοντες τάξιν MW τάξιν καταλιμπάνειν ABE 213 δύνασαι MWA δύνῃ BE 214 δύο MWA β' BE | τρεῖς MWA γ' BE | ὥστε MW ὥστε ἢ ABE 215 ὀλιγωτέρων ὄντων MW om. ABE | ἀσθενεῖς γίνεσθαι MW ἀσθενῇ γίνεσθαι A ἀσθενῆς γενέσθαι BE | τὰς ἐκείνων MW om. ABE 215–216 προσβαλόντων MW προσβάλλουσιν A προσβαλοῦσαν BE 217 ἐστὶ MABE ἐστὶν W | τῶν ἀναγκαίων MWA τὸ ἀναγκαῖον BE 219 καὶ μόνους MW om. ABE 221 οὔτε MW οὐ ABE | ὀπισθεν WABE ὀπισθε M 221–222 διὰ...πάχους MW om. ABE

even if our army is larger, but carry on attacks against the rear of the enemy, behind them, or against their flanks. For a purely frontal attack against any nation whatsoever is dangerous and full of risk, even if those opposing you may be less numerous.

28. Thus, to sum it up, we order you to form all your cavalry units in a first and a second battle line when engaged in combat, particularly when you have a large army. Organize them, in the manner explained to you, into assault troops or proklastai, those men in front of the battle line who ride out ahead of the others against the enemy, and into defenders, those who position themselves in good order, ready to provide refuge for those troops charging against the enemy in the event that they do not pursue them all the way but have to turn back. Also divide them into flank guards and into outflankers, that is, men lined up ready to encircle the enemy; and further, into ambush troops or ambushers, as well as support troops who are in formation to the rear and who restrain the men who intend to flee and desert their own formation; and finally into rear guards, that is, those stationed behind to protect the whole army.

29. If they have a large army and you are able to form double battle lines of the sort mentioned, whether it be two or three or even more, so that when the smaller enemy force is divided in proportion to these, their force will be weak or, as they charge against one of your lines, they may be pursued or encircled by the others. This is an essential point.

30. For the depth or the thickness of the battle lines, the ancient authorities prescribed that four, all mounted, were sufficient for each tagma. For cavalry greater depth has been shown to be inefficient and useless. Unlike a formation

τοῦ πάχους προωθισμὸν ποιεῖν. τότε γὰρ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν προωθούμενοι τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ποιοῦσι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πεζῶν γίνεται. οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οὐ δύνανται προωθεῖν τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, ὥς
 225 οἱ πεζοί, οὐδὲ βοήθειά τις γίνεται ἐκ τῶν περισσοτέρων εἰς τοὺς πρωτοστάτας, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον τασσομένους, κἂν τε τοξόται εἰσὶ κἂν τε κονταράτοι.

31. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ κονταράτοι, οἱ ὀπίσω τοῦ τετάρτου, οὐ δύνανται φθάσειν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ τοξόται εἰς τὸ ἄνω ἀναγκάζονται τοξεύειν διὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄπρακτοι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς μάχης γίνονται αἱ σαγίτται αὐτῶν, ὥς ἡ πείρα διδάσκει καὶ τοὺς ἀμφιβάλλοντας, ἂν βούλωνται.

32. Ἦρκει οὖν, καθὼς εἵπομεν, τὸ πάχος τῶν τεσσάρων καβαλλαρίων, ἀλλ', ἐπειδὴ συμβαίνει τοὺς ἀνδρείους στρατιώτας ὀλιγωτέρους κατὰ τάγμα εὐρίσκεισθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἰσταμένους, τοὺς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας μιγνύειν πρὸς πόλεμον ὀφείλοντας, διὰ τοῦτο πρέπον ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ταγμάτων οὕτως ὀρίζειν καὶ τὸ πάχος τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτῶν, οἷον· εἰς τὰ ἀνδρειότερα, τὰ καὶ μέσον τασσόμενα τάγματα εἰς τὴν τάξιν τὴν πρόμαχον, ἀπὸ ζ' καβαλλαρίων ποιεῖν καὶ ἐνὸς παιδὸς ὑπηρέτου αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τάξει, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἐκεῖ
 240 δεῦτεροι κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρίαν τῆς προμάχου τάξεως ὀφείλουσι τάσσεσθαι, ἀπὸ ζ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκάστην δεκαρχίαν, πάλιν ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἰσοδύναμοι ἄνδρες τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι, ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν η', τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ὑποδεέστερα τάγματα ἀπὸ η' ἢ δέκα ἀνδρῶν γίνεσθαι πρὸς τὰς δεκαρχίας τασσόμενα.

33. Ἐὰν μέντοι συμβῇ ἵνα | ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων τούτων ταγμάτων εἰς τὴν
 245 πρώτην παράταξιν ἐκτάξης, ἢ ἀπὸ η' ἢ ἀπὸ ι' ποιήσης ἀνδρῶν ὥς ἀσθενεστέρων. τὰ δὲ τάγματα, τὰ ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τασσόμενα καὶ ἐπίλεκτα ὄντα, ἀπὸ πέντε μὲν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐτέρων ὑπηρετῶν εἰς τὰ ἄρματα ποιήσεις, ὥστε δέκα

of foot, they are unable to apply pressure from the rear because of the thickness, for the men pushing forward from the rear put pressure on those in front who may not wish to go forward. This is what happens with infantry. But horses are not able to push those in front of them forward, as are foot soldiers. The front ranks, that is, those stationed in front, receive no support from additional troops, whether archers or lancers.

31. The lancers behind the fourth rank are unable to reach beyond the front. The archers are forced to shoot up high because of those in front of them, and the result is that their arrows are ineffectual against the enemy in the press of battle. If anyone doubts this, let experience teach him.

32. Therefore, a thickness of four was enough, as we said. Since, however, the number of courageous soldiers, that is, the men stationed in the front ranks who have to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting, is rather limited, it is necessary to regulate the depth of their battle line in accord with the strength of the units. So it is that the more courageous units drawn up in the center of the first line, the promachos, should be composed of seven cavalrymen and one serving boy. In the formation to the left, in which there may be men less noted for courage than those in the promachos line, they ought to be organized with each dekarchy consisting of seven men. The division on the right, in which the men ought to be of equal strength with those on the left, should consist of eight men. The rest of the units, made up of weaker troops, should be formed of eight or ten men to a dekarchy.

33. If it should happen that you station some of these weaker units in the first line, then, because they are weaker, make it eight or ten men. Form the units composed of picked troops drawn up in the second line five regular soldiers <deep>, followed by additional men-at-arms, so that each dekarchy has

222 ἔμπροσθεν MWBE ἔμπροσθε A 223 ποιοῦσι MA ποιοῦσιν WBE 226 τοξόται εἰσὶ M τοξόται εἰσὶν W κονταράτοι εἰσὶ AE κονταράτοι ὡσι B 226-227 κονταράτοι MW τοξόται ABE 229 τὸ¹ MWA τοὺς BE 231 γίνονται ABE γίνονται ὡς MW | σαγίτται MW σαγίται A σαγίτες BE 231-232 καὶ...βούλωνται MW om. ABE 235 ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W 237 οὕτως...αὐτῶν MWAE om. B 238 ζ' MW ἑπτὰ ABE 240 τάσσεσθαι MW κατατάσσεσθαι ABE | ζ' MW ἑπτὰ ABE 241 καὶ ἐκεῖ MW om. ABE 242 εἶναι ABE om. MW | η' M ὀκτώ W ἑπτὰ τάσσειν ABE 243 τάγματα WABE πράγματα M | η' MWE ὀκτώ AB 244 ἐὰν μέντοι MW πάλιν ἐὰν μὲν ABE 245 η' WE ὀκτώ MAB | ι' MWBE δέκα A 246 τὰ² MWA om. BE | ἐν MW ἐν τῇ ABE | πέντε MWA ε' BE 247 μὲν MWAE om. B | δέκα MWAE ι' B

ἀνδρας ἐκάστην δεκαρχίαν ἔχειν. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ, ὡς εἴρηται, τεταγμένοι ἵνα κατασταθῶσιν ἐπιτηδείως εἰς τε κούρσωρας καὶ ἐγκρύμματα.

250 34. Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν πρέπον τῶν ἢ ἢ τὸ πολὺ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν πλείω τὸ πάχος ποιεῖν τῆς παρατάξεως, κἂν τὸ πάνυ εἰσὶν ἀσθενῆ τὰ τάγματα, οὐδὲ τῶν ε' ὀλιγώτερον, ὅσον ἂν εἰσὶν ἐπίλεκτα, ὥστε πρέπον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν ἀρκούντως καὶ τὰ βάθη ἡγουν τὰ πάχη τῶν παρατάξεων γίνεσθαι καὶ μηδὲ τὸ μῆκος ἡγουν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν πρωτοστα-
255 τούντων ὀλιγοῦσθαι πολὺ. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὸ πάχος τῶν ταγμάτων ὄλων ἐν ἴσῳ μέτρῳ τάξης, εὐχερῶς καὶ συντόμως ὑπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀριθμεῖσθαι ποιήσεις διὰ τῶν πρωτοστατῶν ὅλον σου τὸν στρατόν, ὅπερ οὐ δέον μανθάνειν τοὺς ἐχθρούς. τῆς δὲ εἰρημένης ἡμῖν ἀναλογίας ἡγουν τοῦ μέτρου φυλαττομένου ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος στρατοῦ τὴν δευτέραν κατα-
260 στήσεις τάξιν.

35. Κελεύομεν δέ σοι καὶ τὰ κοντουβέρνια τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπὸ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων γίνεσθαι ἀναλόγως, ἵνα μὴ οἱ παλαιοὶ μόνοι τασσόμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀσθενεῖς εἰσι μηδὲ οἱ νεώτεροι ἄτακτοι εὐρεθῶσιν ὡς ἄπειροι.

36. Ὅπλῖσις δὲ τὴν παράταξιν οὕτως· τὸν μὲν πρωτοστάτην τῆς πρώτης
265 τάξεως καὶ τὸν μετ' ἐκείνον ἰστάμενον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν δεύτερον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐστῶτα ὀπίσω πάντων ἡγουν τὸν οὐραγὸν κονταράτους ποιήσεις μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς αὐτῶν ἐξοπλίσεως, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας, τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ἐκείνων τασσομένους, ὅσοι τοξεύειν οἶδασι, χωρὶς κονταρίων εἶναι ποιήσεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατόν ἐστι δεόντως περιάγειν τινὰ τόξον ἐπάνω ἵππου, ἐὰν ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ
270 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σκουτάρην κατέχη καὶ τὸ τόξον. εἰ δὲ γυμνασθῇ ὁ στρατιώτης ὥστε, ἡνίκα τοξεύῃ, ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ νώτου εὐφυῶς πέμψῃ τὸ σκουτάρην, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄχρηστον ἡμῖν καταφαίνεται.

37. Πρὸς τούτοις κελεύομέν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἵνα ἀφορίσης, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν πρόμαχον παράταξιν, τοὺς λεγομένους δεποτάτους, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοὺς ἐπι-

248 οἱ MW om. ABE 250 ἢ MWBE ὁκτώ A | τῶν² MW om. ABE | πλείω MW πλείον BE om. A 251 τὸ M om. WABE | εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν BE 252 ε' MWBE πέντε A | ὀλιγώτερον Va ὀλιγωτέρους codd. | εἰσὶν MWA εἶεν BE | ἐστὶ MWBE ἐστίν A 255 ὀλιγοῦσθαι... ταγμάτων MWAE om. B | πολὺ MW ἐπιπολὺ AE | δέκα MWA ι' E 256 εὐχερῶς MW εὐκόλως ABE | κατασκόπων ABE κατασκόπων καὶ MW 258 δὲ MWAE om. B | ἡμῖν ABE ὑμῖν MW 261 κοντουβέρνια WABE κοντουβέρνια M 263 εἰσι MWA ὥσι BE 265 ἔστι MBE ἔστιν WA 267 αὐτῶν MW αὐτῆς BE om. A 268 οἶδασι MABE οἶδασιν W 269 ἔστι MBE ἔστιν WA 270 σκουτάρην MW σκουτάριον ABE | γυμνασθῇ MWA γεγυμνάσθη E γεγύμνασθαι B 271 ὀπίσω...νώτου ABE om. MW | πέμψῃ MW παραπέμπειν ABE | σκουτάρην Va σκουτάριον codd. 274 δεποτάτους MW διποτάτους ABE | ἔστι MBE ἔστιν WA

ten men. As mentioned, these men should be drawn up so they may conveniently be assigned as assault troops and ambushers.

34. It is wrong, therefore, to make the thickness of the battle line more than eight or at most ten, no matter how weak the units might be, nor should it be less than five, even for the elite units. The depth, or the thickness, of the battle lines made in the above manner and in the proper proportions are correct and adequate. The width, that is, the number of men in the front rank, should not be greatly reduced. If you form all the units in equal measure at ten thick, you will make it easy and quick for enemy spies to estimate the numbers of your entire army <simply by counting> the file leaders. The enemy must not learn this. As we have remarked, maintaining due proportion and measure, you should organize the second line from among the remaining troops.

35. We order you to have the squads made up of veterans and younger men in proper proportion. Otherwise the older men, if formed by themselves, may be weak, and the younger men may turn out to be undisciplined because they lack experience.

36. Arm the battle line in this manner. In the first rank have the file leader and the man standing behind him, that is, the second, and also the one standing behind everyone, that is, the ouragos, all bear lances with the rest of their armament. Have all the others, drawn up in their middle, who know how to shoot, be without lances, for it is not possible to draw the bow effectively on horseback while holding a shield as well as a bow in his left hand. But it seems more useful to train the soldier, while shooting, to shift the shield smoothly behind him, on his back.

37. In addition to the above, we order you, O commander, to assign, especially in the first battle line, men known as deputies, that is, those who take care

275 μελητάς τῶν τραυματιζομένων στρατιωτῶν. καὶ καταστήσεις ὁκτώ ἢ δέκα
 ἄνδρας καθ' ἕκαστον βάνδον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάγματος ἐλαφροὺς καὶ γοργοὺς
 ἄνευ ὅπλων, τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ὀπισθεν ὡς ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν ποδῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις τάγμα-
 σιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἵνα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς πολλάκις γίνεται,
 τραυματιζομένους ἐπικινδύνως ἢ ἐκπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ μὴ δυνα-
 280 μένους μάχεσθαι ἀναλέγωνται καὶ περιποιῶνται, ἵνα μὴ καταπατῶνται ὑπὸ τῆς
 δευτέρας παρατάξεως οἱ ἀληθῶς γενναῖοι στρατιῶται καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τῶν
 τραυμάτων διαφθείρωνται. καὶ ἵνα οἱ διασώζοντες αὐτοὺς λαμβάνωσιν ὑπὲρ
 μισθοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταμείου τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον στρατιώτην
 διασωζόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν νόμισμα ἓν.

285 38. Εἴτα δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μετὰ τὸ τραπήναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ παρελθεῖν τὴν
 δευτέραν παράταξιν τότε τὰ σκύλα τὰ εὕρισκόμενα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς πρώτης
 συμβολῆς αὐτοὶ συνάγουσι καὶ τοῖς δεκάρχοις ἡγουν τοῖς πρωτοστάταις τοῦ
 ἰδίου τάγματος μετὰ τὸ λυθῆναι τὴν μάχην παρέχουσιν αὐτά. λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου παρὰ τῶν δεκάρχων εἰς παραμυθίαν αὐτῶν μοῖραν τινα.
 290 τοῦτο γὰρ τοῖς πρωτοστάταις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις pronóμιον δίκαιον καὶ ἀρμόδιον ἐν
 ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ἔχειν κελεύομεν, καθότι πλέον τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς ἀνάγκης μετέ-
 χουσιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ τοῦ πολέμου. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον γίνεται, ἵνα μὴ
 διὰ τὸ σκυλεῦσαι τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐχθροὺς τινες ἐκ τῶν ἵππων κατέρχωνται καὶ
 τὴν παράταξιν διαλύουσιν.

295 39. Ἴνα δὲ εὐκόλως ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀναβαίνωσιν οἱ τε λεγόμενοι δεποτάτοι
 καὶ οἱ τραυματιζόμενοι στρατιῶται οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πίπτοντες, πρέπον ἐστὶν
 ἵνα ὁ δεποτάτος τὰς δύο σκάλας εἰς τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος τῆς σέλλας ἔχη, τοῦτ'
 ἔστι τὴν μίαν πρὸς τῷ ἐμπροσθοκουρβίῳ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν πρὸς τῷ ὀπισθοκουρ-
 βίῳ, ἵνα ὅτ' ἂν μέλλωσιν οἱ δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἀνέρχονται, ὃ τε δεποτάτος καὶ ὁ

275 ὁκτώ MWA η' BE | ἢ MWAE ἢ καὶ B 277 ὅπλων ABE ὅπλου MW | ἑκατὸν MWAB
 ἕκαστον E 278 ἀκολουθεῖν MW ἐπακολουθεῖν ABE 280 ἀναλέγωνται MW
 ἀναλαμβάνονται A ἀναλαμβάνονται BE | καταπατῶνται ABE καταπατοῦνται MW
 284 διασωζόμενον MWA διασωζόμενοι BE | νόμισμα WAE ν° MB (sic pro νόμισμα)
 285 εἴτα... τοιοῦτοι MW οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ABE | καὶ MWAE om. B 286 τὰ σκύλα MW om.
 ABE scr. mg. τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅπλα τε καὶ λοιπὰ πράγματα συνάγουσιν W | εὕρισκόμενα MW
 εὕρισκόμενα ὅπλα ABE 287 αὐτοὶ συνάγουσι MW συνάγωσι ABE | δεκάρχοις MWA
 δεκάρχαις BE 288 παρέχουσιν MW παρέχουσιν ABE | λαμβάνουσι MW λαμβάνωσι ABE
 293 σκυλεῦσαι MW ἐκδύσαι ABE 294 διαλύουσιν MW διαλύωσιν A διαλύωσι BE
 295-296 ἵνα... πίπτοντες MW om. ABE 296 οἱ¹ M om. W | πρέπον MW πρέπον δὲ ABE
 297 δεποτάτος MW διποτάτος ABE | δύο MWAE β' B 298 ἔστι MB ἔστιν WAE
 298-299 καὶ... ὀπισθοκουρβίῳ MWAE om. B 299 δύο MWAB β' E 299-300 ὁ...
 στρατιώτης Va ὃ τε τραυματιζόμενος στρατιώτης καὶ ὁ διποτάτος ABE om. MW

of the wounded soldiers. You will station eight or ten men to each bandon, from
 the same unit. They should be nimble, vigorous, and without weapons. Their
 task is to follow about a hundred feet to the rear of their own units to pick up
 and give aid to those seriously wounded in the clash of battle, as frequently
 happens, or who have fallen off their horses and are out of action, so that these
 truly noble soldiers may not be trampled underfoot by the second line or die
 through neglect of their wounds. The corpsmen who rescue them should receive
 one nomisma from Our Majesty's treasury as payment for each soldier rescued
 by them.

38. Then, when the enemy has been routed and the second line has passed
 by, these deputies should gather up the spoils found on the site of the first battle
 and, after the fighting has ceased, they should hand them over to the dekarchs,
 that is, the file leaders of their own units. They should then receive a share of it
 from the dekarchs in recompense for their work. We order that it is just and
 fitting to grant this perquisite to the file leaders for their success in combat,
 because, more than the rest, they must bear the brunt of fighting in the first
 onslaught. There is also another good reason: to prevent them from dismount-
 ing from their horses and breaking ranks in order to despoil the fallen enemy.

39. To make it easier for the corpsmen and the wounded soldiers who have
 fallen off their horses to get up onto the rescue horses, the corpsman must put
 both stirrups on the left side of the saddle, that is, one toward the pommel and
 the other toward the cantle. Then, when the two of them, the corpsman and the

300 τραυματιζόμενος στρατιώτης, ὁ μὲν διὰ τῆς σκάλας τῆς ἔμπροσθεν, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς
 ἑτέρας σκάλας ἀνέρχεται. ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστι τοὺς λεγομένους δεποτάτους εἰς
 φλασκία ὕδωρ βαστάζειν διὰ τοὺς πολλάκις λιποθυμοῦντας τραυματίας.

40. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης φλάμουλα τὰ κοντάρια μὴ ἐχέτωσαν. ὅσον
 γάρ εἰσιν εἰς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ κόμπον ἀναγκαῖα τὰ φλάμουλα, τοσοῦτόν εἰσιν ἐν
 305 ταῖς | μάχαις ἄχρηστα. ἐὰν γάρ τις βούληται εὐκαίρως ρίψαι ἢ ἀκοντίσαι ἢ
 τοξεύσαι, οὐ συγχωρεῖ τὸ φλάμουλον εὐστόχως εἰς ὀρθὸν ἢ εἰς μῆκος βάλλε-
 σθαι τὸ ριπτόμενον. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τοξείας καιρὸς γένηται, παρεμποδίζει τοῖς ὀπι-
 σθεν τοξεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐξελασίας καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς
 310 ταῦτα χρηματίζειν οὐ πρέπει.

41. Ἀλλὰ διὰ μὲν τὸν κόμπον τῆς παρατάξεως, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι μήκοθεν,
 ἔχειν μὲν τὰ φλάμουλα εἰς τὰ κοντάρια ἕως ἄν οἱ ἐχθροὶ φθάσωσιν ἀπὸ μιλίου
 ἑνός, ἀπὸ τότε δὲ ἵνα συστέλλωσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θηκαρίοις αὐτῶν ἀποτιθοῦ-
 σιν.

315 42. Πρὸς τούτοις κελεύομέν σοι, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ δυνατῶν ταγμά-
 των καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποδεεστέρων καθ' ἑκάστην
 τοῦρμαν σκουλκάτωρας ἤγουν βιγλεύοντας ἀφορίσης, δύο μὲν κατὰ τάγμα,
 ὀκτὼ δὲ ἡ δώδεκα κατὰ τοῦρμαν, ἀγρύπνους καὶ διεγυγερμένους καὶ γοργούς,
 οἵτινες καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτῶν μέρε-
 320 σιν εἰς οὓς καὶ τάσσονται τόπους ἀπὸ διαστημάτων σκουλκεύειν ὀφείλουσιν
 ἕως τῆς τελείας τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβάσεως, ἵνα μὴ ἀπὸ ἐγκρύμματος ἐπιδρομὴ ἢ
 δόλος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γενήσεται.

301 ἑτέρας σκάλας MW ὀπισθεν ABE | ἀνέρχεται MW ἀνέρχεται ABE | ἐστι MA ἐστιν W
 ἐστιν καὶ BE | δεποτάτους MW διποτάτους ABE 302 φλασκία MW ἀγγεῖα ABE |
 τραυματίας MW τῶν τραυματιζομένων στρατιωτῶν ABE 303 φλάμουλα ABE φλαμουλάτα
 MW 304 κόμπον MW φαντασίαν ABE scr. mg. ὅλον εἰς κομποφάνειαν W 305 ἐὰν MW
 ἐάν τε ABE | γάρ MABE om. W 306-307 βάλλεσθαι MW ρίπτεσθαι ABE 307 καιρὸς
 γένηται MWA trsp. BE 308 καὶ²...ἐπιστροφὰς MWA om. BE 309 ποιοῦσι MBE
 ποιοῦσιν WA 311 τὸν κόμπον MW τὴν φαντασίαν ABE | ὥστε...μήκοθεν MW om. ABE
 313-314 ἀποτιθοῦσιν MW ἀποτίθενται A ἀποτιθῶσιν BE 317 βιγλεύοντας MW
 βιγλάτωρας ABE 318 ὀκτὼ MWA ἡ' BE | δώδεκα MWA ἰβ' BE 320 εἰς οὓς MWA om.
 BE 321 τοῦ...ἐκβάσεως MW συμπληρώσεως τοῦ πολέμου ABE 321-322 ἐπιδρομὴ...
 δόλος MW ἢ δόλος ἢ ἐπιδρομὴ ABE 322 αὐτοῖς MWA τοῖς B τῶν E | γενήσεται MW
 γένηται ABE

wounded soldier are ready to mount the horse, the first gets on with the front
 stirrup and the second with the other stirrup. It is also essential for those
 assigned as corporsman to carry flasks of water for the wounded who may well be
 fainting.

40. The soldiers are not to carry pennons on their lances during combat.²
 Pennons are just as useless in combat as they are important in military demon-
 strations and displays. For if one should wish to throw properly or hurl or shoot,
 the pennon will not allow him to hurl his weapon accurately, directly, or for a
 distance. When the time comes for archery, the pennons interfere with the fire
 of the archers to the rear. And when it comes to charging, turning movements,
 and wheeling about, they are no small impediment and, for this reason, they
 ought not to be used in combat.

41. However, to present a fine appearance of the battle line from a distance,
 keep the pennons on the lances until the enemy are about a mile away and then
 furl them and put them back into their cases.

42. In addition to the above, we order you, O general, from among the
 strong and powerful units to assign spies, that is, scouts for each tagma, and
 from the weaker units for each tourma, two for the tagma and eight or twelve
 for the tourma. These men should be alert, wide awake, and vigorous. Both
 before and during the battle and until its final outcome, in their own locations
 and in the places in which they are stationed at intervals, their duty is to
 observe, so the army will not suffer an attack from ambush or some other trick
 of the enemy.

2. See also *Strat.* 7.B.16-17. S. Dufrenne, "Aux sources des gonfanons," *Byzantion* 43
 (1973): 51-60.

43. Καὶ τοὺς μινσοράτωρας δὲ τοσούτους εἶναι, τοὺς ὀφείλοντας προλαμ-
 325 τὸν στρατὸν ὀδηγεῖν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

44. Χρὴ δὲ τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα τὰ μὲν τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως μέρη παρα-
 σκευάζειν ὥστε πλησίον ἀλλήλων περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ διαστήματος
 ἤτοι διαλείμματος τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μέρους εἰς μέρος, ἀλλὰ ὅσον μὴ συν-
 τρίβεσθαι ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν μηδὲ διακεκριμένα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων φαίνεσθαι.

330 45. Τοὺς δὲ πλαγιοφύλακας μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ἐγγίξειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐγγὺς εἶναι,
 ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἐγγίσωσιν, ὡς ἀπὸ σαγιττοβόλου τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους παρεκβαίνειν
 καὶ μὴ πλέον, ἐὰν μάλιστα ὑπερέχη εἰς μήκος ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξις. ὁμοίως
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκεραστὰς ἤγουν τοὺς κυκλοῦν τοὺς πολεμίους ὀφείλοντας
 τάξεις εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος.

335 46. Τὰ δὲ μέρη τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως κατὰ μὲν πλευρὰν ἀλλήλων | ἤτοι 327
 εἰς τὰ πλάγια ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σαγιττοβόλου τάξεις, κατὰ οὐρὰν δὲ ἤγουν κατόπισθεν
 τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως περιπατεῖν ὥστε, μέχρι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι μακρὰν ἀφε-
 στήκασιν, ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ καὶ πλέον μιλίου πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν, ὅσον δυνατόν
 ἐστίν, ἀφανῶς ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰς τὸ μὴ καθορᾶσθαι μήκοθεν ταύτην τοῖς πολεμί-
 340 οῖς καὶ μεθοδεύεσθαι ἢ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐγγίξωσιν
 καὶ λοιπὸν φαινομένης τῆς δευτέρας οὐ φθάσωσιν ἀρμόσασθαι, τότε ἐπιφαίν-
 εσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ ἕως τεσσάρων σαγιττοβόλων ἐγγίξειν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ κανονίζειν
 ἤγουν ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτήν. οὐδὲ γὰρ μήκοθεν πολὺ ὀφείλει εἶναι ἡ δευτέρα τῆς
 πρώτης ἐν καιρῷ τῆς συμβολῆς ἵνα μὴ ἀβοήθητον αὐτὴν καταλίπη, οὐδὲ πάλιν
 345 πολὺ ἐγγύς, ἵνα μὴ συμφύρηται τῇ πρώτῃ ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς, κονιορτοῦ μάλι-

43. There should be an appropriate number of surveyors who are assigned to
 go ahead and measure the camp sites, reconnoiter the roads and guide the army
 to the camp. That is enough said about these matters.

44. It is incumbent on Your Excellency to organize the divisions of the first
 battle line so that they march about close to one another and that the distance or
 interval between one meros and another is not great, but enough to keep them
 from crowding together while marching and not to have them appear separated
 from each other.

45. The flank guards should remain close in until the enemy moves nearer.
 As they approach, they should move out to the side about a bowshot from the
 left meros but no further, especially if the battle line of the enemy is longer. In
 like manner, form the outflankers, that is, those whose task it is to encircle the
 enemy, on the right side.

46. Line up the divisions of the second battle line about a bowshot from one
 another's side or flank, moving around to the rear or behind the first battle line.
 While the enemy are still a good distance away, they are to follow along a mile
 or more, depending on the terrain and, as much as possible without being
 noticed, so that the enemy may not observe them from a distance and change
 their tactics or their plans accordingly. But when the enemy gets close and the
 second line indeed becomes visible, they have no time to adapt their tactics.
 Then the second line should make itself seen and move up closely, four
 bowshots from the first, and observe it and so regulate its moves. During battle,
 the second line ought not to be so far from the first that it leaves it without
 support, nor, on the other hand, so close that it gets mixed up with the first in

323 μινσοράτωρας MW μινσουράτωρας ABE 325 στρατὸν MW στρατηγὸν ABE
 327 καὶ AE om. MWB 328 διαλείμματος MW om. ABE | αὐτῶν MW αὐτῶν διαχώρισμα
 ABE | μέρος MW μέρος μὴ ἔστω πολὺ ABE | ἀλλὰ MW ἀλλ' ABE 329 διακεκριμένα MW
 διακεχωρισμένα ABE 330 μέχρι...εἶναι MW ἕως οὐ πλησιάσωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐγγυς
 περιπατεῖν ABE 331 παρεκβαίνειν MW παρεκβάλλειν αὐτοὺς εἰς πλάγιον ABE
 333 ἤγουν...ὀφείλοντας MW om. ABE 334 μέρος MW μέρος ἤγουν τοὺς ὀφείλοντας
 κυκλῶσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ABE 335 κατὰ MW κατ' ABE 336 εἰς...πλάγια MW ἐκ
 πλαγίου ABE | κατόπισθεν MW ὀπισθεν ABE 337-338 ἀφεστήκασιν MW εἰσιν ABE
 338 ἢ...μιλίου MW μιλίου ἢ (om. BE) καὶ πλέον ABE 339 μήκοθεν ταύτην MW trsp.
 ABE 339-340 τοῖς πολεμίους MW ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ABE 340 ἐγγίξωσιν MW ἐγγίξωσι
 A ἐγγίσωσι BE 341 φθάσωσιν MW συμφθάζουσιν A συμφθάσωσιν BE 341-342 τότε
 ἐπιφαίνεσθαι MWA ἢ ἀντιστρατηγήσαι πρὸς BE 343 ἐπισκοπεῖν MW ἐπιβλέπειν ABE |
 αὐτὴν MW αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην περιπατεῖν ABE | δευτέρα MW δευτέρα παράταξις ABE
 344 ἐν MW ἐν τῷ ABE

στα κινουμένου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διαλυθῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους καταδιώκοντας τὴν πρώτην εὐρεθῇ.

47. Τὰ δὲ τάγματα τὰ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς δευτέρας ἐκατέρωθεν τασσό-
μενα ἤγουν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σαγιττοβόλου αὐτῶν εἰς
350 νώτου φυλακὴν ταγῆναι καὶ οὕτως ἀκολουθεῖν.

48. Τὰ δὲ βάνδα ἤγουν τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν χρὴ καθ' ἐκάστην τοῦρμαν, τὰ μὲν
τῶν ταγμάτων μικρότερα εἶναι καὶ ἐλαφρά, τὰ δὲ τῶν μοιραρχῶν ἤτοι τῶν
δρουγγαρίων μεγαλότερα καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένα· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν τουρμαρχῶν
ἐξηλλαγμένα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταττομένων δρουγγαρίων. τὸ δὲ ὑποστρα-
355 τήγου βάνδον διαφορὰν ἔχειν παρὰ τὰ τῶν τουρμαρχῶν βάνδα, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ
τὸ τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότητος ἐνηλλαγμένον ὀφείλει εἶναι καὶ διαφανὲς παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα
πάντα καὶ πᾶσιν εὐγνωστον ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐν δευτέρᾳ τύχῃ, πρὸς αὐτὸ βλέποντας
εὐκόλως, ὡς εἴρηται, συνάγεσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας
καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας.

360 49. Πάντων δὲ τῶν βάνδων ἰσομετώπων ἐν τάξει ἰσταμένων δέον ἐκ τῶν
περὶ αὐτὰ τασσομένων στρατιωτῶν τοὺς γενναιοτέρους, κἂν πεντεκαίδεκα ἢ
καὶ εἴκοσι ἄνδρας, ἀφορίσαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν φυλακῇ καὶ διεκδικήσει.

50. Τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας τοὺς μείζονας ἀσφαλῶς δεῖ τάσσεσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ
προπετευομένους ἐν ταῖς μάχαις διαπίπτειν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς στρατιώταις
365 ὀλιγωρίαν ἐγγίνεσθαι. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν μικροτέρων ἀρχόντων, εἰ συμβῇ παρα-
πσεῖν τινα, οὐδενὶ εὐκόλως γινώσκεται ἀλλ' ἢ τοῖς τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος μόνοις,

346 κινουμένου MW ἐγειρομένου AE ἐγχειρουμένου B | καταδιώκοντας MW
ἐπακολουθοῦσα ABE 346-347 τὴν πρώτην MW τῇ πρώτῃ ABE 348 τὰ² MWA om. BE |
δευτέρας MW δευτέρας παρατάξεως ABE 349 ἐντεῦθεν MW ἐνθεν ABE
349-350 αὐτῶν...ταγῆναι MW ταγῆναι αὐτὰ εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν ABE
353 ἐξηλλαγμένα MW παρηλλαγμένα ABE | τὰ MWA om. BE 354 ἐξηλλαγμένα MW
ἐνηλλαγμένα ABE | πρὸς MW παρὰ ABE | ταττομένων MW τεταγμένων ABE | δὲ MW δὲ
τοῦ ABE 355 τῶν...βάνδα MW trsp. ABE 356 ἐνηλλαγμένον MWAB ἐνηλλαγμένου E
| διαφανὲς MW ἐμφανέστερον ABE 357 πᾶσιν εὐγνωστον MW πᾶσιν εὐδιάγνωστον A
εὐδιάγνωστον πᾶσιν B εὐδιάγνωστα πᾶσιν E | ἐφ' ᾧ MW ὥστε ABE 358 ὡς MWA om. BE
361 κἂν ABE καὶ MW | πεντεκαίδεκα MW δεκαπέντε A ιε' BE 362 εἴκοσι MWA κ' BE
363 ἄρχοντας...μείζονας MW trsp. ABE 364 διαπίπτειν MW κινδυνεύειν ABE scr. mg.
φονεύεσθαι W | ἐντεῦθεν MWA ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν BE 364-365 τοῖς...ὀλιγωρίαν
(ὀλιγωρίας BE) MWBE ὀλιγωρίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις A 365 ἐγγίνεσθαι ABE ἐγγίνεσθαι
MW | εἰ MW εἰς ABE 365-366 παραπεσεῖν τινα MW τινὰ κινδυνεύσαι ABE
366 οὐδενὶ WABE οὐδὲν M | γινώσκεται MW ἐπιγινώσκεται ABE

the fighting, especially when dust is being kicked up and before the enemy has broken ranks in pursuit of the first line.

47. The units stationed behind the wings on both sides of the second line, that is, here and there, should be drawn up about a bowshot behind to guard the rear and should follow at the same distance.

48. Each tourma must have its flags or standards.³ Those of the tagmata should be fairly small and light, while those of the moirarchs or the droungarioi should be larger and of a different design. In like manner, those of the tourmarchs should differ from those of the droungarioi under their command. The flag of the lieutenant general should differ from the flags of the tourmarchs. Finally, that of Your Excellency should be clearly distinctive, more conspicuous than all the others, and well known to all, so that in case of adverse fortune both officers and soldiers may easily see it, as said, and rally and regroup themselves.

49. When all the flags have been set up along the length of the line, you must detail fifteen or even twenty men from among the most courageous soldiers in formation around them to guard and defend each flag.

50. Superior officers should be stationed in safe places so they do not dash forward in battle and fall. This greatly weakens the soldiers' resolve. If one of the subordinate officers should happen to fall, it will not easily become known except only to the men of his own unit. But if one of the more prominent officers

3. Cf. Const. 6, n. 6.

εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἐμφανῶν διαπέση ἢ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς δηλούμενος ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ὀλιγωρίαν τῷ ὅλῳ στρατῷ εἰσάγει.

51. Διὸ πρέπον ἐστίν, ὃ στρατηγέ, τὸν ὑποστράτηγον καὶ τοὺς τουρμάρχας
370 μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου σαγιττοβόλου τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως
ἰσομετώπους τάσσεσθαι μετὰ τῶν βάνδων καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ ἀρμόζειν τὴν
τάξιν. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ μέλλῃ συμβολῇ γίνεσθαι, ἐκ τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς
γενναιότερους εἰς τὸ πλάγιον αὐτῶν παρατάσσεσθαι καὶ προέρχεσθαι εἰς ὅψιν
αὐτῶν καὶ σκέπειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκείνους μᾶλλον χεῖρας μιγνύειν.

375 52. Τὴν δὲ σὴν ἐνδοξότητα κελεύομεν, μέχρι μὲν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς συμβολῆς
γένηται, τάσσειν καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ ἀρμόζεσθαι τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κινήσει, τότε δὲ
ἐν τῷ ἰδικῷ σου ἔρχεσθαι τάγματι, ὅπερ οὐ πρὸς μάχην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σκοπὸν τινα
καὶ κανόνα τῆς πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας τάξεως τέτακται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ
χωρίῳ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως.

380 53. Πολλὰ δὲ βούκινα λαλεῖν ἢ κινεῖν ἐν καιρῷ μάχης, ὡς ἐπιβλαβὲς ὄν, οὐ
συμβουλευόμεν ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τούτου θόρυβός τις καὶ σύγχυσις γένηται· καὶ γὰρ διὰ
τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα καλῶς ἐξακούεσθαι δύναται. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὁ
τόπος ὁμαλὸς εὐρεθῇ, ἀρκεῖ τὸ βούκινον τοῦ μέσου μέρους ἐκατέρα παρατάξει,
εἰ δὲ ἀνώμαλός ἐστιν ἢ ἄνεμος, ὡς πολλάκις, ταραχώδης κινεῖται ἢ ἦχος ὕδατος
385 παρεμποδίζει τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ καθαρῶς διακούεσθαι, οὐκ ἄτοπον τότε καὶ ἐν τοῖς
λοιποῖς μέρεσιν ἐν βούκινον ἐν ἐκάστῳ μέρει λαλεῖν, ὥστε τρία λαλεῖν βούκινα
ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ παρατάξει. ὅσον γὰρ ἡσυχία φυλάττεται, τοσοῦτον καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι
ἀτάραχοι καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἄπτурτα γίνονται καὶ ἡ τάξις φοβερωτέρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
φαίνεται καὶ τὰ μανδὰτα εὐκόλως γινώσκονται.

367 διαπέση MW κινδυνεύσει ABE 368 ὀλιγωρίαν MW ὀλιγωρίαν καὶ ἀθυμίαν ABE |
εἰσάγει MW ἐμποιεῖ ABE 370 τῶν MWAE τῶν τῶν B | παρατάξεως MW παρατάξεως
οὔσης ABE 372 τάξιν MW παράταξιν ABE | γίνεσθαι MWA γενέσθαι BE | ἰδικῶν MW
ιδίων ABE 373 γενναιότερους MW ισχυροτέρους ABE | αὐτῶν MWAE om. B
374 αὐτοὺς ABE om. MW 375-376 μέχρι...κινήσει MW πρὸ τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου
τάσσειν (στάσιν B) καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κίνησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀρμόζεσθαι
ἡνίκα δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ πολέμου γένηται ABE 377 ἔρχεσθαι τάγματι MW trsp.
ABE (τάγματα) | σκοπὸν MWAE σκοπὴν B 380 λαλεῖν MWA λέγειν BE | ἢ κινεῖν MW
om. ABE 380-381 ὡς...συμβουλευόμεν MW οὐ συμβουλευόμεν ἐπιβλαβὲς γὰρ ABE
381 καὶ!...γένηται MW γένηται καὶ σύγχυσις ABE 382 καλῶς ἐξακούεσθαι MWAB trsp.
E | δύναται MW δύνανται ABE 383 ἐκατέρα παρατάξει MW ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς παρατάξεσιν
ABE 384 ἐστὶν MW ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ABE | ὡς πολλάκις MW om. ABE 385 παρεμποδίζει
MW παρεμποδίζει AB κίνηται E | διακούεσθαι MW ἐξακούεσθαι ABE | τότε MWAB τε E
388 ἄπτурτα MW ἄσкулτα ABE | γίνονται ABE γίνεται MW 389 μανδὰτα MW
παραγγέλματα ABE

should fall, his death becomes known to all or most of the troops and causes the whole army to lose heart.

51. Therefore, O general, the lieutenant general and the tourmarchs must take their stand on the same line as the flags, there to supervise and regulate the formation until the army is one or two bowshots from the enemy's battle line. When the fighting is just about to begin, the most courageous of our own men are drawn up to the sides <of the flag guards> and should move forward in front of them as a screen and then engage in hand-to-hand combat.

52. We order Your Excellency, up to the moment of the charge, to organize the formation, supervise, and adapt to the movements of the enemy. Then you should join your own tagma that is drawn up, not for battle, but as a sort of landmark and guide for the first and second lines, that is, in the center of the second line.

53. We do not approve of many trumpets being sounded or blown in time of battle, for it is harmful and leads to some disturbance and confusion. It also makes it impossible to hear the commands properly. If the ground is level, one trumpet in the middle meros of each battle line is enough. If the ground is uneven or a violent wind is blowing, as frequently happens, or the noise of water makes it difficult to hear a voice clearly, then it is not a bad idea to have one trumpet sound in each of the other divisions, which means that three trumpets will sound in the whole battle line. The better silence is observed, the less disturbed will the younger men be and the less excited the horses; the line will appear more fearsome to the enemy, and the commands will be more easily understood.

390 54. Διὸ οὐδὲ τὴν οἰανοῦν φωνὴν ἀκαίρως δεῖ ἀκούεσθαι μετὰ τὸ κινεῖσθαι τὴν παράταξιν ἐπὶ πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ ἅμα τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ φορσάτου ἤγουν τοῦ ἀπλίκτου τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην παντοίαν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀκαίρως φθέγγεσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὸν στρατὸν ἀτάραχον φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων βάνδα μετὰ προσοχῆς ἀποσκοπεῖσθαι ποιεῖ.

395 55. Τὸ δὲ μέτρον καὶ τὴν ποιότητα τῆς συμβολῆς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα δοκιμάζει καὶ ἡ σφίγις ἢ πρέπουσα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσία· καὶ κινουῦντα μὲν πρὸς τὴν συμπλοκὴν τὴν συνήθη Χριστιανοῖς νικητήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ φωνὴν ἀνακράζειν δεῖ. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθῃ ὁ στρατός, τότε ἀλαλάζειν ἢ ὠρυᾶσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ὀπισθεν τασσομένους, πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ διανά-
400 στασιν τῶν ἰδίων οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἐστίν.

56. Ἀρμόδιον δὲ ἡμῖν καταφαίνεται ἐν τῷ τῆς συμπλοκῆς καιρῷ καὶ τὸ τῶν λεγομένων καντατῶρων ἔργον. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὸν στρατὸν διὰ λόγων παροτρύνοντες καὶ συμβουλευόντες καὶ κατεπάδοντες καὶ παρακαλοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· καὶ ἵνα, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ τῶν
405 ἀρχόντων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον ποιεῖται. ἐπιλέγονται δὲ τοιοῦτους λογίους ἀνδρας οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ δυνατοὺς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλεῖν τῷ στρατῷ. ἡ γὰρ κοινωνία τοῦ καμάτου καὶ τῶν πόνων εὐπειθεστέρους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοῖς παρακολουθοῦσι συστρατιώταις.

57. Λέγειν δὲ τοὺς καντάτωρας πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν προτρεπτικά τινα πρὸς
410 τὸν πόλεμον τοιαῦτα· πρῶτον μὲν ἀναμνησκοντας τῶν μισθῶν τῆς εἰς Θεὸν πίστεως καὶ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέων εὐεργεσίας καὶ τινων ἐπιτυχῶν προγεγεννημένων. καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ

397-398 ὁ σταυρὸς νικᾷ. *vincit crux.*

390 δεῖ MWA om. BE | ἀκούεσθαι MWA διακούεσθαι BE | κινεῖσθαι MW κινήσαι ABE
391 ἀλλὰ MW ἀλλ' ABE | τοῦ¹ MW τῷ AE τὸ B | τοῦ²... ἤγουν MW om. ABE 392 μηδὲν MWA μηδένα BE 394 ἀποσκοπεῖσθαι MW ἀποβλέπεσθαι ABE 395 τὴν ποιότητα MW τὸν τρόπον ABE 397 χριστιανοῖς ABE om. MW 397-398 ἀνακράζειν MWA ἀναγκάζειν BE 398 ὠρυᾶσθαι Va ὀρυᾶσθαι MW ὠρύεσθαι ABE 399-400 διανάστασιν Va ἀνάστασιν MW διέγερσιν ABE 400 ἰδίων MWAB οἰκείων E 402 λεγομένων MW om. ABE | καντατῶρων MW στρατοκηρύκων ABE 403 καὶ κατεπάδοντες MW om. ABE 404 εἰ MWAE εἰς B 405 ποιεῖται Va ποιοῦνται MW ποιῶνται ABE | λογίους MW περίλογον A περί λόγον BE 407-408 παρακολουθοῦσι MWE παρακολουθοῦσιν B παρακαλοῦσι A (corr. ex παρακολουθοῦσι) 409 δὲ MWBE δὲ καὶ A | καντάτωρας MW στρατοκῆρυκας ABE | τινα MW τινα καὶ διεγείροντα ABE 410-411 τῶν... πίστεως MW τῆς εἰς Θεὸν πίστεως τὸν μισθὸν ABE 411 βασιλέων MW βασιλέως ABE | ἐπιτυχῶν MW εὐτυχῶν ABE | προγεγεννημένων MWAE προσγεγεννημένων B 412 καὶ¹ MWAB om. E | ἐστὶ MWAB ἐστίν E

54. For these reasons, no improper sound of any kind should be heard after the battle line has started to move toward combat.⁴ But as the army marches out of the entrenchments, or the camp, to combat, it should keep absolute silence and not utter a word out of order. Not only does this keep the army undisturbed but it also enables the flags of the officers to be observed more attentively.

55. The action itself, the necessary closing up of ranks, and the presence of the enemy dictates the measure and the quality of the charge. As it moves into battle <the men> must loudly shout the victory cry of the cross, customary among Christians.⁵ But when the army closes with the enemy, it is not a bad idea for <them> to shout war cries and cheer, especially those in the rear ranks, to unnerve the enemy and encourage our own troops.

56. The function of the so-called heralds in time of battle impresses us as useful. They are the ones who address <the troops> urging them on, exhorting them, stirring them by song, and encouraging them for the struggle. If possible, this task should be performed by the soldiers or the officers themselves. The officers should select men who are eloquent and able to address the army with fitting words. By sharing the toil and the labors, they make their hearers more ready to obey their fellow soldiers who accompany them.

57. The heralds should speak to the army in words exhorting them on to battle. First they should call to mind the reward for their faith in God and the benefactions of the emperor, and some of their previous victories. The struggle is on behalf of God and his love for them and on behalf of the entire nation. It is,

4. See Dennis, "The Byzantines in Battle."

5. Stavros nika (the cross is victorious). On beginning their advance the soldiers were to shout: *Nobiscum Deus* (God is with us): *Strat.* 2.18. Cf. also Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, 3.5.

ἔθνους. πλέον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ὁμοπίστων, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναι-
κῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ὅτι αἰωνία μένει ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἀριστευόντων
415 κατὰ πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἐχθρῶν ὁ τοσοῦτος ἀγὼν καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ἔχομεν φίλον τὸν ἔχοντα
ἐξουσίαν τῆς ῥοπῆς τοῦ πολέμου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐναντίον αὐτὸν ἔχουσι διὰ τῆς εἰς
αὐτὸν ἀπιστίας καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον τούτοις ὅμοιον ἐπινοοῦντας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
προτρεπτικὴν νοουθεσίαν. πολλὰ γὰρ ἰσχύει τοιοῦτος λόγος εὐκαίρως γινόμενος
420 διεγείρει ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ χρημάτων πλῆθος.

58. Ἐτι δέ σοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ παραλείψω, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δυνατόν ἐστι καταστοχά-
σασθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους τῆς ποσότητος τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατοῦ ὡς ἐπιπολὺ διὰ
τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν βάνδων, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι λογίζομεθα δύο ὅμοια βάνδα καθ’
ἕκαστον τάγμα, ἓν μὲν τὸ αὐθεντικόν, τὸ ὀφείλον ἐπ’ ὀνόματι εἶναι τοῦ κόμη-
425 τος, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ κεντάρχου καὶ ἀμφοτέρη τὰ βάνδα βαστάζεσθαι μέχρι τῆς
ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου. κατ’ αὐτὴν δὲ | τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς συμβολῆς τὰ αὐθεντικά
καὶ μόνα βάνδα ὑψοῦσθαι, ὥστε μὴ πολλῶν βάνδων ὑψομένων φύρειν ἅπαντα
ἢ καὶ ἀνεπίγνωστα γενέσθαι τοῖς ἰδίους αὐτῶν στρατιώταις. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ
δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ πολὺν τὸν στρατὸν φαίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ
430 ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου τὰ αὐθεντικά, ὡς εὐεπίγνωστα, φαίνεσθαι.

59. Πρὸ δέ τινων ἡμερῶν τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς συμβολῆς, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ προ-
γυμνασίαν δεῖ γενέσθαι τῶν τε παραγγελμάτων καὶ τῶν μερικῶν κινήσεων, δεῖ
τοὺς ἐκάστης τούρμας ἄρχοντας μετακαλέσασθαι καὶ διαλαλῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς
τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους τὰ ἀρμόδια, οἷον ὅτι· “οὐ μάτην αἱ γυμνασίαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν
435 παρὰ τε τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν νέων στρατηγῶν ἐξετέθησαν καὶ αἱ κατὰ τέχνην
παρατάξεις καὶ αἱ ἐπ’ εὐθείας καὶ κατὰ κύκλους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχήματα κινήσεις.

431–582 *Strat.*, 3.11–16.

413 τῶν¹ W om. MABE 416 τὸν¹...ἔχομεν MW trsp. ABE 417 ῥοπῆς...πολέμου MW
trsp. ABE 417–418 τῆς²...ἀπιστίας MW τὴν -- ἀπιστίαν ABE 418 τούτοις ὅμοιον MW
trsp. ABE 419 γινόμενος MWA λεγόμενος BE 420 πλῆθος MWA om. BE
421–422 ἔτι...καταστοχάσασθαι MW ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυνατόν ἐστι (ἐστίν A) διὰ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν
βάνδων στοχάσασθαι ABE 422–423 ὡς...βάνδων MW om. ABE 423 δύο MWA β’ BE
424 τάγμα MW τάγμα εἶναι ABE | αὐθεντικόν MW κύριον ABE 426 αὐθεντικά MW
κύρια ABE 427 καὶ MWA om. BE | βάνδα MWAE βάνδα τοῦ πολέμου B 428 ἢ MW
om. ABE | γενέσθαι MW γίνεσθαι ABE 430 αὐθεντικά MW κύρια ABE | εὐεπίγνωστα
MWAB ἐπίγνωστα E 431 πρὸ MWAE πρὸς B | τινων ἡμερῶν MW trsp. ABE
432 γενέσθαι MWA γίνεσθαι BE 433 μετακαλέσασθαι MW προσκαλέσασθαι ABE
433–434 καὶ...ἀρμόδια MW τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους καὶ διαλαλῆσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ
ἀρμόζοντα ABE 435 παλαιῶν...νέων MW νέων καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ABE 436 καὶ²...
κινήσεις MW κινήσεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχήματα ABE

furthermore, on behalf of their brothers and fellow believers and, if it applies, for their wives and children and their fatherland. Eternal indeed remains the memory of those who have valiantly striven against the foe on behalf of the freedom of their brothers, and who have struggled so bravely against the enemies of God. We indeed hold God as our friend who bears the power of balance in war. The foe are the very opposite because of their lack of faith in him. If the heralds think of anything else along these lines, they should make use of it in their exhortations and admonitions. Such words uttered at the right time are very powerful in arousing spirits, more than a large amount of money.

58. Still <addressing> you, I will not omit this. Since it is generally possible for the enemy to estimate the numbers in our army by the number of standards, we consider it necessary for each unit to have two standards, both very similar. One is the authentic standard which ought to be in the name of the count and the other that of the kentarch. Both standards should be carried aloft until the day of battle, but on that day the authentic standard alone should be raised. Flying a large number of standards leads to confusion and they may not be recognized by their own soldiers. In this way, then, it is possible for the army to appear large from the number of standards and on the day of battle to fly the authentic one only and it will be easily recognized.

59. Some days before the day of battle, especially when preparatory drilling in the commands and the maneuvers of divisions is scheduled, the officers of each tourma should be called together and should address appropriate words to the men of their own divisions, along the following lines.⁶ It was not in vain that the generals, both ancient and modern, regulated the drills and the skillfully arranged battle lines, as well as maneuvers that are direct, those that are circular,

6. Sections 59–80 derive from *Strat.* 3.11–16.

εἰ γὰρ ἄγρια ζῶα διωκόμενα, οἷον ἔλαφοι καὶ λαγωοὶ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν εὐτελῶν ζῶων ἐν τοῖς κυνηγίοις οὐ πάντως ἔξωθεν ἔξω καὶ ἐπ' εὐθείας τὴν φυγὴν ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἀποβλέποντα πρὸς τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων
 440 αὐτοῖς οὕτως καὶ τὰς ὑποχωρήσεις ποιοῦνται, πόσω δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν συνέσει ὄντας καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀγωνιζομένους προσεχόντως καὶ τὰς διώξεις καὶ τὰς ὑποχωρήσεις ποιείσθαι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ἐκχέεσθαι μικρᾶς, ὡς εἰκός, τινὸς ὠθήσεως ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γινομένης ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπαγομένης, καὶ ἀμέτρως
 445 οὕτως ἐλαυνομένους κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπομένειν, ὥστε ἐξ οἰουδήποτε τρόπου σπουδάζειν νικᾶν τὸν ἐχθρόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρὸς ὀλίγον διώξαι τὸν ἐναντίον καὶ ἀφεῖναι τελεία νίκη ἐστίν, οὐδὲ τὸ πρὸς μικρὸν ὑποχωρῆσαι καὶ πάλιν ἀντιστραφεῖναι ἥττα, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ πολέμου ἐκάτερα δεικνύται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ δεῖ ἀγωνίζεσθαι." ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια τῷ στρατῷ
 450 διαλαλεῖν χρεωστοῦσιν οἱ ἐκάστου μέρους τουρμάρχει καὶ ἰδίως τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατιώταις.

60. Σὺ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἰδιάζουσαν τῶν τουρμαρχῶν καὶ γυμνασίαν καὶ διαλαλῶν, ὡς στρατηγέ, τάξεις εἰς τὸ ἅπαξ ἢ καὶ τὸ πολὺ δεύτερον τὴν ὅλην παράταξιν καὶ ὁμοίως καταστήσεις αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ δι' ἔργων ἐτοίμους εἶναι καὶ
 455 ἐμπείρους πάντοτε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας.

61. Παραγγείλης δὲ τοῖς τῆς πρώτης ἤτοι τῆς προμάχου τάξεως ἄρχουσιν ὥστε τῷ | μέσῳ πείθεσθαι μέρει, ἔνθα τὸν ὑποστράτηγόν σου συμβαίνει τάσ-
 460 σεσθαι ἤτοι τὸν λεγόμενον νῦν τοῦ θέματος μεράρχην καὶ ἰσοῦσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν συμβολὴν ποιείσθαι. καὶ ταύτης γενομένης, ἐὰν τραπῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, τοὺς μὲν κούρσωρας σὺν ἑλασίᾳ ὁρμᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπιδιώξιν ἕως αὐτοῦ τοῦ φοσσάτου αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ διφένσωρας ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐν τάξει καὶ μὴ ἀπομένειν ἵνα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀντιστρεφομένων, ἐὰν μὴ δυνήθωσιν βαστάσαι οἱ

437 ζῶα A ζῶων MWBE 439-440 ἀλλ'...ποιοῦνται MWA om. BE 439-440 ἐπιτιθεμένων αὐτοῖς MW ἐπιδιωκόντων αὐτὰ A om. BE 440 οὕτως MW οὕτω A om. BE | δεῖ μᾶλλον MW trsp. ABE 443 ἔμπροσθεν MW ἔμπροσθεν μόνον ABE | ἐπὶ³... ὀπίσω MW ὀπισθεν ABE | ὡς... τινὸς MW τινὸς ὡς εἰκός ABE 445 ἐξ οἰουδήποτε MABE ἐξοιδήποτε W 448 ἀλλὰ MWAE ἀλλ' B | πέρατος MW τέλους ABE 449 καὶ² MWA καὶ τὰ BE 450 χρεωστοῦσιν MW ὀφείλουσι τῷ στρατῷ ABE | τοῖς ἰδίοις MWA γυμνάσαι καὶ διαλαλῆσαι BE 452-453 μετὰ...παράταξιν MW ὡς στρατήγε μετὰ τοὺς τουρμάρχας ἰδίως γυμνάσαι καὶ διαλαλῆσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τάξεις (τάξιν B) τὴν ὅλην παράταξιν ἅπαξ ἢ τὸ πολὺ δεύτερον ABE 456 παραγγείλης MA παραγγείλεις WE παραγγείλας B | ἤτοι... προμάχου MW om. ABE | τάξεως MWA παρατάξεως BE 457 πείθεσθαι μέρει MW trsp. ABE | ἔνθα MWA ὥστε BE 458 τοῦ MWAE om. B 459 γενομένης MW γινομένης ABE | ἐὰν MWA ἂν BE 462 δυνήθωσιν MWE δυνήθωσι AB

and those that take other forms. For if wild animals, such as deer, rabbits, and other small animals, when pursued during the hunt, do not utterly abandon themselves to headlong flight, but look back to see the vigor and speed of their attackers and regulate their own running away accordingly, how much more should men possessing intelligence and struggling in the greatest of causes be very attentive to how they conduct their pursuits and their withdrawals in battle. They should not be like water which flows now forward, now backward. With every little advance of the enemy or of their own forces, as likely, they should not charge out without control and endanger themselves, but they ought to be steadfast in everything and strive in every conceivable way to defeat the enemy. To pursue the enemy a short distance and let them go is not a decisive victory. Neither is it a defeat to fall back a little and turn back against them. But it is after the conclusion of the war that both can be determined, and it is toward that goal that one must continue to struggle. The tourmarchs of each division have the obligation of conveying these and similar instructions to the army and individually to their own soldiers.

60. After dealing individually with the tourmarchs and after their drilling and giving instructions, you, O general, will draw up the entire battle line once or at the most twice and, in like manner, you will get them ever ready and always experienced, both by word and deed, for the struggles of battle.

61. Give orders to the officers of the first or promachos line to conform <to the movements of> the center meros, where your lieutenant general, who is now referred to as the merarch of the theme, is usually stationed. They should keep abreast of it and launch their charge at the same time. If the enemy are driven back by the charge, then the assault troops should quickly chase after them, pursuing them right up to the enemy camp. The defenders are to follow in formation and without stopping. Then in case the enemy wheels about and the

κούρσωρες, ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον εἰς τοὺς διφένσωρας καταφεύγοντες πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακαλέσονται. ἐὰν μέντοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ συμβολῇ συμβῇ ἢ ἐν μέρος ἢ τὰ ὅλα
 465 τραπήναι, ὑποχωρεῖν τοὺς κούρσωρας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν ἐπὶ ἐν ἢ
 δεύτερον σαγιττόβολον καὶ πάλιν ἀντιστρέφειν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, τῶν
 συνήθων καὶ ἀρμοδιῶν φωνῶν ἥτοι παραγγελμάτων λεγομένων.

62. Καί, εἰ μὲν δυνηθῶσιν εἰς φυγὴν τρέψαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, διώκειν κατ'
 αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ τοῖ γε ὑποχωρεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἀντιστρέφειν. εἰ δὲ ἅπαξ ἢ δεύτερον
 470 ἐγχειροῦντες μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν ἀντρωθῆσαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, τότε τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως
 ἐπιφθανούσης καταφεύγειν πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ διὰ τῶν εὐκαίρων αὐτῆς χωρίων
 παρέρχεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διαστήματι κατὰ οὐρανὴν τῆς δευτέρας καὶ τρίτης
 ἐξελισσομένης ἅμα τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει δρουγγιστὶ ἤγουν ὁμοῦ ἐσφιγμένως τοῖς
 ἐχθροῖς ἐπέρχεσθαι καί, ἐὰν τραπῶσιν, ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁξέως.

63. Παραγγείλῃς δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλαγιοφύλαξιν ὥστε, ἐὰν μὲν μακρότερον
 εὐρεθῇ τὸ ἀντὶς κέρας, σπουδάζειν ἐπὶ κέρας, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ σκουτάρην, κλίνον-
 τας συνεκτείνεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατακύκλωσις τῷ μέρει γένηται, εἰ
 δὲ κοντότερον εὐρεθῇ τὸ ἀντὶς κέρας, σπουδάζειν μηνοειδῶς ἤγουν κατὰ
 ἡμικύκλιον ἐπικλίνεσθαι καὶ ἐμπεριλαμβάνειν αὐτὸ ἔσωθεν, πρὶν ἢ τὸ μέρος
 480 φθάσῃ συμβαλεῖν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅτ' ἂν μέλλῃ ἢ φωνὴ τῆς συμβολῆς γίνεσθαι τῆς
 μάχης, εἰ δὲ ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντὶς, μένειν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ τάξει ὡς διφένσωρας καὶ
 συμβάλλειν μετὰ τοῦ μέρους.

64. Παραγγείλῃς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπερκερασταῖς ὅτι, μέχρις οὗ γένωνται οἱ
 ἐχθροὶ ὡς ἀπὸ δύο σαγιττοβόλων ἢ τριῶν τῆς παρατάξεως, λεληθότως χρῆ
 485 παρακολουθεῖν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τοῦ μὲν ἐνὸς τάγματος ἐπὶ μέτωπον ἤγουν
 ἔμπροσθεν ἔχοντος τοὺς δεκάρχας ἢ πεντάρχας—ἀρκοῦσι γὰρ ἀπὸ πέντε
 μόνων τὸ βάθος | ἐὰν εἰσι χρήσιμοι—τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου τάγματος δρουγγιστὶ ἤγουν
 πυκνῶς καὶ ὁμοῦ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθοῦντος.

464 συμβῇ MWA om. BE 465 δευτέραν MW δύο A β' BE 466 σαγιττόβολον MW
 σαγιττόβολα ABE 468-469 κατ' αὐτῶν MW αὐτοὺς ABE 469 ἐπεὶ...γε MW εἰ δὲ μὴ
 ABE 470 ἰσχύσωσιν MWBE ἰσχύουσιν A 471 εὐκαίρων...χωρίων MW ταύτης
 διαχωρισμάτων ABE 472 οὐρανὴν MW οὐρανὴν ἤγουν ὀπισθεν ABE | καὶ τρίτης MW
 παρατάξεως ABE 473 ἐξελισσομένης MW ἐξελισσομένους ABE | δρουγγιστὶ...ὁμοῦ MW
 ὁμοῦ καὶ ABE 476 ἀντὶς MW τῶν ἐναντίων ABE | σκουτάρην MW σκουτάρην ABE
 476-477 κλίνοντας MWAB κλίνονται E 478 ἀντὶς MW τῶν ἐναντίων ABE
 478-479 ἤγουν...ἡμικύκλιον MW ἥτοι σιγματοειδῶς ABE 481 ἐστὶ E ἐστὶν MWAB |
 ἀντὶς MW τῶν ἐναντίων ABE | ἰδίᾳ τάξει MWAB διατάξει E 483 γένωνται ABE γίνονται
 MW 484 δύο MWA β' BE | λεληθότως χρῆ MW κρυφὰ καὶ λεληθότως ABE
 486 ἔχοντος ABE ἔχοντας MW | πέντε MWAE π' B(sic) 487 εἰσι MWA ὥσι BE
 488 πυκνῶς ABE πυκνοὺς MW | ἀκολουθοῦντος Va ἀκολουθοῦντας MW ἀκολουθεῖν ABE

assault troops cannot handle the fighting at close quarters, they can take refuge
 among the defenders and rally themselves again. If it should happen that in the
 battle itself one meros, or all of them, are driven back, the assault troops should
 withdraw a bowshot or two, as though heading for the second line, and again
 turn around to face the enemy. The usual, appropriate words or commands are
 shouted out.

62. If they are able to turn the enemy into flight, they should pursue them,
 then withdraw and wheel about again. If after one or two attempts they do not
 succeed in pushing the enemy back, the second line should move up and the
 first seek refuge in it, passing through the clear spaces in it, and in the area
 between the rear of the second line and the third line it should reform and,
 together with the second line, attack the enemy in irregular formation, that is,
 all tightly packed together. If they turn, pursue them sharply.

63. You should give these orders to the flank guards. If the opposite flank is
 longer, make every effort, inclining to the flank, that is, the shield, to extend our
 flank <in line with> theirs to prevent its encirclement of the meros. But if the
 opposite flank is shorter, make every effort to advance in crescent formation,
 that is, in a semicircle, and envelop it on the inside before the meros is there to
 attack, that is, just before the signal for the battle charge is given. But if the
 opposite line is the same length, they should remain in their own position as
 defenders and join the meros in the charge.

64. You should give these orders to the outflankers. Until the enemy
 advances to two or three bowshots from our battle line, they are to follow the
 right wing closely, but under cover. One tagma should have its dekarchs and
 pentarchs posted forward in the front rank, for a depth of only five is enough if
 the men are suitable. The other tagma follows along behind the first in irregular
 order, that is, thickly together.

65. Τὰ δὲ βάνδα ἤγουν τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν μὴ ὀρθὰς κρατεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐπικε-
 490 κλιμένας ἕως καιρὸς γένηται χρεῖας τοῦ φαίνεσθαι αὐτά, εἰς τὸ μὴ προφανό-
 μενα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιγινώσκεισθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς
 κρατοῦντας αὐτά.

66. Καὶ ἐὰν μακρότερον τὸ ἀντὶς κέρας εὐρεθῇ, πρότερον ἐπὶ κέρας κλίνε-
 σθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ κοντάριν, καὶ ὀλίγον τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν
 495 ἐμβραδύνοντος παρεκτείνειν μέχρις οὗ καὶ ἡμισυ σαγιττοβόλου διὰ τὸ ὑπερ-
 βάλλαι τὸ ἀντὶς κέρας· εἴθ' οὕτως ἐκνεύοντας κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κυκλοῦντας παραγ-
 γέλλειν τὸ “ἔξελθε” καὶ εὐθέως ἐπιπέμψαι κατὰ τοῦ νώτου αὐτῶν τὸν λανθά-
 νοντα δροῦγγον ἄφνω κατὰ ἐλασίας ὀξείας.

67. Τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὴ ἐπιδιώκειν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ εὐθέως
 500 κατὰ τοῦ νώτου τῶν ἱσταμένων ἔρχεσθαι ἅμα τῷ ἑτέρῳ τάγματι· εἰ δὲ κοντότε-
 ρόν ἐστιν, εὐθέως ἐξέρχεσθαι καὶ μηνοειδῶς ἐμπεριλαμβάνειν αὐτό· εἰ δὲ ἴσον
 ἐστίν, ὀλίγον παρεκτείνειν καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ἀντὶς, εἴτα οὕτως, ὡς εἴρηται,
 ὁρμᾶν κατ' αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν, ὅτ' ἂν παρεκτείνωνται οἱ ὑπερκερασταὶ, βουλη-
 θῶσιν καὶ οἱ ἀντὶς ὁμοίως παρεκτείνεσθαι, δεῖ καὶ εὐθέως κατ' αὐτῶν ὁρμᾶν, ἐν
 505 ὅσῳ ἀκατάστατοι εὐρίσκονται. ἀνάγκη γὰρ στρεφομένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κέρας καὶ
 τὰ δεξιὰ αὐτῶν γυμνὰ ἔχειν καὶ τὴν σφίγξιν διαλελυμένην.

68. Ταύτας δὲ τὰς κυκλώσεις μὴ μόνον δέον τοὺς ὑπερκεραστὰς κανονίζειν
 ἤγουν τοὺς τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους προμάχους εἰς τὸ μὴ πολὺ ἐμβραδύνειν, μηδὲ
 πάλιν πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ μέρους ἄρχοντα, εἴτε τουρμάρχη

489 ἀλλὰ MW ἀλλ' ABE 489-490 ἐπικεκλιμένας MWAB ἐπικεκλισμένας E
 490 φαίνεσθαι MWAB φραίνεσθαι E 493 ἀντὶς MW τῶν ἐναντίων ABE 494 κοντάριν
 MW κοντάριον ABE 495 μέχρις οὗ Strat. μέχρι codd. | ἡμισυ MWA ἡμίσεως BE
 495-496 ὑπερβάλλαι MW περιβαλεῖν ABE 496 ἀντὶς MW ἐξεναντίας ABE 497 κατὰ...
 νώτου MW ὀπίσω ABE 498 κατὰ MW μετὰ ABE 499 ἐπιδιώκειν MWA διώκειν BE
 499-500 ἀλλὰ... ἔρχεσθαι MW ἀλλ' ἱσταμένους ὀπίσω πολεμεῖν ABE 500 τῶν ἱσταμένων
 Va ἱσταμένους codd. 501 ἐστιν MW ἐστιν (ἐστι BE) τὸ ἐξεναντίας κέρας ABE | μηνοειδῶς
 MW σιγματοειδῶς ABE | ἐμπεριλαμβάνειν Va ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι MW περιλαμβάνειν ABE |
 αὐτό ABE αὐτοῦ MW 501-502 εἰ... ἀντὶς MWA om. BE 502 τὸ ἀντὶς MW αὐτὸ A om.
 BE 503 ἐὰν... ἂν MW ὅτ' ἂν μὲν οὖν ABE 503-504 βουληθῶσιν... παρεκτείνεσθαι
 MWA om. BE 503-504 βουληθῶσιν MW ἐὰν βουληθῶσι A om. BE 504 ἀντὶς MW
 ἐνάντιοι A om. BE | καὶ² MW om. ABE 505 ὅσω MWAB ὅσα E 506 σφίγξιν MW σὴν
 τάξιν A σύνταξιν BE | διαλελυμένην MW διαλελυμένην καὶ μὴ συνεσφιγμένην ABE
 507 μὴ... δέον MW χρή μὴ μόνον ABE 508 ἤγουν... προμάχους MW om. ABE
 509 πάλιν MWAE om. B

65. The standards, that is, their heads, should not be held straight up but
 inclined down until the time is right to display them. Otherwise they may be
 recognized by the enemy, who may then take action against the flag bearers.

66. If the opposite flank is longer, first incline to the flank, that is, the lance,
 while the right meros slackens its pace a bit, extending itself to about half a
 bowshot in order to outflank the opposing wing. While they are turning to the
 side and encircling it, give the command: “Head out.” Immediately the con-
 cealed droungos should suddenly charge out from behind with great force and
 speed.

67. If the enemy are turned back in flight we should not pursue them, but
 straightaway link up with the other tagma and attack the rear of the remaining
 units. If <the enemy line> is shorter, move out immediately and in crescent
 formation envelop it. If <the lines> are of the same length, extend the ranks a
 little to outflank the opposing wing. Then, as instructed, charge against it. If,
 therefore, while the outflankers are extending their ranks, our opponents want
 to extend theirs in like manner, then you must immediately charge against them
 while they are still moving about. As they turn by the flank, they will necessarily
 have to expose their right, and their tight formation will be broken up.

68. Not only must the outflankers, that is, those in the promachos line of the
 right meros, regulate these encircling movements so that they are not too far
 behind or, on the other hand, too much ahead; rather, the commander of the

510 ἐστὶν εἴτε ἕτερός τις, ὥστε ἐγχειρούντων τῶν ὑπερκεραστῶν καὶ ἀρχομένων τῶν ἀντίς θορυβεῖσθαι, τότε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ὅλον μέρος ἐπάγειν.

69. Λόγος δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι γίνεσθαι ὀφείλει τοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ δυνατόν αὐτῷ, ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ἀντίς μέρος, ἐπεὶ τοῖ γε οὐ, κἂν ἰσοῦσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐὰν καὶ μακροτέρα εὗρεθῇ τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ παράταξις, ὥστε ἐντεῦθεν ἀρμοδίως δύνασθαι
515 τοὺς ὑπερκεραστὰς τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν.

70. Γίνωσκε δέ, ὅτι οἱ ὑπερκερασταὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰσιν ἀναγκαῖοι, καθὼ καὶ ἐν γυμνοῖς τόποις τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς ποιεῖν ἀσφαλεστέως δύνανται.

71. Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει παραγγείλῃς, | ὥστε τὸν μέσον τόπον ἐν
520 ᾧ συμβαίνει τάσσεσθαι τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα, πείθεσθαι σοὶ καὶ κανονίζειν ἡγουν στοχάζεσθαι, ὥστε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπὸ τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων σαγιτοβόλων τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως εὗρεθῇ αὐτὴν ἵνα, ἐὰν τραπῶσιν οἱ ἔχθροί, ὡς διφένσωρ αὐτὴ ἡγουν ἐκδικητὴς καὶ βοηθὸς ἐν τάξει ἐπακολουθῇ καὶ μὴ ἀπομείνῃ. εἰ δὲ τραπῇ τι τῶν τῆς πρώτης τάξεως ταγμάτων, ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸ βαρούμενον καὶ ἐρχόμενον μέρος εἰς καταφυγὴν καὶ ἅμα τοῖς τῆς πρώτης
525 τάξεως ἐπέρχεσθαι συντεταγμένως καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι μέχρι τελείας ἐκβάσεως τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φοσσάτον ὑποστροφῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀφιέναι οὕτως συντεταγμένως φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπιδιώκειν ἀτάκτως τοὺς ἐχθρούς.

72. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφίβολος ἡ μάχη τῆς πρώτης τάξεως φαίνεται καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀντιδιώξεις γίνονται, χρὴ ἀναμένειν καὶ θεωρεῖν τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἔκβασιν
530 καὶ ἐπιβάλλειν δεύτερον ἢ τρίτον φωνὰς βρυγμῶδεις πρὸς τε διανάστασιν τῶν μαχομένων καὶ κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, μὴ σπουδάζειν δὲ προχείρως συμμίγνυσθαι ἢ ἐγγίζειν πολὺ τῇ πρώτῃ παρατάξει ἵνα μὴ τις φύρσις καὶ ἀλλόκοτος τροπὴ ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τῆς μάχης παρακολουθήσῃ. εἰ δέ, ὡς πολλάκις συμβαίνει,

510-511 ἀρχομένων...ἀντίς MW τῶν ἐναντίων ἀρχομένων ABE 511 αὐτὸν Va αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοὺς ABE | τὸ...ἐπάγειν MW μετὰ τοῦ ὅλου μέρους ἐπιτίθεσθαι ABE 512 λόγος MW φροντίς ABE | γίνεσθαι ὀφείλει MW ἔστω ABE | τοῦ Va ἵνα MW om. ABE | δυνατόν MWA δυνατόν ἐστὶν BE | αὐτῷ MW om. ABE 513 τὸ ἀντίς MW τῶν ἐναντίων AB τῶν ἐναντίων MWAE om. B 516 καθὼ MW ὅτι ABE 517 ἀσφαλεστέως MWA ἀσφαλέστερον BE 520 τριῶν...τεσσάρων MWA γ' ἢ δ' BE 521 αὐτὴν Va αὐτὴ codd. 523 ἀπομείνῃ MW ἀπομένη ABE | τι τῶν MWA τὸ BE | ταγμάτων MWA τάγμα BE | ὑποδέχεσθαι MWA ὑποδέχεσθω BE 524 μέρος MW om. ABE | ἅμα MW ἅμα δὲ ABE 525 ἐκβάσεως MW συμπληρώσεως ABE 526 ἀφιέναι οὕτως MW om. ABE 530 βρυγμῶδεις MW καὶ ὠρύεσθαι ABE 532-533 ἀλλόκοτος τροπὴ MW τροπὴ παράλογος ABE

meros, whether a tourmarch or of some other rank, should bring the entire meros into action at the same time that the outflankers make their attack and the enemy are beginning to get confused.

69. That officer ought to be instructed to outflank the opposing meros if he can do so, but if he cannot, he should extend his line to the same length. If the enemy's battle line is longer, he should enable the outflankers to go about their task properly.

70. Note that the outflankers are essential for the reason that they can launch attacks with impunity, even in open country.

71. In like manner give these orders to the second line. It is to obey you and conform, that is, adjust, its movements to the center division in which Your Excellency normally takes your stand. At the moment of engagement it should be three or four bowshots from the first battle line in order that, if the enemy turns back, it should follow along as a support line without any delay and in formation as defenders or ekdikoi. If one of the units of the first line turns back, the second line should receive the division that is under pressure and heading into flight. Together with the soldiers of the first line, the second should advance in good order and not break up until the final outcome of the battle and its return to camp. They must always maintain their formation and not become disordered in pursuing the enemy.

72. If the battle seems to be in doubt as far as the first line is concerned, and there are pursuits and counter-pursuits, then it is necessary to wait and see how things turn out. Let out two or three rousing cheers to encourage our fighters and to frighten the enemy. Be careful not to get into action prematurely or to get too close to the first line, which could result in confusion and a stupid defeat in the heat of battle. But if, as often happens, the second line also turns back, it

καὶ ἡ δευτέρα παράταξις τραπῇ μέχρι τῶν νωτοφυλάκων ἡγουν τῆς τρίτης
535 τάξεως ἐρχομένη, σπουδάζειν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι αὐτήν.

73. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐνέδρας τινὸς διὰ νότου ἡγουν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν ἔφοδος μηνυθῇ
καὶ ἐπέλευσις ἐχθρῶν, ἐὰν μὲν ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ μηνυόμενοι καὶ ἀρκοῦσιν οἱ τῆς
τρίτης τάξεως, τότε αὐτὴν κατ' ἐκείνων ἐκπέμπειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀρκοῦσιν, τότε,
καθὼς ἔστιν ἡ τάξις, ἀντιστρεφομένων τῶν προσώπων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ
540 βάνδου μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος εἰς οὐρανὸν ἡγουν ὀπίσω ἐρχομένου, ὡς ἀμφίστομος ἡ
τάξις τὴν συμβολὴν ἀρμοδίως ποιεῖται, καὶ τρεπομένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τότε τοὺς
νωτοφυλάκας, εἴτε ἓν εἴτε δύο βάνδα εὐρεθῶσιν, ὡς κούρσωρας κατ' αὐτῶν
ἐπαφιέναι.

74. Ἐὰν δὲ πολλοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ μηνυόμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον ποιεῖν, τότε παραγγέλλει
545 τὸ “μετάλλαξον” καὶ ἔρχονται οἱ δεκάρχαι ἐπὶ οὐρανὸν ἡγουν στρέφονται ὀπισθεν
κατὰ τάγμα ὥστε ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος τῆς | οὐρᾶς μέτωπον γίνεσθαι.

75. Καὶ ταύτας μὲν τὰς παραγγελίας ποιήσεις πρὸ ὀλίγου καιροῦ τῆς μάχης
καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων, ἵνα γινώσκωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἀρμόζοντα. ὁ γὰρ τῶν
ἀγώνων καιρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα διδάσκειν τοὺς μήπω τούτων πείραν λαβόντας οὐκ
550 ἐπιτρέπει, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετ' ὀξύτητος τὰ σύντομα παραγγέλματα μόνα.

76. Πάλιν δέ, ἐὰν πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου παραγγελίης, εἰς λήθην γίνεται τὰ
λεχθέντα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ σε πρὸ μικροῦ καιροῦ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἀναμνήσεις
ποιεῖσθαι. παραγγελίης δὲ καὶ καθόλου πᾶσιν ὥστε μηδένα θαρρῆσαι τὴν
δευτέραν τάξιν παρελθεῖν κἄν, ὡς εἰκός, τροπὴ τις τῇ πρώτῃ τάξει γένηται, ἵνα
555 μὴ πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν κινδυνεύσῃ, εἴτε παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴτε καὶ παρὰ τῶν ιδίων,
ὡς ἄξιος <θανάτου>, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ὡς εἴρηται, τοσαύτη ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη
παρακολουθήσῃ.

535 ἐρχομένη ABE ἐρχομένην MW | σπουδάζειν MW σπουδάζειν προσήκει ABE | αὐτήν
MWBE αὐτήν A 536 ἐνέδρας MW ἐγκρύμματος ABE | διὰ...ἡγουν MW om. ABE | ἀπὸ²
MW ἀπὸ τῶν ABE 536-537 μηνυθῇ...ἐχθρῶν MW καὶ ἐπέλευσις ἐχθρῶν μηνυθῇ ABE
537 ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE | ἀρκοῦσιν WAB ἀρκοῦσι ME 540 ἀμφίστομος Va ἀμφιστόμου codd.
541 τότε MWA τοῦ τε BE 542 δύο MWA β' BE 544 ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 545 δεκάρχαι
MWA δεκάρχαι καὶ οἱ BE 546 γίνεσθαι MWBE γενέσθαι A 547 καιροῦ...μάχης MWAE
om. B 548 καὶ...ἀγώνων MW ἀγώνων B om. AE 549 καιρὸς MW καιρὸς οὐ συγχωρεῖ
ABE | τὰ τοιαῦτα MW ταῦτα ABE | τούτων πείραν MW πείραν τούτων A πείραν τούτου BE
549-550 οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει MW om. ABE 550 μόνα MWBE μόνον A 552 μικροῦ MW
ὀλίγου ABE 554 τάξει MW παρατάξει ABE 555 πρὸς MW εἰς ABE | ζωὴν MW ζωὴν
αὐτοῦ ABE | καὶ MWA om. BE 556 θανάτου ci. De om. codd.

should go as far as the rear guard, that is, the third line, and set about recovering
itself.

73. What if you are informed of an enemy attack or assault from some
ambush to the rear, that is, from behind? If it is only a small detachment that
you have been warned about, then the troops of the third line can deal with it,
so send them out against it. But if they cannot deal with it, then <the second>
line stays as it is while the individuals turn around. In like manner, the
commanding officer with the standard moves to the rear, that is, behind, so the
line is facing both ways and easily makes its attack. As the enemy are turned
back, then the rear guard, whether one or two banda, should attack them in
open order.

74. If the enemy force making the attack is reported to be numerous, give
the command: “Countermarch.” In each tagma the dekarchs march to the rear,
that is, they turn backwards, and that section of the rear becomes the front.

75. You will give these commands a short time before the struggles of battle
so that the soldiers may know their duties. The actual moment of combat does
not permit those who have not yet had experience of these matters to learn
them, except perhaps only those commands which are given rapidly and con-
cisely.

76. Moreover, if you give the commands a long time before <combat>, what
you have said will be forgotten. For this reason, you must recall them to mind a
short time before actual combat. Issue a standing order to all the troops that
nobody should dare to pass beyond the second line even if, as might happen, the
first line should be routed, so that they do not put their lives at risk, whether at
the hands of the enemy or of their own men, as deserving <of death>, except, as
noted, when they encounter a pressing and unavoidable necessity.

77. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνέδρας δέον κατὰ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 συμβάλλειν, χρή τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ἡγουν ἔγκρυμμα τασσομένους παραγγελ-
 560 θῆναι ὥστε πρὸ πάντων βίγλας προπέμπειν ἵνα μὴ ἀπάντημα, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν ἀθρόως ὑπομείνωσιν ἢ ἐνέδραν ἐκ πλαγίου ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ νώτου ἡγουν ἀπὸ
 ὀπισθεν τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως.

78. Πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ εἰς δύο τάσσονται τάξεις καί, ἐὰν μὴ προσ-
 εχόντως γίνωνται αἱ κατὰ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν παρατάξεως δι' ἔγκρυμμάτων
 565 ἐπελεύσεις, ἐνεδρεύονται μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἐὰν οὖν οἱ
 ἐχθροὶ ὁμοίως εἰς δύο τάξεις τάσσωνται, οὐκ ἐστὶ πρέπον τῷ νώτῳ ἡγουν τῷ
 ὀπισθίῳ μέρει τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν τάξεως ἐφεδρεύειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἄκρῳ αὐτῆς
 ἡγουν τῷ κέρατι, εἴτε ἐξ ἐνὸς μέρους ἢ ἑφοδος γίνεται εἴτε ἐκ τῶν δύο, ὡς
 εἴρηται.

79. Τὸν δὲ καιρὸν τῆς κατ' αὐτῆς ἐγχειρήσεως κανονίζειν σε χρή καὶ στοχάζ-
 εσθαι, ὥστε μήτε προλαμβάνειν πολὺ τῆς ἡμετέρας παρατάξεως μήτε ὑστερεῖν,
 ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ὡς ἀπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν σαγιττοβόλων αἱ παρατάξεις ἀλλήλων γένων-
 ται, τότε ἐγχειρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ἡγουν τὴν ἐνέδραν
 ἀπερχομένους. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα οὐκ ἐπὶ γυμνασίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
 575 αὐτῶν παραλαμβάνονται.

80. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν <οὐ μόνον> τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα καὶ παραγγέλλειν καὶ
 παρασκευάζειν κελεύομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τουρμάρχῃ προστάξει ἢ καὶ ἐγγρά-
 φως | ἀποδοῦναι, ἅπερ καὶ σοὶ προειρήκαμεν, ἵνα γινώσκῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἰδίου
 μέρους τὴν κατάστασιν. ὥστε ἕκαστον τουρμάρχῃν τὸ τρίτον ποσὸν τοῦ ὑπ'
 580 αὐτὸν ὅλου στρατοῦ ποιῆσαι κούρσωρας ἡγουν προκλάστας καὶ ἔνθεν καὶ
 ἐκείθεν τοῦ μέρους τάσσειν αὐτούς, τὸ δὲ δίμοιρον τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ,
 τάξει εἰς διφένσωρας ἡγουν ἐκδικοῦντας.

558 ἐπειδὴ MWA ἐπὶ δὲ B ἐπειδὴ δὲ E | ἐνέδρας δέον MW ἐγκρύμματος ABE |
 παρατάξεως... ἐχθρῶν MW τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως δέον ABE 559 τὴν... ἔγκρυμμα MW
 τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ABE 561 καὶ MWA om. BE | ἀπὸ!... ἡγουν MW om. ABE 563 δύο MWA
 β' BE 565 ὑπ' ἐκείνων ABE om. MW 566 ὁμοίως MW om. ABE | δύο MWA β' BE | οὐκ
 ἐστὶ MW οὐκέτι ABE | πρέπον MW πρέπον ἐστὶν A πρέπον ἐστὶ BE | τῷ!... ἡγουν MW om.
 ABE 567 πρώτης MW om. ABE | τάξεως MW παρατάξεως ABE | ἐφεδρεύειν MWE
 ἐνεδρεύειν AB 568 δύο MWA β' BE 570 χρή MW δεῖ ABE 572 δύο MWAB β' E
 573 ἡγουν... ἐνέδραν MWA om. BE 576 οὐ μόνον Va om. codd. 577 παρασκευάζειν
 ABE διασκευάζειν MW 578 ἀποδοῦναι MW ἐπιδοῦναι ABE 579 ποσὸν MW μέρος
 ABE 581 δὲ MWA τε BE | ἐν MW ἐν τῷ ABE 582 ἐκδικοῦντας MW ἐκδικητὰς ABE
 post ἐκδικοῦντας scr. tit. const. xiii, i.e. πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν διάταξις γ' M

77. Since it is necessary to lay ambushes against the enemy's battle line, you
 must issue orders to the men assigned to the ambush or hidden attack that,
 above all, they should send patrols ahead so that, as is likely, they will not
 encounter an enemy force unexpectedly and be subjected to an ambush from
 the flank or from the rear, that is, from the rear of the enemy's battle line.

78. Frequently the enemy draws up in two lines and, unless carefully done,
 our attacks from ambush against their first battle line may have a very opposite
 result as our forces are ambushed by theirs. Therefore, if the enemy should also
 make their formation in two lines, it is not right to launch a raid against their
 rear, that is, the rear section of their first line, but against a flank or a wing,
 whether, as noted, the attack takes place from one side or from two.

79. You must regulate, that is, estimate, the time of this attack against their
 line so that it does not occur too much in advance of our own battle line or too
 much after. But when the two lines are about two or three bowshots apart, then
 the detachments sent out on ambuscade, that is, ambush, should assault the
 enemy. All these things <are not taught> in training, but they are learned from
 actual practice.

80. We order Your Excellency not only to issue these commands that we
 have already given to you and to put them into practice, but you should also
 pass these orders on to each tourmarch or even hand them on in writing, so that
 he himself will know the situation of his own meros. Each tourmarch should
 designate one third of the entire army under his command as assault troops,
 that is, proklastai, and post them here and there about the meros; the other two
 thirds of the army, those in the center, should be formed as defenders, that is,
 ekdikoi.

77. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνέδρας δέον κατὰ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 συμβάλλειν, χρή τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ἡγουν ἔγκρυμμα τασσομένους παραγγελ-
 560 θῆναι ὥστε πρὸ πάντων βίγλας προπέμπειν ἵνα μὴ ἀπάντημα, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν ἀθρόως ὑπομείνωσιν ἢ ἐνέδραν ἐκ πλαγίου ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ νώτου ἡγουν ἀπὸ
 ὀπισθεν τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως.

78. Πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ εἰς δύο τάσσονται τάξεις καί, ἐὰν μὴ προσ-
 εχόντως γίνωνται αἱ κατὰ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν παρατάξεως δι' ἔγκρυμμάτων
 565 ἐπελεύσεις, ἐνεδρεύονται μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἐὰν οὖν οἱ
 ἐχθροὶ ὁμοίως εἰς δύο τάξεις τάσσωνται, οὐκ ἐστὶ πρέπον τῷ νώτῳ ἡγουν τῷ
 ὀπισθίῳ μέρει τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν τάξεως ἐφεδρεῦειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἄκρῳ αὐτῆς
 ἡγουν τῷ κέρατι, εἴτε ἐξ ἐνὸς μέρους ἢ ἐφοδος γίνεται εἴτε ἐκ τῶν δύο, ὡς
 εἴρηται.

79. Τὸν δὲ καιρὸν τῆς κατ' αὐτῆς ἐγχειρήσεως κανονίζειν σε χρή καὶ στοχάζ-
 εσθαι, ὥστε μήτε προλαμβάνειν πολὺ τῆς ἡμετέρας παρατάξεως μήτε ὑστερεῖν,
 ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ὡς ἀπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν σαγιττοβόλων αἱ παρατάξεις ἀλλήλων γένων-
 ται, τότε ἐγχειρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ἡγουν τὴν ἐνέδραν
 ἀπερχομένους. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα οὐκ ἐπὶ γυμνασίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
 575 αὐτῶν παραλαμβάνονται.

80. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν <οὐ μόνον> τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα καὶ παραγγέλλειν καὶ
 παρασκευάζειν κελεύομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τουρμάρχη προστάζει ἢ καὶ ἐγγρά-
 φως | ἀποδοῦναι, ἅπερ καὶ σοὶ προειρήκαμεν, ἵνα γινώσκῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἰδίου 331'
 μέρους τὴν κατάστασιν. ὥστε ἕκαστον τουρμάρχη τὸ τρίτον ποσὸν τοῦ ὑπ'
 580 αὐτὸν ὅλου στρατοῦ ποιῆσαι κούρσωρας ἡγουν προκλάστας καὶ ἔνθεν καὶ
 ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ μέρους τάσσειν αὐτούς, τὸ δὲ δίμοιρον τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ,
 τάξει εἰς διφένσωρας ἡγουν ἐκδικούντας.

558 ἐπειδὴ MWA ἐπὶ δὲ B ἐπειδὴ δὲ E | ἐνέδρας δέον MW ἐγκρύμματος ABE |
 παρατάξεως...ἐχθρῶν MW τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως δέον ABE 559 τὴν...ἐγκρυμμα MW
 τὸ ἐγκρυμμα ABE 561 καὶ MWA om. BE | ἀπὸ...ἡγουν MW om. ABE 563 δύο MWA
 β' BE 565 ὑπ' ἐκείνων ABE om. MW 566 ὁμοίως MW om. ABE | δύο MWA β' BE | οὐκ
 ἐστὶ MW οὐκέτι ABE | πρέπον MW πρέπον ἐστὶν A πρέπον ἐστὶ BE | τῷ...ἡγουν MW om.
 ABE 567 πρώτης MW om. ABE | τάξεως MW παρατάξεως ABE | ἐφεδρεῦειν MWE
 ἐνεδρεῦειν AB 568 δύο MWA β' BE 570 χρή MW δεῖ ABE 572 δύο MWAB β' E
 573 ἡγουν...ἐνέδραν MWA om. BE 576 οὐ μόνον Va om. codd. 577 παρασκευάζειν
 ABE διασκευάζειν MW 578 ἀποδοῦναι MW ἐπιδοῦναι ABE 579 ποσὸν MW μέρος
 ABE 581 δὲ MWA τε BE | ἐν MW ἐν τῷ ABE 582 ἐκδικούντας MW ἐκδικητὰς ABE
 post ἐκδικούντας scr. tit. const. xiii, i.e. πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν διάταξις ιγ' M

77. Since it is necessary to lay ambushes against the enemy's battle line, you
 must issue orders to the men assigned to the ambush or hidden attack that,
 above all, they should send patrols ahead so that, as is likely, they will not
 encounter an enemy force unexpectedly and be subjected to an ambush from
 the flank or from the rear, that is, from the rear of the enemy's battle line.

78. Frequently the enemy draws up in two lines and, unless carefully done,
 our attacks from ambush against their first battle line may have a very opposite
 result as our forces are ambushed by theirs. Therefore, if the enemy should also
 make their formation in two lines, it is not right to launch a raid against their
 rear, that is, the rear section of their first line, but against a flank or a wing,
 whether, as noted, the attack takes place from one side or from two.

79. You must regulate, that is, estimate, the time of this attack against their
 line so that it does not occur too much in advance of our own battle line or too
 much after. But when the two lines are about two or three bowshots apart, then
 the detachments sent out on ambuscade, that is, ambush, should assault the
 enemy. All these things <are not taught> in training, but they are learned from
 actual practice.

80. We order Your Excellency not only to issue these commands that we
 have already given to you and to put them into practice, but you should also
 pass these orders on to each tourmarch or even hand them on in writing, so that
 he himself will know the situation of his own meros. Each tourmarch should
 designate one third of the entire army under his command as assault troops,
 that is, proklastai, and post them here and there about the meros; the other two
 thirds of the army, those in the center, should be formed as defenders, that is,
 ekdikoi.

81. Περὶ τῶν ἐν κονταρίοις φλαμούλων.

Καὶ τὰ κοντάρια δὲ αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχειν φλάμουλα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου
585 συμβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπαίρωσι καὶ βάλλωσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τὰ θηκάρια αὐτῶν, ὅτ' ἂν
φθάωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς μιλίου. πρότερον δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τούτου ἔχειν αὐτὰ
πάντως εἰς τὰ κοντάρια.

82. Περὶ διαφορᾶς βάνδων.

Τὰ δὲ βάνδα τῶν ταγμάτων μικρότερα εἶναι ἥτοι τῶν κομήτων, τὰ δὲ τῶν
590 δρουγγαρίων τελειότερα καὶ ἄλλοῖα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ τουρμάρχου ἐνηλ-
λαγμένον πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα γίνεσθαι, ὥς μοι εἴρηται.

83. Περὶ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πολέμου.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου μετὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς τοῦ σταυ-
ροῦ νίκης ἀλαλάζειν δεῖ καὶ ὠρυᾶσθαι μάλιστα τοὺς ὀπισθεν καὶ προθυμοποιεῖν
595 καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν. καὶ τὸ μὴ λαλεῖν ἐν καιρῷ μάχης πολλὰ
βούκινα· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ τουρμάρχου μόνον.

84. <Περὶ στάσεως ἀρχόντων ἐν μάχῃ.>

Τὸν δὲ τουρμάρχη μόνον τοῦ μέσου τάσσεσθαι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τάξεως,
τοῦτ' ἔστι μέσον τῶν διφενσώρων, τοὺς δὲ δρουγγαρίους εἰς τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν
600 μέρη μέσον τῶν βάνδων τῶν κουρσώρων.

85. Περὶ τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν τοὺς τόπους πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τῆς παρατάξεως προερευνᾶν δεόν διὰ μανδατέρων τοὺς
τῆς συμβολῆς τόπους, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοὺς μέσον τῆς ἰδίας παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν
ἐχθρῶν, μήποτε λάκκοι εἰσὶν ἢ ὀρύγματα ἢ τέλματα, ἅπερ λέγεται πάλματα, ἢ
605 δόλοι τινές, ὥς εἰκός, παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μελετώμενοι καί, ἐάν τι τοιοῦτον εὑρε-
θῇ, ἀναμένειν τὴν ἡμετέραν τάξιν ἵνα οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοὺς παρέλθωσι, καὶ τότε ἢ | 332
ἡμετέρα παράταξις ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ κάμπῳ ἀπαντήσῃ.

86. Περὶ βάνδου τοῦ τουρμάρχου.

81. About the pennons on the lances.⁷

Their lances should not have pennons attached when the time comes for
actual fighting in battle. Rather they should be removed and put in their cases
when the enemy has come to about a mile away. Before that time they may
certainly carry them on their lances.

82. About the difference in standards.

The standards of the tagmata, that is, of the counts, should be rather small,
those of the droungarioi larger and of a different pattern and, in like manner,
that of the tourmarch should stand out among the others, as I have said.

83. About the moment of battle.

At the moment of contact in battle, after shouting the victory cry of the
cross, they should shout the war cry and cheer, especially those in the rear, to
encourage one another and the men in front of them. At the moment of combat
a number of trumpets should not be sounded; that of the tourmarch is enough
by itself.

84. About the post of the officers in battle.

The tourmarch should station himself in the middle of the meros of the line
under his command, that is, in the middle of the defenders, whereas the droun-
garioi should be in the middle of the meros on either side, among the banda of
assault troops.

85. About reconnoitering the area before the battle.

When the battle line is being formed, the heralds must reconnoiter the site
of the battle, that is, the ground between our own battle line and that of the
enemy, in case there are ponds, ditches, swamps, called palmata, or any traps
that the enemy may be likely to have planned. If any such are found, our line
should stay put, so the enemy may move past them, and then our battle line
should encounter them on unobstructed ground.

86. About the standard of the tourmarch.

583-690 *Strat.*, 7.B.16-17.

585 ἐπαίρωσι MAB ἐπαίρουνσι W ἐπαίρωσιν E | βάλλωσιν MWBE βάλλωσιν A
586 πρότερον MW πρὸ ABE 588 περὶ...βάνδων MWA om. BE 589 τὰ...τῶν¹ Va τῶν
δὲ codd. 590 ἄλλοῖα MWBE παρηλλαγμένα A | τοῦ AE om. MWB 591 ὥς MW καθὼς
ABE 594 ὠρυᾶσθαι Va ὀρυᾶσθαι MW ὠρύεσθαι ABE 595 ἔμπροσθεν Va ἔμπροσθεν
περὶ στάσεως ἀρχόντων ἐν μάχῃ codd. quod ad 597 trsp. De 596 βούκινα MW βούκινα
καλὸν ABE | τοῦ ABE om. MW 597 περὶ...μάχῃ De om. codd. 599 τοῦτ' ἔστι M τοῦτ'
ἔστιν WABE 603 τοῦτ' ἔστι M τοῦτ' ἔστιν WABE 604 τέλματα...λέγεται MW om. ABE
605 τινές MW τινες ἕτεροι ABE 606 τάξιν MW παράταξιν ABE | παρέλθωσι MA
παρέλθωσιν WBE 607 κάμπῳ MW τόπῳ ABE

7. Sections 81-105 derive from *Strat.* 7.B.16-17.

Τὸ δὲ βάνδον τοῦ τουρμάρχου, ὡς εἴρηται, μόνον ἐξηλλαγμένον τὸ εἶδος
 610 παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτὸν βάνδα ποιῆσαι ἵνα ἐστὶν εὐεπίγνωστον πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ'
 αὐτὸν βανδοφόροις.

87. Περί σημείων καὶ κινήσεως βάνδου.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ κινήσεώς τινος ξένης καὶ διαφόρου χωρίζεσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ ἐν τῷ
 ἴστασθαι ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω ἢ δεξιᾷ ἢ ἀριστερᾷ, ἢ συνεχῶς ἐπικλίνεσθαι ἢ ἐγείρειν
 615 τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ βάνδου ἢ πυκνῶς τινάσσειν αὐτὸ ὀρθὸν ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὴν
 σύγχυσιν εὐκόλως ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν βάνδων γνωρίζεσθαι.

88. Περί τοῦ διαφέρειν τὰ βάνδα τῶν τουρμαρχῶν ἀλλήλων.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ ὅλων τῶν τουρμαρχῶν τὰ βάνδα ἐν σημείον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ἐνηλλαγ-
 μένα σύμβολα ἐκάστην τουρμαν, ἅτινα καὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἐθίζειν τοὺς στρατιώτας
 620 <οἱ τουρμάρχαι> διὰ προγυμνασίας γνωρίζειν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τὰ ὑπὸ
 τὸν τουρμάρχην ἕκαστον βάνδα ὠφελοῦνται τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν συντόμως στηρί-
 ζοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς τεταγμένοι τὸ τοῦ τουρμάρχου βάνδον ἐπιγινώ-
 σκοντες δι' αὐτοῦ εὐκόλως καὶ τὰ ἴδια <οἱ>, ὡς εἰκός, πλανώμενοι εὐρίσκουσιν.

89. Περί τοῦ βλέπειν τὸν στρατιώτην τὸ βάνδον τοῦ ἄρχοντος.

Δεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐν ἐκάστη μάχῃ, ἐὰν καὶ τι συμβῇ τὸν στρατιώτην ὥστε ἀποχω-
 625 ρισθῆναι μακρὰν τοῦ βάνδου τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος, παντὶ τρόπῳ σπουδάζειν
 ἐνοῦσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἡ τάξις ἄφυρτος διαμένουσα τὴν σωτηρίαν σημαίνει τοῦ
 στρατοῦ.

90. Περί τοῦ διαχωρίζειν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους τῆς παρατάξεως.

Ἐὰν δὲ συμβῇ εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατῷ τινας ὁμοφύλους τῶν πολεμίων, δεόν πρὸ
 630 τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου χωρίζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις μετὰ εὐλόγου
 προφάσεως πέμπειν.

91. Περί τοῦ καὶ δρουγγαρίους καὶ κόμητας τὸν στρατὸν παρορμᾶν.

609 τοῦ MWBE om. A | ἐξηλλαγμένον MW παρηλλαγμένον ABE | τὸ εἶδος MW ἐχέτω τὴν
 χρόαν ABE 610 ποιῆσαι MW om. ABE | ἐστὶν MWA ἢ BE 612 καὶ MABE om. W |
 κινήσεως MWAE κινήσεων B | βάνδου MWA βάνδων BE 614 ἐγείρειν Va ἐγχειρεῖν codd.
 615 τινάσσειν MABE τινάσσειν αὐτὸ W 616 λοιπῶν MWAB om. E 617 διαφέρειν MW
 διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων ABE | ἀλλήλων MW om. ABE 618 ἀλλὰ MWA ἀλλ' BE 619 καὶ
 MWBE om. A 620 οἱ τουρμάρχαι Va om. codd. 621 τὸν... ἕκαστον MWBE ἕκαστον
 τουρμάρχην A 622-623 ἐπιγινώσκοντες MWA διαγινώσκοντες BE 623 δι' αὐτοῦ
 MWAE διὰ τοῦ B | οἱ Strat. om. codd. | εὐρίσκουσιν MB om. WAE 625 αἰεὶ... μάχῃ MWA
 ἐν ἐκάστη μάχῃ αἰεὶ BE | καὶ τι MWBE om. A | τὸν στρατιώτην MWA τῷ στρατιώτῃ BE |
 ὥστε MWBE om. A 630 εἶναι... στρατῷ MWA ἐν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι BE | πρὸ MWA περὶ BE
 632 πέμπειν ABE προπέμπειν MW 633 καὶ² MW καὶ τοὺς ABE | παρορμᾶν MABE om. W

The standard of the tourmarch, as noted, should be different in appearance
 from the other standards in his command, so as to be easily recognized by all
 the standard-bearers under him.

87. About signals and movement of the standard.

But it must be set apart by some unusual and distinctive motion, either by
 remaining in place or held high or low or to the right or the left, or by keeping
 the head of the standard lowered or raised on high or holding it upright and
 waving it frequently. In this way, even in the confusion, it will be easily recog-
 nized by the rest of the standards.

88. About the standards of the tourmarchs differing from one another.

The standards of all the tourmarchs must not have only one way of signaling
 but each tourma must have its own distinctive way of signaling. It is the duty of
 the tourmarchs to see that the soldiers become familiar with these signals and
 get to know them during preparatory training. By this means the standards
 identifying each tourmarch not only ought to enable them to locate their own
 meros quickly, but it also makes it easier for any likely stragglers, recognizing
 the standard of the meros to which they belong, to find their own unit.

89. About the soldier keeping the standard of the commanding officer in
 sight.

In every action it is always necessary that if something causes a soldier to be
 separated some distance from the standard of his own unit, he must take every
 step to join it again, so that the formation will remain free of confusion, <for
 this> may well signify the salvation of the army.

90. About keeping foreigners away from the battle line.

If it should happen that there are some men of the same race as the enemy in
 the army, they must be segregated the day before the battle and sent elsewhere
 on some plausible pretext.

91. About the droungarioi and the counts urging the army on.

Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τουρμάρχαις ταῦτα πράττειν προστάξεις. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάστῳ
 635 δρουγγαρίῳ καὶ κόμητι ἅμα αὐτοῖς παρακελεύου καὶ πρόστασσε, ὥστε ἐπιζητεῖν
 αὐτοὺς ἐκ παντὸς τὰ δέοντα ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν στρατὸν.

92. Περὶ τοῦ πάντως πρωῒ καὶ ἐσπέρας ψάλλειν τὸν στρατὸν τὸν τρισάγιον
 ὕμνον.

Χρεὸν γάρ, εἴτε ἐν φοσσάτῳ διάγει ἕκαστον τάγμα ἥτοι τὸ βάνδον εἴτε καὶ | 332'
 640 καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὅπουδῆποτε ἀπλικεύει, πρωῒας εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ὄρθρον πρὸ παντὸς
 πράγματος καὶ εἰς ἐσπέραν ὁμοίως μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὰς μίσσας τὸ τρισάγιον
 ψάλλεσθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν.

93. Περὶ καταστάσεως κοντουβερνίων.

Τὰ δὲ κοντουβέρνια ἥτοι τὰ οἷον μικρὰ βάνδα τῶν ἀκίων, καθὼς καὶ σοι
 645 αὐτῷ πρῶν ὠρίσαμεν, προστάζει ἀπὸ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν.

94. Περὶ ὀπλίσεως τῶν ἀκίων.

Τὸν δὲ πρῶτον καὶ δεῦτερον τῆς ἀκίας καὶ τὸν οὐραγὸν ἡγουν τὸν ὀπισθεν
 καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κονταράτους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον τοξότας καὶ
 τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ὡς ἡ χρεια ἀπαιτεῖ.

650 95. Ὅτι βλάπτει τὰ φλάμουλα ἐν συμβολῇ μάχης.

Τὰ δὲ φλάμουλα τῶν κονταρίων ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου μὴ ἀφίειν, ὡς
 εἴρηται, εἰς τὰ κοντάρια ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ὀπισθεν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι κοντάρια ἐμποδί-
 ζωσιν οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς βαλλομέναις παρὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν σαγίτταις.

96. Περὶ τῶν λεγομένων δεποτάτων.

655 Τοὺς δὲ λεγομένους δεποτάτους, καθὼς σοι καὶ ἔμπροσθεν διαταχάμεθα,
 οὓς εἰς θεραπείαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνασῶζειν τοὺς πληγάτους στρατιώτας ὠρίσαμεν,
 προστάξεις, ἵνα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τάγμα ἕξ ἢ ὀκτὼ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων
 ἀφορίσωσιν, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ <πολέμου> περιποιῶνται τοὺς τραυματιζομένους.

97. Περὶ βίγλας καὶ φυλακῆς βάνδου ἐν καιρῷ μάχης.

635 πρόστασσε MWA om. BE | ἐπιζητεῖν MWBE ἀναγκάζειν A 637 πάντως MWA om.
 BE | ψάλλειν MWA om. BE | τὸν στρατὸν MW om. ABE 638 ὕμνον MWA ὕμνον ἐκτελεῖν
 BE 639 χρεὸν MW χρη A χρεὼν BE | γάρ MW δὲ A γὰρ ἵνα BE | τὸ MWBE om. A
 640 ἀπλικεύει MW ἀπληκεύει A ἀπλικεύσει BE | ὄρθρον MWAB ὄρθρον E 641 μίσσας W
 μίνσας MABE | τὸ² MW τὸν ABE 642 ψάλλεσθαι MWA ψάλληται BE
 643 κοντουβερνίων ABE κοντουβερνίων MW 644 κοντουβέρνια ABE κοντουβέρνια MW
 | τὰ... ἀκίων (οἷον om BE) MWBE τὰς ἀκίας A 647 ἀκίας MWBE ἀκίας ἥτοι τοῦ λόχου A
 650 συμβολῇ μάχης MWA τῇ μάχῃ B μάχῃ E 651 ἀφίειν MW ἔχειν A ἀφιέναι BE
 652 ἔχουσι AE ἔχωσι MWB 653 σαγίτταις MW σαγίταις AE σαγίτας B 654 δεποτάτων
 MW διποτάτων ABE 655 δεποτάτους MWB διποτάτους AE 656 πληγάτους MW
 πληττομένους A πλησομένους BE 658 πολέμου ci. Va om. codd. 659 καιρῷ MW ὥρα
 ABE

You will command the tourmarchs to do these things. Together with them
 you will also command and give orders to each droungarios and count to strive
 in every way so the army may accomplish its objectives.

92. About having the army chant the Trisagion hymn every morning and
 evening.

Whether each tagma or bandon remains in the main camp or is camping
 someplace else by itself, early, at the crack of dawn before any other task, and
 likewise in the evening after supper and the dismissal, the Trisagion must be
 chanted and the rest of the customary practices observed.⁸

93. About organizing the squads.

You should order the squads, that is, like small banda of the files, as we have
 prescribed for you earlier, to be composed of both young and older men.

94. About the armament of the files.

The first and second man of the file and the file closer in the rear and the
 man in front of him should bear lances, while the third and fourth carry bows,
 and the men in the middle whatever is needed at the time.

95. That pennons are harmful in actual combat.

Lance pennons should not, as noted, be carried on the lances at the time of
 battle since they get in the way of those in the rear who also carry lances; not
 only that, but they interfere with the shooting of arrows by the archers.

96. About the so-called deputies.

The so-called deputies, as we prescribed for you earlier, are the men who
 have been designated by us to take care of and to rescue wounded soldiers. You
 shall give orders that among the less-qualified men in each tagma six or eight
 must be set apart to take care of the wounded during combat.

97. About scouts and guarding the standard during battle.

660 Δύο δὲ σκουλκάτωρας ἡγουν κατασκόπους ἢ βιγλάτωρας χρησίμους καὶ ἀγρῦπνους καὶ ἀνδρείους ἐπιλέγεσθαι καὶ δύο μανδάτωρας. ἀφορίζειν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἀκίας τασσομένων δύο ἄνδρας, χρησίμους εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ βάνδου ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου.

98. Περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου καντάτωρος.

665 Πάντως δὲ καὶ τὸν λεγόμενον καντάτωρα ἐπιλέγεσθαι ἐπιτήδειον καὶ λόγιον ἕνα στρατιώτην καὶ ἀφορίσαι, ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγῶσι περιτρέχοντα κατεπάδειν τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῦ τάγματος καὶ διεγείρειν εἰς προθυμίαν διὰ προτρεπτικῶν λόγων κατὰ τὸν τύπον, ὅνπερ σοι προδιωρισάμεθα.

99. Πότε χρὴ δύο βάνδα ἔχειν καὶ πότε ἕν;

670 Ποιείτωσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις τάγμασι καὶ διπλᾶ βάνδα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου | τὸ μὲν ἐν τὸν ἄρχοντα ἔχειν τοῦ τάγματος, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τὸν πρῶτον 333 ἑκατοντάρχη. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου μὴ τὰ δύο βαστάζεσθαι ἦτοι ὀρθοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχontos μόνον.

100. Τί δεῖ ἐπιφέρεισθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τροφήν ἐν καιρῷ μάχης;

675 Χρὴ οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου ἕκαστον στρατιώτην ἐν ταῖς σέλλαις αὐτῶν ἐπιφέρεισθαι ὕδωρ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα φλασκία καὶ παξαμάτην ἐν τῷ σελλοπουγγίῳ καὶ ἄλευρον μίαν ἢ καὶ δύο λίτρας, ὥστε ἔχειν ἐν ἀνάγκῃς καιρῷ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς εἰς εὐψυχίαν καὶ παραμυθίαν καὶ ἐτέροις, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ ὀλιγορίας ἀνάκτησιν.

680 101. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ σκυλεύειν τοὺς φονευομένους πρὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως τοῦ πολέμου.

Ἐν δὲ καιρῷ μάχης ἵνα γινώσκωσιν ὅτι οὐ δεῖ στρατιώτην πρὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως τοῦ πολέμου σκυλεύειν ἐχθρόν· καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλειν.

661 ἀφορίζειν ABE ἀφορίσωσι MW 662 ἀκίας MWAE ἀκόας B 664 καντάτωρος MW καντάτωρος ἡγουν στρατοκήρυκος ABE 665 καντάτωρα A καντάτορα MW κανδάτωρα BE 666 περιτρέχοντα ABE περιτρέχοντας MW 667 κατεπάδειν MW ἐπιλέγειν ABE | τοῖς στρατιώταις De τῷ στρατῷ codd. | τάγματος MW τάγματος τὰ προτρέποντα A τάγματος τὰ πρέποντα BE | διεγείρειν MWBE διεγείροντα A 667–668 διὰ...λόγων MW om. ABE 668 προδιωρισάμεθα MWA διορισάμεθα BE 669 ἔχειν ABE om. MW 670 δὲ MWBE δὲ καὶ A | τάγμασι MABE τάγμασιν W 672 ἑκατοντάρχη MWA ἑκατόνταρχον BE | δύο MWA β' BE 674 εἰς MW πρὸς AB πρὸ E 675 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ MWA τῷ καιρῷ BE 676 τὰ...φλασκία MW τὰς λεγομένας ἀσκοδαύλας (ἀσκοδάβλας BE) ABE | παξαμάτην MW παξαμάτιον ABE 677 δύο MWA β' BE 678–679 καὶ!...ἀνάκτησιν MW εἰς παραμυθίαν ἑαυτῶν καὶ (καὶ ἑαυτῶν BE) ἐτέρων ἀνάκτησιν τῶν ὡς εἰκός ὀλιγορούντων ABE 680 τοὺς φονευομένους ABE om. MW | ἐκβάσεως MW συμπληρώσεως ABE 682 ἐκβάσεως MW συμπληρώσεως ABE 683 τοῦτο MWAE τοῦ B | παραγγέλλειν MWA προπαραγγέλλεις BE

Select two scouts, that is, spies or watchmen, efficient, alert, and brave, and two heralds. And from the troops formed in files pick out two men to serve as guards for the standard in time of battle.

98. About the so-called cantor.

Be sure to select one soldier, competent and educated, for the position referred to as cantor. Assign him to move about quickly in the midst of the fighting to encourage the troops in the unit and to arouse them to enthusiasm by hortatory words according to the model that we have prescribed for you.

99. When is it necessary to have two standards and when just one?

In the large tagmata let two standards be prepared before the battle; one should be kept by the commander of the tagma, the other by the first hekaton-tarch. On the day of battle, however, do not carry or raise the two standards but only that of the commander.

100. What must the soldiers carry for nourishment in time of battle?

On the day of battle, then, each soldier must carry on his saddle, in his saddle bags, a flask, as it is called, of water and hardtack and one or two measures of barley meal.⁹ In an emergency, then, he can lift up his own spirits and offer comfort to himself and others who are likely to have become downcast.

101. About not plundering the dead before the conclusion of the battle.

They should know that before the end of the battle, while the fighting is still going on, the soldier must not plunder the enemy. Repeat this order to the men frequently.

9. Cf. Const. 6, n. 14.

102. Ποῦ δεῖ τὸν τοῦλδον τάσσεσθαι;

685 Εἰς δὲ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας μὴ συγκαταμινύειν μετὰ τοῦ τούλδου τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα ἐχθρῶν προσδοκωμένων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν βάνδον ἔμπροσθεν ἰδίως, τὸ δὲ τοῦλδον ὀπισθεν ἢ καὶ ὡς ἡ χρεία καλέσῃ, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ τούλδου ἡμῖν κεφαλαίῳ εἴρηται. ταῦτα, ἅπερ σοι προδιεταξάμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάστῳ κόμητι καὶ δρουγγαρίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τουρμάρχη ἰδίως καὶ προγινώσκειν καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ παραγγελεῖς καὶ παρασκευάσεις.

103. Ὅτι ἐξ ὧν δύναται τις νικᾶν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ταῦτα δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι αὐτόν.

Σοὶ δὲ κελεύομεν, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὥστε ἀρμοδίως κεχρηῆσθαι τοῖς καιροῖς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ πρότερον μὲν φυλάττεσθαι σε τὰς ἀφορμάς, δι' ὧν αἱ βλάβαι 695 παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμβαίνουσι γίνεσθαι, καὶ τότε διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀφορμῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγχειρεῖν.

104. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ διώκειν ἐχθροὺς ἀτάκτως.

Καὶ πρὸ πάντων δέον σε τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων μελετωμένας ἐνέδρας ἐρευνᾶν διὰ βιγλῶν πυκνῶν κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τόπου, ἔνθα ἢ 700 παράταξις γίνεται, καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀτάκτων καὶ ἐσκορπισμένων διώξεων.

105. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὰς προπετεῖς ἐγχειρήσεις ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων.

Κοῦρσα δὲ ἢ προπετεῖς ἐγχειρήσεις διὰ σεαυτοῦ ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομέν σοι, ἀλλὰ διὰ | τῶν ἀρμοδίων ἀρχόντων ταῦτα γίνεσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων 333' 705 ἀρχόντων παράπτωμα ἢ ἀστοχία γένηται, ἔστιν ἐλπίς σύντομος ἐπανορθώσεως, εἰ δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ στρατοῦ πταίσει, ἀναρχίας πρόφασις ἢ τοῦτου διάπτωσις γίνεται.

106. Σοφὸς δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἄριστος ὁ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πολυπραγμονῶν καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰ πλεονεκτήματα αὐτῶν φυλαττόμενος, πρὸς δὲ 710 τὰ ὑστερήματα ἐπιβαλλόμενος, οἶον, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν. ὑπὲρ σε καβαλλα-

691-733 *Strat.*, 7.A.praef.

684 τὸν ABE τὸ MW 685-686 τοῦ...στρατιώτας MW τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸν τοῦλδον ABE 686 καὶ MWA om. BE 687 ἰδίως MW ἰδίως περιπατεῖν ABE 687-688 τῷ...τοῦ MWA περὶ BE 688 ἡμῖν MWAE ἡμῖν ἡμῖν B | ταῦτα MW ταῦτα μὲν ABE | προδιεταξάμεθα ABE διεταξάμεθα MW 689-690 καὶ³...παρασκευάσεις MW παραγγεῖλεις προγινώσκειν καὶ παρασκευάσεις ἐπιτελεῖν ABE 695 συμβαίνουσι MWAE συμβαίνουσιν B 696 ἐγχειρεῖν MWA ἐγείρειν BE 702 ἀρχόντων MW ἀρχόντων ταῦτα γίνεσθαι BE 703 κοῦρσα...ἢ A κούρσῳρας δὲ ἢ BE om. MW | σοι MWA om. BE 705 παράπτωμα...γένηται MW συμβῇ τινα ἀστοχήσῃ ἢ κινδυνεῦσαι ABE | σύντομος ἐπανορθώσεως MW trsp. ABE 707 γίνεται MWA γίνεται περὶ σοφοῦ στρατηγοῦ BE

102. Where should the baggage train be situated?

On the march the soldiers should not get mixed in with the baggage train, especially if the enemy are expected. The bandon goes ahead by itself and the baggage train to the rear or as the situation requires, as we have noted in our chapter about the baggage train. These matters that we have prescribed for you are those about which you will give orders and you will see that each individual count and droungarios, as well as the tourmarch, will know them and carry them out.

103. That a person must observe those things that enable him to defeat the enemy.¹⁰

We order you, O general, to take advantage of favorable times in engaging the enemy in battle. First, you must be on your guard against enemy assaults that inflict harm <on your troops>, and then you must launch the same sort of assaults against the enemy.

104. About not pursuing the enemy in a disorderly manner.

Above all, you must be on the lookout for ambushes being planned by your opponents, sending out frequent patrols to the four quarters of the area where the battle line is deployed. And refrain from disordered and uncoordinated pursuits.

105. About the general not engaging in headlong attacks but <leaving such> to his subordinate officers.

We do not permit you to take part personally in raids or headlong attacks. These should be carried out by suitable officers. For if one of the subordinate officers blunders or fails, we can hope to straighten out the situation quickly. But if the first in the army fails, his failure can open the way to complete disorder.

106. The best and wisest general is he who, before waging war, carefully studies the enemy and is on his guard against those areas in which <the enemy> is stronger and who takes advantage of those in which he is weaker. To sum it

10. Sections 103-108 derive from *Strat.* praef.7.A.

ρίους ἔχει ὁ ἐχθρὸς πλείονας, δέον σε τὰς βοσκὰς ἀφανίζειν διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἵππους
δαπάνης ὑστερεῖν. ἐὰν δὲ εἰς πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν πλεονεκτῇ, τὰς τούτων δαπάνας
περίστελλε ἢ ἀφάνιζε. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν συνέστηκεν, δώροις καὶ
χαρίσμασι καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις ὑπονόθευε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐὰν δὲ μάθῃς ὅτι ἐναντίας
715 τὰς γνώμας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν μεταχειρί-
ζου. κονταρίοις μάχεται τὸ ἔθνος, εἰς δυσχωρίας αὐτὸ προσκαλοῦ ἐπὶ μάχην. ἐὰν
δὲ τοξόται εἰσὶν, εἰς κάμπους τάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς μάχην ποιεί-
σθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀφυλάκτως ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἢ ἀπλικεύουσιν, ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ,
τούτοις ἀδοκῆτως ἐνέδρευε. ἐὰν δὲ θρασέως καὶ ἀτάκτως τὰς μάχας ποιοῦνται
720 καὶ τοῦ κακοπαθεῖν ἀπειροὶ εἰσιν, σχηματίζου μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς πρὸς συμβολήν,
ἀναβάλλου δὲ καὶ παράσυρε μέχρις οὗ τὸ ζέον τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐνδῶσει καί, ὅτ' ἂν
ἀποκνήσωσιν, τότε τὴν συμβολὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ποίησον. ἐὰν δὲ ἐν πλήθει πεζῶν
προτερεύῃ, εἰς ὁμαλοὺς τόπους τούτους προτρέπου καὶ μὴ σύνεγγυς, ἀλλὰ
μήκοθεν δι' ἀκοντίων τὰς μάχας ποιεῖσθαι.

725 107. Τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολέμων κυνηγίους εἰσὶν ὅμοια. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ διὰ κατα-
σκόπων καὶ ἐγκρυμμάτων καὶ κατακυκλώσεων καὶ τοιούτων σοφισμάτων
μᾶλλον ἢ δυνάμει ἢ τούτων θήρα γίνεται, οὕτως δεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων
ἀρμόζεσθαι, εἴτε πρὸς πλείονας εἴτε πρὸς ὀλίγους γίνονται.

108. Τὸ γὰρ φανερώς καὶ χειρὶ δι' ὄψεως μόνον βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους,
730 ὅτε καὶ δόξει τις τούτους νικᾶν μετὰ κινδύνου καὶ ζημίας οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἢ τοῦ
πράγματος ἀπόβασις αὐτῷ συμβαίνει· ὅπερ τῶν ἀλογίστων ἐστὶν ἀνάγκης
μεγίστης χωρὶς | μετὰ ζημίας νίκην κτᾶσθαι, κενὴν καὶ ματαίαν ὑπόληψιν μόνην 334
φέρουσιν.

711 τὸ MWAE om. B 712 τούτων ABE τούτου MW 713 περίστελλε MW περίκοπτε
καὶ ABE | συνέστηκεν W συνέστηκε MA συνεστήκοι BE 714 χάρισμασι MWA χάρισμασιν
B χάρισμας E | ὑπονόθευε MW ὑπόκλεπτε A om. BE | αὐτῷ MWA αὐτῷ ὑπόκλεπτε BE
714-716 ἐὰν...μεταχειρίζου MWA om. BE 715 ἀλλήλους Va ἀλλήλας MW ἀλλήλουσιν
A om. BE 716 κονταρίοις MWA ἐὰν κονταρίως B εἰ κονταρίως E | δυσχωρίας MW
δυσκόλους τόπους ABE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 718 ὁδοιποροῦσιν MW ὁδοιπορώσιν ABE |
ἀπλικεύουσιν MW ἀπλικεύουσιν ABE 719 θρασέως MWA θρασέως BE | ποιοῦνται MW
ποιῶνται ABE 720 ἀπειροὶ εἰσιν MWAB ὥσιν ἀπειροὶ E | αὐτοὺς MW αὐτὸς ABE
721 παράσυρε MW παράσυρε τὸν πόλεμον ABE 722 ἀποκνήσωσιν WA ἀποκινήσωσι
MBE 724 δι' MWBE διὰ A 725 πολέμων Va πολέμιων codd. 725-726 κατασκόπων
MWAE κόπτων B 727 ἢ...θήρα MW ἢ θήρα τούτων ABE | πολέμων W πολέμιων MABE
729 δι' ὄψεως MW εἰς πρόσωπον ABE 731 αὐτῷ MWAE αὐτοῦ B 732 μόνην MW om.
ABE

up: if the enemy has more cavalry than you, you must destroy their pasturage so
as to reduce the fodder for their horses. If the enemy has more men than you,
cut off and destroy their provisions. If the men in his army come from diverse
nations, corrupt them with gifts, favors, and promises. If you learn that there is
much dissension among the enemy, deal with their leading men. This people
relies on the lance, summon them into battle on difficult terrain. If they are
archers, have them take their stand in the open and engage them in hand-to-
hand combat. If they march or make camp without taking precautions, either at
night or during the day, catch them by surprise in an ambush. If they are
reckless and undisciplined in combat and are not inured to hardship, make
believe you are going to attack but delay and drag things out until their ardor
cools and when they begin to hesitate, then launch your attack against them. If
the enemy is superior in numbers of infantry, entice them into level areas and,
not too close but at a safe distance, fight them with javelins.

107. Warfare is like hunting. Wild animals are taken by scouting, by lying in
wait, by circling around, and by other such stratagems rather than by force. And
so we must accommodate ourselves to warfare in the same way, whether the
enemy be many or few.

108. To try to simply overpower our adversaries in the open, hand-to-hand
and face-to-face, even though you might appear to win, is an enterprise fraught
with danger and can result in serious harm. Apart from an extreme emergency,
it is absolutely ridiculous to try to gain a victory that is so costly and brings only
empty and vain glory.

109. Ἐπὶ τούτοις παρακελεύομεθά σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ὅσα χρή σε ποιεῖν
 735 πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας, ὅτε καὶ ἀνάγκη σε κατεπεῖγει πρὸς μάχην ἐξελθεῖν
 κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

109. These are the orders we issue to you, O general, that you are obliged to
 carry out before the day of battle, when you are forced to go out and do battle
 against the foe.

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΓ'

Περὶ τῆς πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας

1. Ὡστε παρασκευάζειν τοὺς τουρμάρχας πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δευτέρας ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου τὰ βάνδα ἀγιάζειν διὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς βανδοφό-
5 ροις τῶν ταγμάτων.
2. Τὸν δὲ ἐκάστου τάγματος κόμητα προκαθιστάν τὰ κοντουβέρνια καὶ ἀναπληροῦν τὰ λείποντα σώματα.
3. Σπουδάσεις δὲ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολυπραγμονῆσαι διὰ βιγλῶν ἀκριβῶς καὶ διὰ κατασκόπων τὴν τε κίνησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ πλήθους
10 αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σύνταξιν καὶ οὕτως ἀρμόζεσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ αἰφνιδιασθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν.
4. Συντάξεις δὲ ἐπὶ σχολῆς τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ δρούγγους καὶ κατὰ τούρμας καὶ μὴ πάντα ὁμοῦ εἰς ἓν ἐνὶ τόπῳ καὶ διαλαλήσεις αὐτοῖς τὰ πρέποντα ἢ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχόντων, παλαιᾶς τε ἀναμνησκῶν νίκης καὶ προτέ-
15 ρων ἐπιτυχιῶν καὶ διὰ τοιούτων προθυμοποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπαγγεῖλασθαί τε τὴν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἀμοιβὴν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πολιτείας μισθόν, ἔτι δὲ προσυπομινῆσκειν καὶ τὰ διδόμενα μανδάτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παραγγελίαν, ἣν παρὰ τέ σου αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἔλαβον καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα.

M (mut.) W A B E Va PG 107:844

1-102 *Strat.*, 7.A.1-14.

1 πολεικῶν παρασκευῶν MWA om. BE 2 πρὸ MWA om. BE 3 τουρμάρχας MWAE τουρμάρχους B | ἡμέρας MWAE om. B 6 κόμητα MW ἄρχοντα ABE | κοντουβέρνια AB κοντουβέρνια MW κοντοῦ βέρνια E 7 σώματα MW om. ABE 8 τὰ MWA om. BE | τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ABE τῶν ἐχθρῶν MW 9 τὸ ποσὸν MW τὴν ποσότητα ABE 12 ἐπὶ σχολῆς MW ἐν ἀργία ABE 13 πάντα MW ὅλον ABE | ὁμοῦ MWAE ἐμοῦ B | εἰς ἓν MW om. AB ἐν E 13-14 δι' ἑαυτοῦ MW διὰ σεαυτοῦ ABE 14 ἰδίων MWA om. BE 15 ἐπιτυχιῶν MW εὐτυχιῶν ABE | τε MWA τε καὶ BE 16 τὸν MW τὸν μισθὸν τὸν ABE 16-17 τῆς πολιτείας MW τὴν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν ABE 17 μισθόν MW om. ABE 18 παρὰ τέ MW καὶ παρὰ ABE | ἰδικῶν MW ἰδίων ABE

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XIII

About the Day before Battle

1. A day or two before combat, the tourmarchs should see that the standards are blessed by the priests and then present them to the standard-bearers of the tagmata.¹
2. The commanding officer of each tagma should organize it into squads and bring them up to full strength.
3. You will make every effort, employing scouts and spies, to obtain accurate intelligence about the enemy's movements and the number and disposition of their troops. This will allow you to make proper adjustments and not be caught off guard by them.
4. When you are not otherwise occupied, you shall assemble the army by droungoi and by tourmai, but not all at once in one place. Appropriate speeches should be addressed to them, either by yourself or their individual officers. Recall their past victories and their earlier successes to encourage them. Promise rewards and benefactions from Our Majesty and recompense for their loyalty to the state. Remind them, furthermore, of the commands given them and the other orders that they have received from you personally and from their own officers in each unit.

1. Sections 1-17 derive from *Strat.* 7.A.1-14.

20 5. Ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμβῇ κρατηθῆναι ἢ προσρυῆναι, εἰ μὲν γενναῖ-
οἱ εἰσι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ εὖοπλοι, τούτους μὴ δημοσιεῦν τῷ στρατῷ ἀλλ' ἐν
ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ ἀφανῶς ἐκπέμπειν αὐτούς, εἰ δὲ εὐτελεῖς εἰσι, τοὺς μὲν προσρυομέ-
νους ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἐπιδείξαι τῷ στρατῷ παντί, τοὺς δὲ κρατουμένους γυμνοὺς
περιάγεις καὶ ὑποθήσεις αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ φονευθῆναι,
25 εἰς τὸ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐλεεινοὺς εἶναι νομίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

6. Ἐχθρῶν δὲ ἐγγιζόντων καὶ δημοσίου προσδοκώμενου πολέμου παραγγεί-
λης τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν | ταγμάτων ὥστε μὴ ποιεῖν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις συνεξ- 334^{*}
ελεύσεις κατὰ τῶν ἀτακούντων στρατιωτῶν, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ παντοίως μὴ
κακῶσαι τὸν στρατιώτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ὄντας λύπης τινὸς ἕνεκα
30 μεταχειρίζεσθαι εἰς εὐθυμίαν, εἰ δὲ ἀμεταχείριστοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι μένουσιν, χωρίσεις
αὐτοὺς πρὸς μικρὸν καὶ ἐτέρῳ παραπέμψεις τόπῳ μετὰ προφάσεως εὐλόγου
μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβάσεως, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προσφυγόντες εἰπώσιν τι
ὧν οὐ χρή γινώσκειν αὐτούς. τοὺς δὲ ὁμογενεῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὡς ἤδη προείπο-
μεν, πρὸ πολλοῦ χωρίζειν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τούτους μὴ φέρειν κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων μάχ-
35 εσθαι.

7. Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ μέλλης συμβαλεῖν εἰς μάχην, ὦ στρατηγέ, χρή σε καὶ τὰ εἰς
δευτέραν τύχην ἀποσκοπεῖν καὶ τὰς ἐκείθεν ἐναντιώσεις προασφαλίζεσθαι καὶ

5. If some of the enemy happen to be captured or desert <to us>, then, if they are impressive in bodily appearance and in their armament, do not show them to the army but secretly send them off to some other place. But if they look wretched, make sure to exhibit the deserters to the whole army; strip the prisoners and parade them about and force them to entreat the soldiers not to kill them, so that our soldiers will think that all the enemy are that miserable.

6. When the enemy are approaching and a pitched battle is imminent, you should order the commanders of the tagmata not to pass judgment in those days against soldiers who are disorderly, and not to deal harshly with the soldiers at all. They should, rather, deal with those who are suspected of having some grievance in such a manner as to render them benevolent. But if these men remain intractable, separate them and send them off to some other place for a while, on some plausible pretext, until the battle is over. Otherwise they may go over to the enemy and provide them with information they must not have. Men of the same race as the enemy should, as we have already prescribed, be sent away long before. You should not allow them to fight against their own people.

7. When you are about to engage in battle, O general, you must keep in mind the possibility of second fortune and take steps to guard against its

20 συμβῇ MW συμβῇ εἰς βίγλαν ABE | προσρυῆναι MW προσφυγεῖν ABE 21 εὖοπλοι De ἐνοπλοι codd. 22 δὲ MWAE δὲ καὶ B | εἰσι MBE εἰσιν WA 22-23 προσρυομένους MW προσφεύγοντας ABE 23 ἐπιδείξαι MW ἐπιδείξεις ABE | τῷ...παντί MW ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ ABE 24 περιάγεις MW περιάγεις εἰς ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα ABE | ὑποθήσεις αὐτοὺς MW παραγγείλης αὐτοῖς ὥστε ABE 25 εἰς...στρατιωτῶν MW ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα ῥήματα λέγειν ἄξια ἐλέους καὶ συμπαθείας ὡς ἂν τοιούτους ἐλεεινοὺς αὐτοὺς βλέπων ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐχθροὺς τοιούτους, εἶναι ὑπονοήση ABE 27 τοῖς...ταγμάτων MW πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ σε ἄρχουσι ABE 27-35 ὥστε...μάχεσθαι MW μηδένα τῶν ὑποχωρίων αὐτῶν ἐπεξέρχεσθαι (ἐπέρχεσθαι BE) ἂν τινα ἀταξίαν ποιῇ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φυλάττεσθαι ὥστε μὴ λυπῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς (τοῖς B) ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ὄντας λύπης τινὸς καὶ ἐκείνους παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθυμότερους παρασκευάζειν εἰ δὲ καὶ (καὶ om. BE) οὐ μεταβάλλονται ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως ἀλλ' ἐπιμένουσι (ἐπιμένουσιν A) σπουδάσεις τοῦ μετὰ εὐλόγου (μετὰ λόγου BE) προφάσεως ἀποχωρίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέχρις ἂν ὁ πόλεμος τελειωθῇ πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι λυπούμενοι προσφεύγουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ πράγματά τινα αὐτοῖς ἀποκαλύπτουσιν ἃ οὐκ ἐστὶ (ἔστιν BE) δεόν μαθεῖν αὐτοὺς τοὺς δὲ ὁμογενεῖς καὶ ὁμοφύλους τῶν πολεμίων πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἀποχωρίζειν καὶ μὴ ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου ABE 30 μένουσιν WA μένουσι MBE 36 συμβαλεῖν MW συμβάλλειν ABE | καὶ MW καὶ τὰ ἐναντία λογίζεσθαι καὶ ABE | τὰ MW om. ABE 37 ἀποσκοπεῖν MW ἀποβλέπειν ABE | ἐκείθεν MW ἐκ ταύτης ABE

μάλιστα, ὡς πολλάκις ἡμῖν εἴρηται, τὰς ἀποτροφὰς ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων συνάγειν καὶ φοσσάτα ὀχυρώτερα ποιεῖν καὶ ἐν
 40 ἐπιτηδείοις τόποις, ἔνθα δυνατόν τὸ ὕδωρ πάντως ἐκδικεῖσθαι ἐν καιρῷ ἀνάγκης.

8. Μὴ ἀμελήσης δὲ τῆς ἀριστοποιΐας τοῦ στρατοῦ. εἰ μὲν γάρ, ὅτε συμβουλευθῇς, ἢ συμβολὴ γίνεται πάντως ἐν ᾧ ἂν δοκιμάσης καιρῷ, τὸ ἄριστον τοῦ
 45 στρατοῦ γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ἔστιν, μέλλοντος τοῦ πολέμου, πάντως τὸ πρῶτον γίνεσθαι τὸ ἄριστον ἵνα, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ εὖρωστοί εἰσι καὶ δι' ὅλης πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου κροτουμένου μὴ ἐκλυθῶσιν.

9. Χρὴ δέ σε πάντως, ὦ στρατηγέ, μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἐγγὺς τοῦ πολέμου καιρῷ μὴ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ συμβουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάλιστα συγκαλέσεις τοὺς ὑπὸ σε τουρμάρχας καὶ εἴ τινα ἕτερον
 50 δοκιμάσης ἀγχίνουν καὶ φρόνιμον εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὀφειλομένην γενέσθαι συμβουλὴν, καὶ οὕτως βουλευσασθαι σε δέον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

10. Κατανοεῖν δὲ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἢ συμβολὴ τοῦ πολέμου μέλλει γίνεσθαι.

11. Προπαραγγείλης δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἵνα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην φωνὴν τοῦ
 55 βουκίνου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τὸν ποτὸν παρασκευάσωσιν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἵνα μὴ, ὡς εἰκός, ἀμελοῦντες τούτου ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπολείπωνται.

12. Προπαραγγείλης δέ, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ἵνα καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος | W127
 στρατιώτης ἐν τῷ κινεῖν πρὸς παράταξιν ἔχη ἐν τῷ σελλοπουγγίῳ αὐτοῦ μίαν ἢ

59 ad αὐτοῦ des. M

38 ἀποτροφὰς WABE ἀποστροφὰς M 38-39 ἡμερῶν...συνάγειν MW συνάγειν τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ABE 40 ἐπιτηδείοις τόποις MW trsp. ABE 42 τῆς ἀριστοποιΐας MW τοῦ γεύματος ABE 42-43 συμβουλευθῇς MW συμβουλευθῇς A βουλευθῇς BE 43 συμβολὴ MW συμβολὴ τοῦ πολέμου ABE 44-46 μέλλοντος... ἐκλυθῶσιν MW ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἄδηλός ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ πολέμου συμβολὴ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ἵνα τὸ πρῶτον ἀριστῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται συμβαίνει γὰρ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας συγκροτεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐὰν τυχῶσι γευσάμενοι ἰσχυρότεροί εἰσι καὶ δύνανται δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπομένειν ABE 44 πολέμου De στρατοῦ MW om. ABE 45 τῆς M om. W 46 κροτουμένου Va κροτοῦντος MW 48 ἐν... τοιοῦτῳ MW om. ABE | μὴ... τοῦ² MW καὶ τότε A om. BE 48-49 ἀλλὰ...μάλιστα MW om. ABE 49 συγκαλέσεις MW συγκαλέσεις δὲ ABE 50 δοκιμάσης...φρόνιμον MW οἶδας εἶναι φρόνιμον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ABE | καιρὸν MW καιρὸν ἐκείνον ABE 51 συμβουλὴν MW βουλὴν ABE | οὕτως MWA οὕτω BE 55 τῆς MWAB om. E 58 προπαραγγείλης BE παραγγείλεις MWA | καθὼς MW καθὼς καὶ ABE 59 ἔχη MWAE ἔχειν B

negative effects.² In particular, as we have frequently said, collect food for a few days for both soldiers and horses. Construct strongly fortified camps in suitable locations in which, above all, water may be safely stored for emergencies.

8. Do not neglect the preparation of meals for the army. If, after consultation, fighting is to take place, be sure to schedule the meal for the army at whatever time you think best. If no fighting is anticipated, then by all means, the army should plan to take its main meal very early so that, in case <battle> does take place, the men may be in good physical condition and, while the battle is being waged throughout the day, may not fall apart.

9. By all means, O general, you must, not only at other times, but also in that hour when combat is imminent, not neglect to enter into consultation. Especially at that time, call together the tourmarchs under your command and anyone else you regard as shrewd and thoughtful to seek their advice on what ought to be done at that time. In this way you must make your plans regarding the battle.

10. Make accurate observations about the location in which the battle is to be fought.

11. Issue orders ahead of time to the officers that, at the first sound of the trumpet on the night before battle, they should make sure to lead the horses out to water. If they should neglect this, their horses may fail <them> when it is time to form the battle line.

12. Issue orders ahead of time, as we have previously prescribed, that each soldier, as he moves up to the battle line, should carry in his saddle bags a

2. "Second fortune," a frequent euphemism for ill fortune, i.e., defeat.

60 καὶ δύο λίτρας ἄρτου ἢ ἀλεύρου ἢ πίστου ἐψητοῦ ἢ παξαμάδας ἢ κρέας· ἔχειν δὲ καὶ φλασκὶν μικρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀργαβίᾳ ὕδατος γέμον καὶ μὴ οἶνου διὰ τε τὰς τυχηρὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαντώσας χρεῖας. πολλάκις γὰρ τρεπομένων ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὀχυρώματι προστρεχόντων χρεῖα παρακαθίσαι αὐτοῖς διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἢ πάλιν τὴν συμβολὴν μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας παρατείνεσθαι. καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν
65 ἐστὶν ἐπιφέρεισθαι δαπάνην ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἐλλείψει τῆς δαπάνης τὸ πρακτέον ἐμποδίζεται.

13. Ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς δυνατὸν ἔθνος ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἐκ προλήψεως τινος ἐν δειλίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ στρατός, μὴ σπουδάσης συμπλέκεσθαι δημοσίως εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ
70 πρότερον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιτήδευε πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου μετὰ ἐξπλήκτων καὶ χρησίμων ἀνδρῶν λεληθότως καὶ μὴ φανερώς | ἐπέρχεσθαι τινι μέρει αὐτῶν. ἐὰν γὰρ φανερώς φονευθῶσι τινες τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ ζῶντες συλληφθῶσι, νομίζει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅτι δυνάμει ἐγένετο τὸ συμβάν, καὶ προθυμότεροι γίνονται τὴν δειλίαν ἀποβαλλόμενοι· καὶ οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν ἐθίζονται τολμᾶν καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγχειρεῖν.

75 14. Ἐὰν δὲ αἰφνιδισμὸς γένηται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ μὴ συμβαίνει τῇ τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖα ἢ ὁ τόπος ὡς δασὺς καὶ δυσχερὴς ἢ ὁ καιρὸς ἀπρόσφορός ἐστὶν, οἶον πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ ὁμοίως καύματος, μὴ ἐπιτηδεύσης συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἢ τότε ἢ ἐκεῖσε, ἀλλὰ σπουδαῖε μᾶλλον συνάγειν στρατὸν καὶ τόπον ἴδιον κρατεῖν εἰς ἀπλκτον καὶ ὑπερτίθου, μέχρις ἂν καὶ τόπου ἐπιτηδείου καὶ καιροῦ
80 ὁμοίως εὐπορήσης, καὶ μὴ ἀκουσίως συμβάλλης. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν οὐχὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν φεύξει ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνεπιτήδειον καὶ ἀσύμφορον τόπον φυλαττόμενος ἔσθι.

60 δύο WAE β' B | ἐψητοῦ WA ἐψημένου BE | παξαμάδας WA παξαμάτας BE 61 φλασκὶν μικρὸν W ἀσκοδάβλαν μικρὰν ABE | ἀργαβία W ἐργαβία ABE | γέμον W γέμουσαν ABE 61-62 τυχηρὰς Va στυχηρὰς W συμβαινούσας ABE 62 τὰς W τὰς ὡς εἰκὸς ABE 63 παρακαθίσαι αὐτοῖς WA περικαθίσαι αὐτοὺς BE 64 παρατείνεσθαι W κρατεῖν ABE 65 ἐλλείψει W λείψει ABE | τῆς δαπάνης WA ταύτης BE | πρακτέον Va πρακταῖον W μέλλον πραχθῆναι A μέλλον παρεχθῆναι BE 65-66 ἐμποδίζεται W ἐμποδισθῇ ABE 67 ἐστὶν... πόλεμος WA ὁ πόλεμος ἢ BE 68 ἐστὶν WA ὑπάρχη BE 69 ἐξπλήκτων W ἐλαφρῶν ABE 71 γὰρ φανερώς W γὰρ ABE | συλληφθῶσι W κρατηθῶσιν A κρατηθῶσι BE 72 δυνάμει W ἀπὸ δυνάμεως ABE 73 ἀποβαλλόμενοι A ἀποβαλόμενοι W βαλόμενοι BE 75 συμβαίνει W συμβάλλεται ABE 76 δυσχερὴς W δύσκολος ABE | ἀπρόσφορός W ἀσύμφορος ABE | ἐστὶν W ὑπάρχη ABE 77 ὁμοίως W om. ABE | ἐπιτηδεύσης W ἐπιτηδεύσης ὥστε ABE 77-78 ἢ... ἐκεῖσε W ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον ABE 78 στρατὸν De σεαυτὸν codd. 79 ὑπερτίθου W ὑπερτίθου τὸν πόλεμον ABE 79-80 τόπου... εὐπορήσης W τόπον καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εὖρης ABE 80-81 τὸν ἐχθρὸν A τῶν ἐχθρῶν W om. BE 81 φεύξει W φεύγει ABE | ἀνεπιτήδειον WAE ἐπιτήδειον B | φυλαττόμενος ἔσθι W παραφυλάττει ABE

measure or two of bread or barley meal or boiled meal or hardtack or meat. He should also carry a little sack containing a small flask of water but not wine. These may be needed in fortunate circumstances as well as in <other> needs that may occur. For a defeated enemy will often race back to a fortified position, and our men may have to spend the night as well as the day there or even continue the fighting until <the next> evening. It is essential that they carry provisions with them so that the lack of them may not interfere with operations.

13. If we are waging war against a powerful nation, and the army, not knowing what to expect, becomes nervous, do not try to engage in a pitched battle right away. First, before the day of battle, carefully arrange for some lightly armed, capable soldiers to go secretly, without being observed, and attack some detachment of the enemy. If, out in the open, they kill some of our adversaries or take some alive, then most of our soldiers will regard this as evidence of our strength. Their morale will pick up, they will get over their nervousness, and they will gradually become bolder and bolder in fighting against them.

14. If the enemy should launch a surprise attack and conditions are not favorable for battle, either because the area is rugged or thickly wooded or the time is not to our advantage because of heavy storms, say, or scorching heat, do not prepare for combat at that time or in that place. Instead, you should take steps to assemble your army, occupy a place suitable for camp, and delay until you have the luck <to find> a suitable place and time. Do not engage in battle unwillingly. Acting in this manner does not mean you are running away from the enemy, but that you are avoiding an unsuitable and disadvantageous location.

15. Θεοῦ δὲ νίκην παρέχοντος, ἐὰν οἱ πολέμιοι τραπῶσιν, ἀπέχεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις παράγγελλε τοῦ σκυλεύειν τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν· τὸ γὰρ ἢ νεκροὺς σκυλεύειν ἢ τοῦλδ' ἢ φοσσάτω πολεμίων ἐπέρχεσθαι πρὸ τελείας
85 ἐκβάσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρᾶγμα ὀλέθριον καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν ἐστι. διὸ χρή σε προπαραγγέλλειν τὸ παντοίως ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων. πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ νικήσαντες διὰ τοιούτων τρόπων οὐ μόνον ἡττήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπώλοντο σκορπίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αἰφνιδιασθέντες καὶ οὕτως κινδυνεύσαντες.

16. Ὅπερ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, δεῖ μάλιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγιζόν-
90 των καὶ προσδοκωμένου πολέμου ἵνα, ἐὰν ἐν φοσσάτῳ διάγει ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναμένει ἐκεῖσε, μὴ μόνον εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ ἀποτιθέναι χόρτον ἢ ἄχυρον | μιᾶς ἢ δευτέρας ἡμέρας τῶν ἀλόγων, ἀλλὰ καί, ἐὰν κινήσῃ ὁ στρατὸς W128 καὶ βούλεται καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἀπλίκτῳ ἀπελθεῖν κάκειθεν παρατάξασθαι, ἀναγκαῖ-
95 ὄν ἐστιν ὥστε χόρτον ἢ ἄχυρον καὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας βαστάζειν καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῷ γινομένῳ φοσσάτῳ ἀποτίθεσθαι τοῦτον. ἴσως γὰρ οὐ συγχωροῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ ὑπηρετοῦντες παῖδες αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξελθεῖν καὶ χορτολογῆσαι οὔτε δὲ τὰ ἄλογα εἰς βοσκὴν ἐκβαλεῖν.

17. Εἰ δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ πολὺ ἐγγίζουσιν, οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν, ὥς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ἕκαστον συνάγειν τὸν χόρτον, τὸν ὀφείλοντα ἀποτε-
100 θῆναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀπλικοῦσαι πολλάκις συγχωροῦνται οἱ παῖδες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ χορτολογῆσαι, πλειόνων μάλιστα τῶν καβαλλαρίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὕρισκο-
μένων.

18. Ταῦτα μὲν σοι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου συμβολῆς τὰ μὲν διατάσσεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διαπράττεσθαι | εἰς ἐντελεστέραν μάθησιν τῶν τε ὑπὸ σε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν
105 στρατιωτῶν παρακελευόμεθα, ἐξῆς δὲ καί, ὅσα χρή εἶτε ποιεῖν σε εἶτε παρα-

15. If God grants us the victory and the enemy are routed, order the soldiers to refrain from plundering the enemy dead. Plundering the dead or attacking their baggage train or their camp before the battle is completely finished is fraught with danger and can be disastrous. You must order the soldiers ahead of time, without exception, to refrain from such actions. Often enough, by acting in this fashion, victorious troops have not only suffered defeat but, scattered about and caught by surprise, they have fallen into great danger and have been completely wiped out.

16. We have previously written about the following. Especially as the enemy are approaching and battle is expected and, if the army is to stay within the fortifications and there await the enemy, you must get ready and store enough hay or grass for the horses for one or two days. Not only that, but if the army is to march out with the intention of moving off to another camp and there form its battle line, then it is necessary for it to carry along one day's supply of hay and grass and store it in the new fortification. It is not likely that the enemy will allow the servants who do this work to go out foraging on that day or send out the horses to graze.

17. But if the enemy come very close, it is not a bad idea, as we have remarked somewhere else, while marching along, for each man to gather the fodder he needs to store. Frequently, after they have set up camp, the boys are not allowed to go out and forage, especially if the enemy cavalry is found to outnumber ours.

18. Before engaging in battle, we order you to make the above arrangements and to make sure that the officers and soldiers under your command are more fully instructed in them. Next in order, we will address ourselves, to the best of

82 τραπῶσιν W τραπῶσι ABE 82-83 ἀπέχεσθαι... τοῦ W παράγγελλε τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ ἀποδύειν ἢ ABE 83 νεκροὺς... ἐχθρῶν W τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐχθροὺς ABE 83-84 τὸ... σκυλεύειν WE om. AB 84 πρὸ W πρὸ τῆς ABE 85 ἐκβάσεως W συμπληρώσεως ABE | πολέμου W πολέμου τοῦτο γὰρ ABE | καί... ἐστι W ἐστι καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ABE 86 προπαραγγέλλειν W παραγγέλλειν ABE | τὸ W τοῦ ABE | γὰρ WAB γὰρ καὶ E 87 διὰ WA διὰ τῶν BE | καὶ W καὶ τελείως ABE 89 τῶν W om. ABE 90 ἵνα ἐὰν W εἰ μὲν ABE 91 ἀποτιθέναι W ἀποτίθεσθαι ABE 92 ἡμέρας W ἡμέρας λόγου ABE 93 βούλεται W βούληται ABE | καὶ² WA om. BE | κάκειθεν W καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖθεν ABE 94 καὶ ABE om. W 96-97 οὔτε δὲ W οὐδὲ ABE 98 οὐκ W οὐκ ἐστιν ABE 98-99 ὥς... εἴρηται W om. ABE 99 τὸν¹ W om. ABE 101 τῶν¹ W om. ABE 103 σοι W σοι παρακελευόμεθα ABE 104 ἐντελεστέραν W τελειοτέραν ABE | τε WA om. BE 105 παρακελευόμεθα W om. ABE | δὲ W δὲ ἐροῦμεν ABE 105-106 παραφυλάττεσθαι W παραφυλάττεσθαι τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ABE

φυλάττεσθαι μετὰ τῆς ὑπὸ σε δυνάμεως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου, κατὰ δύναμιν ἤδη ἐροῦμεν.

our ability, to the steps you and the force under your command must take and, on the very day of battle, what you must be on your guard against.

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΔ'

Περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XIV

About the Day of Battle

1. Ὑποτιθέμεθα οὖν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, πρό γε πάντων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου καθαρὸν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εὐχὴν γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκτενῇ διὰ
5 τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ἀγιασθῆναι πάντας καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις πεισθῆναι
ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν ἔχουσι βοηθόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κινῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον λαμπροὺς
καὶ προθύμους.
2. Σὲ δὲ μὴ πολλὰ πονεῖν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συμβολῆς ἵνα μὴ τῷ πολλῷ κόπῳ
καὶ τῇ συντριβῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιλανθάνῃ, μηδὲ κατολιγωρεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς
10 φροντίδος, | ἀλλὰ ἀνθηρῶς καὶ εὐθαρσῶς παρέρχεσθαι τὴν παράταξιν καὶ W129
προθυμοποιεῖν πάντας διὰ λόγων. |
3. Καὶ μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ χειρός. στρατιώτου γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ 335
στρατηγοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν σε μὲν τὰ ἀρμόζοντα πάντα, ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖ
δὲ ἴστασθαι τόπῳ, ὅθεν ὁρᾶν δύνασαι τοὺς τε ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ τοὺς, ὡς
15 εἰκός, ἀμελοῦντας, καὶ ἐπεύχεσθαι τὰ δέοντα καὶ σπουδάζειν διὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποβο-
ηθείᾳ ὄντων συναίρεσθαι τῷ δεομένῳ μέρει, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν διὰ τῶν πλαγιοφυλά-
κων καὶ νωτοφυλάκων.
4. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσί σου πρὸς τοξότας ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος, τοὺς
δυσχερεῖς τόπους καὶ τοὺς πρόποδας τῶν ὁρέων ἤγουν τὰς πρώτας ἀναβάσεις
20 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πάντως τούτους φυλάττου καὶ μὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς σύμβαλλε τὴν μάχην.
εἴγε δυνατόν σοι ἐστὶν, καὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ ὕψει τὴν παράταξιν ἔκτασσε ἢ τελείως

1. Now then, O general, before all else, we enjoin upon you that on the day of battle your army should be free from sin. The night before, the priests are to offer fervent prayers of intercession. Everyone should be sanctified and so, by words and deeds, they should be convinced that they have the help of God. On this note they are to advance into battle bright and enthusiastic.¹

2. On the day of battle you should not take on too many tasks.² You might exert yourself too much, wear yourself out, and overlook essential matters. Anxiety should not make you <appear> downcast, but ride jauntily and confidently along the battle line, encouraging all by your words.

3. Do not join in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy; that is the role of the soldier, not of the general. But you are to make all the proper arrangements and then station yourself in a suitable location from which you can observe the troops fighting hard and others, quite possibly, not so hard. You should see to their needs and take steps to call up your reserves, that is, the flank and rear guards, to go to the assistance of a unit in trouble.

4. When you are in formation and have to fight against archers, avoid difficult terrain and, by all means, the lower slopes of mountains, that is, where the mountains first begin to ascend. Do not initiate hostilities there. If you can do so, form your battle line on the heights or else come all the way down the

M (mut.) W A V (part.) B E Va (part.) PG 107:848 12 ad καὶ de novo inc. M

3-7 *Strat.*, 2.18. 8-196 *Strat.*, 7.B.1-14.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν WA om. BE 3 γε W om. ABE 5 ἔργοις...λόγοις WA trsp. BE 8 πονεῖν W κοποῦσθαι ABE 9 τῶν...ἐπιλανθάνῃ W trsp. ABE (ἐπιλανθάνειν) 10 ἀλλὰ WA ἀλλ' BE 12 μὴ MWA om. BE 12-13 στρατιώτου...ἐστὶν MW τοῦτο γὰρ στρατιώτου μᾶλλον ἐστὶν οὐ (τοῦ BE) στρατηγοῦ ABE 14 δύνασαι MW δυνήσῃ ABE 14-15 ὡς εἰκός MW om. ABE 15-16 ὑποβοηθείᾳ MWBE ἐπιβοηθείᾳ A 16 συναίρεσθαι...δεομένῳ MW ἐπιβοηθεῖν τῷ καταπονουμένῳ ABE 18 ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE | μὲν MW om. ABE | παρατάξεσί MABE παρατάξεσιν W 19 δυσχερεῖς τόπους MW δυσκόλους τόπους ἀπόφευγε ABE 19-20 τὰς...τούτους MW τὰ κατώτερα μέρη ABE 20 πάντως M om. WABE | φυλάττου WABE φυλάττε M 21 εἴγε...ἐστὶν MW om. ABE

1. Cf. *Strat.* 2.18.

2. Sections 2-29 derive from *Strat.* 7.B.1-14.

ἀπόβαινε τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἐν ὁμαλωτέρῳ καὶ γυμνῷ τόπῳ παρατάσσου, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκεῖθεν ἐνεδρευόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἢ παράταξις ἀθρόως βιάζεται.

25 5. Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ συμπλέκου παρατάξει πολεμίων, μὴδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν σου προδείκνυε αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἂν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν κατανοήσῃς καὶ τάς, ὡς εἰκός, μελετωμένας παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνέδρας ἦτοι ἐγκρύμματα πολυπραγμονήσῃς.

6. Ἐὰν δὲ οἱ τόποι ἐν οἷς μέλλεις συμβάλλειν γυμνοὶ εἰσι καὶ πεδινοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκόλως τὴν δευτέραν σου τάξιν κρύπτειν ἐν αὐτοῖς, εἰς τὸ μὴ τοὺς ἐχ-
30 θροὺς προγινώσκειν ἐν τῷ κινεῖν τὸν στρατὸν εἰς τὴν μάχην, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν κατόπισθεν τῆς πρώτης πλησίον συνακολουθεῖν ποιήσῃς, ὥστε τὰς δύο ὡς μίαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις φαίνεσθαι, ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς μιλίου τῆς τῶν πολεμίων γένηται παρατάξεως, τότε τὴν δευτέραν χρεὼν κατ' ὀλίγον ἐμβρα-
δύνουσαν χωρίζειν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τὸ εἰρημένον διάστημα καὶ εἰς τὸ
35 ἴδιον σχῆμα καθιστάν ὥστε εἶναι δευτέραν παράταξιν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ εὐγνώστος πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡ τάξις γίνεται.

7. Τὰς δὲ ὑποχωρήσεις καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν σκέπτου καὶ μὴ ἀκρατῶς ἐπίτρεχε διὰ τὰ σοφίσματα τά, ὡς εἰκός, γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ συντάξεως δίωκε, ἕως οὗ λάβῃς πληροφορίαν τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς νίκης.

40 8. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπέλευσις μηνυθῇ κατὰ τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πῶς ἢ διὰ τῶν πλαγιοφυλάκων ἢ διὰ τῶν | εἰς ἐνέδραν κατὰ τῶν 335' ἐχθρῶν πεμπομένων βοηθεῖν, τότε δέον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως τασσομένων βάνδων μετατίθεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς. εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἐνὸς πλαγίου ἔρχονται, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους, εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δύο, ἐξ ἐκατέρωθεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
45 τοῖς κατὰ νώτου τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως ἐρχομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ ἀρκῶσιν οἱ νωτοφύ-

22 ἀπόβαινε MW ἀπόβαινε ἀπὸ ABE | παρατάσσου MW παράτασσε ABE 25 μὴδὲ τὴν WABE τὴν δὲ M | σου MWA σοι BE 26 τάς MW τὰ AE ταῦτα B | μελετωμένας MW γινόμενα ABE 27 ἐνέδρας ἦτοι MW om. ABE 30 προγινώσκειν MW προγινώσκειν αὐτὴν ABE | ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη MW ποιήσῃς ABE 31 δευτέραν MWAE β' B | τάξιν MW παράταξιν ABE | πρώτης MW πρώτης καὶ ABE | ποιήσῃς MW om. ABE 32 δύο MWAE β' B | ὡς ABE εἰς MW 33 γένηται MW γένωνται ABE | τὴν... χρεὼν MW χρὴ τὴν δευτέραν ABE 34 χωρίζειν αὐτὴν MW χωρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ ABE 35 καθιστάν...παράταξιν MW ἀποκαθίστασθαι ABE 35-36 τοῖς...πολλοῦ MW οὐκ εὐγνώστος πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις ABE 37 ἀκρατῶς MW ἀκρατῶς καὶ ἀφυλάκτως A ἀκρατῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως BE 38 σοφίσματα MW πανουργεύματα ABE 39 οὐ ABE om. MW 41 ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W | ἐνέδραν MW ἔγκρυμμα ABE 44 δύο MWA β' BE | ἐξ ἐκατέρωθεν MW ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ABE 45 τοῖς...νώτου MW πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθεν ABE | τάξεως MW παρατάξεως ABE | ἐρχομένοις MWBE ἐρχομένους A

mountain and draw up on level, open ground. Otherwise there is a chance that your formation may be suddenly overcome by the enemy lying in ambush under cover of the high ground.

5. Do not come to grips with the enemy formation and do not give them a good look at your own before you reconnoiter their lines and take steps to forestall the traps or ambushes they are likely to be setting against us.

6. If the site of the projected battle is in open and flat country, such that you cannot easily hide your second line there, then, to keep the enemy from getting a good idea of the army as it advances to combat, then and there, have the second line follow very closely behind the first so that the two lines will appear to them as one. About a mile away from the enemy battle formation, the second line must slow down a little, separate itself the prescribed distance from the first, and then assume its normal formation as a second battle line. This will prevent the enemy from forming a clear picture, much ahead of time, of the disposition of <our troops>.

7. Be very cautious when you see the enemy withdraw and take flight. Do not race after them intemperately, because they are likely to set traps for you. Rather, pursue them in good order until you receive definitive information that your victory is assured.

8. If it is reported to you that the enemy has attacked the first battle line and there is no way for you to send in their support either the flank guards or the troops assigned to ambush the enemy, then have some of the banda stationed on the wings of the second line move up to join it. If they are attacking from one side, <the support should come> from that sector, if from two sides, then from both sectors. In like manner, if they attack the rear of the second line and its rear

λακες αὐτῆς δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀρμόζεσθαι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσης ἵνα οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπερίσπαστοι μένωσι πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως.

9. Ἐὰν δὲ πολὺς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατὸς καὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἀλόγων ἢ ἀνδρῶν κομπὸς ἤγουν ἐξωγκωμένος φαίνεται, μὴ ἐπιτήδευε εὐθὺς εἰς ὑψηλὸν
50 τόπον τὸν στρατὸν τάσσειν μήκοθεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντων, ἵνα μὴ τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ πλῆθους προκαταλαμβανόμενος δειλιάσῃ προχείρως, ἀλλ' ἐν κοιλοτέρῳ τόπῳ τάσσει αὐτούς, ὅθεν οὐδὲ κατοπτεύει τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ καθορᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· καὶ ὅτ' ἂν ἢ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ ἀπὸ ἡμίσεως σημείου γένωνται οἱ ἐχθροί, τότε ἐν τῷ ὕψει φέρειν τὸν στρατὸν ἵνα πρὶν δειλιάσῃ ἢ συμβολῇ γένηται. εἰ δὲ μὴ
55 εὐρίσκεται τόπος τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ μήκοθεν οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῷ στρατῷ φαίνονται, πρόλεγε τῷ στρατῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ παρατάξει ὅτι ἀλόγων ἢ τοῦλδου πλῆθός ἐστι τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων μόνων.

10. Ἐὰν δέ σοι δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ παρατάξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀσυστάτοις οὖσιν, μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς βλάψαι ἰσχύσεις.

60 11. Πάντως δὲ ἐν ἢ καὶ δεύτερον βάνδον ἔχε ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου μιλίου τῆς παρατάξεως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ὅσῳ τάσσεται ὁ στρατὸς ἵνα μὴ ἄδειαν ἔχωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης κατασκοπεῖν τὴν τάξιν καὶ σοφίζεσθαι κατ' αὐτῆς.

12. Καί, ἐὰν πεζικὸς οὐκ ἔστι στρατός, τοὺς παῖδας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἤτοι
65 τοὺς δουλεύοντας αὐτοῖς καταλίμπανε, ὥστε διαμερίζεσθαι δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ

guard is not strong enough to deal with it by itself, take the same action. The rest of the troops can continue to concentrate on supporting the first line.

9. If the enemy's army is large and the multitude of horses and of men makes it appear enormous and formidable, be sure not to draw up your own army on high ground immediately, while the enemy are still at a distance.³ Apprehensive at the sight of such a multitude, our men may easily become discouraged. Instead, form them on lower ground where they will not see the enemy or be seen by them. When your foe advances within about a mile or half a mile, then bring your army to high ground so that the fighting will begin before your men lose courage. But if such terrain is not found and the enemy can be seen from a distance, then, as the army is drawn up for battle, spread the report that what they are looking at is not just soldiers but a multitude of horses or pack animals.

10. If you are able to do so, launch your attack against the enemy before they form their line for battle, while they are still milling about, and you will be able to inflict serious harm.

11. Always keep one or two banda about a mile or two in front of the main body before combat while the army is moving into formation. In this way the enemy will not have the opportunity to observe our formation before the battle and outmaneuver us.

12. If the army is not composed of infantry, leave the boys, the servants of the soldiers, behind so they may be stationed along the fortifications of the

48-50 Cf. Schol. in Eurip. *Phoen.*, 600.

46 αὐτῆς Va αὐτοὺς MW om. ABE | δι' ... ἀρμόζεσθαι MW om. ABE 46-47 ἀπερίσπαστοι MWA ἀπερίστατοι BE 48 ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 49 κομπὸς ἤγουν MW om. ABE | ἐξωγκωμένος MWBE ὑπέρογκος A | φαίνεται MWA φαίνεται BE 50 μήκοθεν... ὄντων MW om. ABE 51 προχείρως MW om. ABE | κοιλοτέρῳ MW βαθυτέρῳ καὶ χαμηλοτέρῳ ABE 52 ὅθεν ABE ὁπόθεν MW 52-53 κατοπτεύει... ἐχθρῶν MW τοὺς ἐχθρούς καθορᾶν δύνανται οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καθορᾶσθαι ABE 53 ἢ! MWA om. BE | σημείου MW μιλίου ABE 55 εὐρίσκεται MW εὐρίσκεται ὁ ABE 56 ἐστι MA ἐστὶν WBE 57 ἀνθρώπων MWA ἀνδρῶν BE 58 ἐὰν MWAE εἰ B | ἐστὶ M ἐστὶν WABE | παρατάξασθαι MWA τάξασθαι B προτάξασθαι E 59 συμβαλεῖν MW συμβάλλειν ABE | οὖσιν MWA οὖσι BE 60 δεύτερον MW δύο AE β' B | βάνδον Va βάνδα ABE om. MW 60-61 ἔχε... παρατάξεως MW ἔχε ἔμπροσθεν τῆς παρατάξεως ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δύο μιλίων πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου AE ἔχει ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ β' μιλίων ἔμπροσθεν τῆς παρατάξεως B 61 τάσσεται MW παρατάσσεται ABE 62 ἔχωσιν MWAB ἔχειν E | σοφίζεσθαι MWA κατασοφίζεσθαι BE 62-63 κατ' αὐτῆς MWA ταύτη BE 64 ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 65 καταλίμπανε MWA καταλιμπάνειν BE | τοῦ MWA om. BE

3. Cf. Scholia on Euripides' *Phoenissae*, 600.

φοσσάτω ἀπλίκτου ἑκαστον περὶ τὴν ἔσω τράφον μετὰ ὀπλων, εἴτε τοξεύειν δύνανται εἴτε ἀκοντίζειν εἴτε σφενδονᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔν βάνδον μετ' αὐτῶν, τὸ ὀφείλον βιγλεύειν καὶ τὰς πόρτας τοῦ φοσσάτου φυλάττειν ἡγουν τοῦ περιφραγμένου ἀπλίκτου, καὶ ἄρχοντα δὲ χρήσιμον τοῦ ὅλου τοιοῦτου φοσσάτου.

- 70 13. Μηδέποτε τοῦλδον ἐπὶ παρατάξεως περίφερε, | εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι, καὶ γὰρ 336
ἔτοιμον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βρώμα γίνεται ἂν ἐν μάχῃ εὐρεθῇ. ἂν μέντοι, ὡς εἰκός, ὁδοιποροῦντος σοῦ, ἀδοκῆτως ἐπέλευσις παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γένηται καὶ οὐ φθάξης ἀπλικεῦσαι καὶ ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὸ τοῦλδον, τότε φέρε αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως καὶ ἐκεῖ τάσσε καὶ ἔν ἡ
75 δευτέρῳ βάνδον ἐκ τῶν περισσῶν εἰς παραφυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφορίζει.

14. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔτυχον, ὡς εἴρηται, προαποθέμενοι χόρτον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ, τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν παράταξιν κινούντων, τὰ παλλικάρια τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἵνα ἐξέρχωνται εἰς τὸ μέρος τὸ ὀπίσω τῆς παρατάξεως τοῦ ὅλου στρατοῦ μετ' ὀλίγων βιγλατῶρων ἐκ τοῦ τῆς παρατά-
80 ξεως μέρους καταλιμπανομένων καὶ συνάγουσι τὸν ἀρκοῦντα χόρτον, ἐν ὧσ' ὁ πόλεμος γίνεται. τοῖς δὲ χορτολογοῦσιν ὀρίσεις δοθῆναι βάνδα καὶ σημειώσεις ἐν ὑψηλοτέροις τόποις καὶ διαφόροις, ὥστε ἐναντίου τινὸς συμβαίνοντος τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἡγεῖν πρὸς συνήθειαν, τότε ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς δρομαίως καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ φοσσάτον σώζεσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἔξω ἀποκλεισθῶσιν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι
85 γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς ἐκβάσεως. ἂν γὰρ ἐναντίως ἐξέλθῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα, δαπάνην ἔχοντες καὶ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων οἱ στρατιῶται, ταχέως ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ἀναμάχεσθαι ἀνακαλοῦνται ἡγουν καὶ πάλιν πολεμῆσαι καὶ νικῆσαι ἢ, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, εὐθέως ἀναχωρήσουσιν μετὰ τάξεως ἔτι ἐν δυνάμει τῶν ἵππων

66 φοσσάτω...μετὰ MW ἀπλίκτου φοσσάτω (ἀπλίκτω φοσσάτου BE) περὶ τὸ ἔσωθεν μέρος τῆς σούδας ἑκαστον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ABE 67 δύνανται MW δύναται ABE | τὸ MWA om. BE 68-69 ἡγουν...ἀπλίκτου MW om. ABE 68-69 περιφραγμένου M περιπεφραγμένου W om. ABE 69 τοιοῦτου MWA τοῦτο BE 70 μηδέποτε MW μηδέποτε δὲ ABE 72 ἀδοκῆτως MW ἀπροσδοκῆτως ABE 73 τὸ MWBE τὸν A | αὐτὸ MW αὐτὸν ABE 76 ἔτυχον...εἴρηται MW om. ABE | προαποθέμενοι MW προαπέθεντο A προαπευθέντες B προαπευθέντα E 77-78 τὰ παλλικάρια MW οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ ABE 78 καὶ τῶν MWAB καὶ τῶν καὶ τῶν E | μέρος...ὀπίσω MW ὀπίσω μέρος ABE 79 τοῦ!...στρατοῦ MW om. ABE | μετ' MW μετὰ ABE 79-80 ἐκ...καὶ MW οἵτινες πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς παρατάξεως στήσονται βιγλεύοντες οἱ δὲ ABE 80 συνάγουσι MW συνάξουσι AE συναύξουσι B 81 σημειώσεις MW σημεία τινα ABE 83 πρὸς συνήθειαν MW καὶ ABE | δρομαίως MWAE δρομαίους B 84 ἀποκλεισθῶσιν MWA ἀποκλεισθῶσι BE | ἐστι MABE ἐστὶν W 85 ἐκβάσεως MW ἐκβάσεως τοῦ πολέμου ABE 86 ἑαυτοὺς ABE αὐτοὺς MW 87 ἀναμάχεσθαι MW ἀναμαχέσασθαι A ἀνακαλέσεσθαι BE 88 εἰ MWA καὶ BE | ἀναχωρήσουσιν MW ἀναχωρήσουσι ABE

camp, each one along the inner ditch and provided with weapons he can handle: bow, javelin, or sling. One bandon should stay with them under orders to patrol and to guard the gates of the entrenchment, that is, the fortified camp, and place a competent officer over this entire fortification.

13. Never bring the baggage train up to the front line, if it is possible. If discovered in battle, it is an easy prey for the enemy. Now, if it happens that the enemy launches a surprise attack as you are marching along and you do not have time to set up camp and secure the baggage train, then bring it over to the right sector, on the flank of the second battle line, and detail one or two banda from whatever troops are available to guard it.

14. If it has not been possible to gather a supply of fodder ahead of time, as recommended, then, on the very day of battle, as the other heavy-armed troops are moving into formation, the servants of the soldiers should go out to gather it in the area to the rear of the battle line of the whole army. They should be accompanied by a few scouts taken from the men left behind in the area of the battle line. While the battle is in progress, they should gather a sufficient supply of fodder. Instruct those who are out gathering fodder that they will be given signals, <such as by> flags from high, conspicuous places to let them know that a hostile force is approaching and the customary signal for recall is sounded. They are then to return as fast as they can and take refuge in the camp, so they may not be cut off outside. This is essential because the outcome is uncertain. If things turn out adversely, the soldiers will have provisions for themselves and their horses; they can quickly rouse themselves to fight once more, that is, again

αὐτῶν εὕρισκομένων, πρὶν ἢ τὰ τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων φρονήματα ἐπὶ πλέον κατα-
 90 πέσωσι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἵππων δυνάμεις, ὅπερ γενέσθαι δύναται, ἐὰν μὴ ἔστιν ἐν
 ἐτοίμῳ ἢ δαπάνῃ. μετὰ γὰρ ἦτταν οὐδεὶς θαρρεῖ ἐξέρχεσθαι εἰς συλλογὴν χόρ-
 του καὶ οἱ ἵπποι λιμώττοντες ἀθυμῖαν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέχουσι καὶ βουλὴν
 πρὸς συμφέρον οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι τῆς ἐνδείας καὶ τοῦ φόβου βιαζομένων αὐτῇ.
 ἀλλὰ χρὴ πάντως καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ἀποτροφὴν παρατίθεσθαι μιᾶς ἢ καὶ
 95 δευτέρας ἡμέρας, εἰ δυνατόν καὶ πλέον, μάλιστα ἐὰν καὶ πλησίον τοῦ φοσσάτου
 εἰσὶν αἱ βοσκαί.

15. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἐναντία
 ἔκβασις παρακολουθήσῃ—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο—ἡμῖν μὲν παντοίως ἀπρόσφορον καὶ
 ἀσύμφορον φαίνεται τὸ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἡγούν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν
 100 πάλιν | πρὸς δημόσιον πόλεμον ἐγχειρήσαι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως ἡττηθέν-
 τας. διὸ οὐδὲ συμβουλευέσομέν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύειν. πᾶσι
 γὰρ πάντοτε δυσχερές ἐστὶ τοῦτο καὶ οὐδεὶς εἴωθεν εὐθέως ἀπὸ τὰς ἡττας
 ἀναμάχεσθαι· σπάνιον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνοίκειον. ὥστε, εἰ καὶ σφάλμα
 παρακολουθήσῃ καὶ ἐλπίσει ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦτο διὰ τῆς δευτέρας μάχης
 105 διορθοῦσθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν ἰκανὸν τὸ πλῆθος τὴν αἰτίαν διαγινώσκον <τοῦ> προαι-
 ρέσει εἰς δημοσίαν μάχην εὐθέως ἐλθεῖν. ὥς γὰρ ἐκ θείας ψήφου οὕτως τὸ
 ἀποτέλεσμα δεχόμενον ἐν πάσῃ δειλίᾳ γίνεται. διὸ χρὴ σε ἀνάγκης καὶ περιστά-
 σεως χωρὶς μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν <κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας> φανερώς συμβάλλειν
 μάχην μετὰ δημοσίαν ἦτταν διὰ παρατάξεως, ἀλλὰ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ σπουδάζε
 110 καιροσκοπῶν, ὅπως αἰφνιδιάσῃ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον φυγομαχῆσης, ἕως ἂν εἰς
 λήθην τῆς δειλίας ἐκείνης γενόμενος ὁ στρατὸς θαρρήσῃ τοῦ πάλιν ποιήσασθαι

101–103 Cf. Thuc. 7.61.7

90 γενέσθαι δύναται MW εὐκόλως δύναται γίνεσθαι ABE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 92 παρέχουσι
 MBE παρέχουσιν WA 93 ἔστι MAE ἔστιν W ἔτι B | τῆς ἐνδείας MW τοῦ λιμοῦ AB τοῦ
 λοιποῦ E 95 δευτέρας MWA β' BE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE 97–98 ἐναντία... παρακολουθήσῃ
 MW ἐναντίον τι συμβῇ ABE 98 ὁ... γένοιτο MW om. ABE | μὲν MWA δὲ BE |
 παντοίως... καὶ MW παντελῶς ABE 100 τῆς MW om. ABE 101 συμβουλευέσομέν MBE
 συμβουλευόμεν WA 102 πάντοτε MWBE om. A | ἔστι MABE ἔστιν W 103 σπάνιον...
 Ῥωμαίοις MW τοῦτο δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ABE | σφάλμα MA σφάλματα WBE
 105 διαγινώσκον τοῦ Va διαγινώσκον MW γινώσκον ἰδία ABE 106 ἐλθεῖν MW στήναι
 ABE 107 ἐν MWA om. BE | σε MW σε χωρὶς ABE 108 χωρὶς MW om. ABE | κατὰ...
 ἡμέρας Va om. codd. 110 καιροσκοπῶν MW ἐπιτηρῶν τὸν καιρὸν A ἐπιτηρεῖν τὸν καιρὸν
 BE | δὴ MWAB om. E 111 δειλίας MWAB δουλείας E

enter into combat and be victorious. Or else, if this is not <possible>, they may
 immediately retreat in an orderly fashion, while their horses are still in good
 condition, before the men become more dejected and the horses grow weak.
 This is what can happen if provisions are not available. For after a defeat nobody
 dares to go out to gather fodder. The horses lose their strength and this destroys
 the morale of the soldiers. Lack of necessities and fear crush any desire to
 improve things. Always make sure to keep on hand food for the horses for one
 or two days, more if possible, especially if there is good grazing near the camp.

15. If the clash of battle on the first day results in an adverse outcome—may
 such not happen—it is, in our opinion, absolutely undesirable and useless for
 those troops who have been defeated in the field to undertake actual combat
 again about the same time or even within a few days. Therefore, O general, we
 do not advise you to try this. It is always a difficult task for everyone. Nobody
 makes a habit of immediately retrieving a defeat.⁴ This is very rare and foreign to
 the Romans. Even though the general may understand his mistake and hope to
 remedy it by means of a second battle, most of the soldiers will be unable to
 understand his reasons for choosing to go right back into combat. They tend to
 accept what happened as God's will and completely lose heart. Apart, then, from
 necessity and special circumstances you must not attempt to fight a pitched
 battle during those same days after an open, public defeat in the field. Instead,
 employ tricks and deception, carefully timed surprise moves, and the so-called
 fighting while fleeing, until the army comes to forget its discouragement and

4. Cf. Thucydides 7.61.

συμβολήν δι' εὐλόγους αἰτίας πολλάκις ἐπισυμβαίνουσας, ἃς ἄρτι γράφειν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκολόν.

16. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἅπαξ θαρρήσης συμβαλεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἀποβολὴν τῆς δειλίας, 115 δεῖ τὴν πρόμαχον τάξιν ὡς κατακρουσθεῖσαν εἰς δευτέραν τάξιν ποιεῖν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν εἰς πρόμαχον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ταγμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ· μικροτέρα γὰρ οὐσα τῆς πρώτης καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ.

17. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμβραδύνειν δεῖ ἀσκόπως ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐναντίαις ἐκβάσεσι τοῦ 120 πολέμου, εἰ μὴ που ἐλπίς συμμαχίας ἢ ἕτερος τρόπος βοηθείας προσδοκᾶται ἢ, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπόκρισις παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γίνεται, ἣν περ ἀναγκαῖον μὴ πουβλικίζειν προχείρως, ἀλλὰ δὴ ἰδίᾳ ταύτην μαθάνειν. καί, ἐὰν τὸ προτεινόμενον παρευθὺ γίνεσθαι δύναται, μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πράττειν αὐτὸ ἀσφαλῶς δι' ὀψίδων ἢ ὄρκων. εἰ δὲ ἐπιβλαβές ἐστιν καὶ δι' ὑπέρθεσιν τινος καὶ χαύνωσιν τοῦ ὅχλου λέγεται, τὰ ἐναντία δεῖ φημίξειν, σκληρότερα τῶν προτεινομένων, ἵνα <τῇ 125 ἀπαγορεύσει τῶν προτεινομένων> μᾶλλον ὁ στρατὸς πρὸς ὀργὴν διανιστάμενος τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἰσχυροτέρως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντικαταστή καὶ ἔτι πειθήνιος τῷ ἄρχοντι γένηται. ὅσον γὰρ βραδυτὴς γίνεται, τοσοῦτον οἱ ἡττηθέντες δειλότεροι γίνονται καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τολμηρότεροι.

18. Πρὶν ἢ οὖν εἰς τέλειον τὰ φρονήματα καταπέσῃ, χρή σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, 130 διὰ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν δεκάρχων καὶ πεντάρχων προτρέψασθαι τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι καιρὸς | δειλιάσαι, ἀλλ' ὀρμηθῆ- 337 ναι μᾶλλον κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὸ γενόμενον παρὰ τινων σφάλμα ἀνδρείως ἀνακαλέσασθαι. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια δεῖ σε διαλαλῆσαι.

19. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐλπίς τοῦ διὰ παρατάξεως δημοσίας τὴν μάχην ἀνακαλέ- 135 σασθαι, τῇ προειρημένῃ μεθόδῳ τῆς τάξεως χρήσῃ. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ προβαίνει, δεῖ συμφερόντως τῶν κινδύνων κατατολμᾶν.

20. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πεζοὶ εἰσιν οἱ νικήσαντες ἐχθροί, σπουδάζειν μετὰ τῶν ἵππων εὐτάκτως τὰς ἀναχωρήσεις ἥτοι μεταστάσεις τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐκείνου ἀσφαλῶς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν. εἰ δὲ καβαλλάριοι ὦσιν, μάλιστα τῶν περισσῶν καὶ 140 βαρυντέρων ἀλόγων καὶ πραγμάτων δεῖ περιφρονεῖν καὶ πεζῇ καθίστασθαι καὶ

112 συμβολήν ABE συλλογὴν MW | ἄρτι γράφειν ABE ἀντιγράφειν MW 114 τὴν ἀποβολήν MW ἀποβολέσθαι τὴν δειλίαν ABE 119 τρόπος MWA τόπος BE 120 πουβλικίζειν MW δημοσιεύειν ABE 121 προχείρως MW εὐθέως A εὐθὺς BE | ἀλλὰ... καὶ MW ἀλλ' ABE | ἐὰν MWA εἰ BE | παρευθὺ MW παρευθὺς ABE 124 δεῖ MW om. ABE 124-125 τῇ... προτεινομένων Va om. codd. 129 ἢ MW om. ABE | εἰς τέλειον MW τελείως ABE | καταπέσῃ MBE καταπέσωσιν WA 131 ὡς MW ὅτι ABE | ἔστι MABE ἐστὶν W 131-132 ὀρμηθῆναι MWA ὀρμησαι BE 132 μᾶλλον MWAE om. B 138 ἐκείνου MWE ἐκείνου καὶ AB 139 ὦσιν MWA εἰσι BE

regains the confidence to engage in battle once more. Good reasons for this may readily be adduced, but it is not convenient to list them here.

16. Provided that you succeed in encouraging <the army> to enter into battle after it has cast aside its discouragement, you must make the shattered promachos line into the second line and make the second into the promachos, retaining selected tagmata of the first line, since the second by itself is smaller than the first and will be too weak.

17. In the event of an adverse outcome in battle, there must be no indecision or delay, unless of course there is reason to expect the arrival of allies or some other form of assistance or, as may well be the case, overtures are made by the enemy. These must not be made public right away, but study them privately. If what is proposed can be done immediately, do not put it off but go along with it, confirming it with hostages or by oath. But if the terms are harsh and proposed for the purpose of delaying and getting the men to drop their guard, you must counter this by spreading rumors making them more unfavorable than the actual proposals, so that in rejecting the actual proposals, the army will rather be moved to anger and feel compelled to resist the enemy more forcefully, and it will be more obedient to its commander. The longer the delay, the more demoralized do the vanquished become and the more confident the victors.

18. Therefore, before the men become utterly depressed, you must, O general, have the tagmatic commanders, including the dekarchs and pentarchs, exhort the army and point out that this is no time for despondency; rather, they should be aroused against the enemy and valiantly make up for the failure of a few. You should address them in these and similar words.

19. If there is some hope that the defeat may be retrieved in the open field, employ the prescribed method of formation. But if this is not the case, it is important to show a bold front in the face of dangers.

20. If the victorious foe consists mostly of infantry, do not remain there but make haste to withdraw in good order with your horses or safely move your camp elsewhere. But if they are horsemen, you must disregard superfluous and cumbersome property and horses. Except for a small mounted force, all should

ἀνευ ὀλίγων καβαλλαρίων πάντας εἰς δύο φάλαγγας ἦτοι τάξεις ἢ καὶ εἰς
 ἓν τετράγωνον πλινθίου σχῆμα παρατάσασθαι. καὶ μέσον μὲν τὰ ἄλογα ἢ
 τὸν τοῦλδον φέρειν, ἐξωθεν δὲ ἔχειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς εἴρηται, ἓν τάξει καὶ
 τοὺς τοξότας ἐξωτέρω καὶ οὕτως τὰς μεταστάσεις καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ποιεῖσθαι
 145 ἀσφαλῶς.

21. Πάλιν δέ, ἐὰν αἰσίως τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐξέλθῃ καὶ Θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος
 ἄρξηται ἡ νίκη, οὐ δεῖ τῇ ὠθήσει καὶ μόνη ἄρκεῖσθαι ὡς ἀπειροκάλους, μὴ
 εἰδότας χρῆσασθαι τῷ καιρῷ. ἀλλὰ ἀκαίρως ἀκούειν φιλοῦντας τὸ “νίκα καὶ μὴ
 ὑπερνίκα,” καὶ ἐνδιδόντας σφαλερῶς καὶ μείζονα διὰ τῆς ἐνδόσεως τοῦ καιροῦ
 150 κάματον ἐπισωρεύοντας καὶ ἄδηλον τὴν μέλλουσιν ἔκβασιν ἑαυτοῖς κατασκευ-
 ᾶζοντας, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τελείᾳ καταλύσει ἐπιμένειν.

22. Εἰ δὲ ἐν ὀχυρώματι καταφεύγει, σπουδάζειν ἢ χειρὶ ἢ διὰ τῶν λιπόντων
 εἰδῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ τοῖς ἀλόγοις διὰ παραφυλακῆς στενοχωρεῖν αὐτὸν
 μέχρι τελείας αὐτοῦ καταλύσεως ἢ ἐπωφελῶν ἡμῖν γινομένων συμφώνων καὶ
 155 μὴδὲ ἐκλύεσθαι τῇ ὀλίγῃ ὠθήσει, μὴδὲ ἀμελεῖν τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἐκβάσεως δι'
 ὀλίγην καρτερίαν μετὰ τοσοῦτον πόνον καὶ κάματον καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ
 πολέμου κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνηγίου τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς
 ἔσται.

23. Μῆτε μὴν περιφρονεῖν τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐταξίας ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης
 160 μάλιστα, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένους διώκειν καὶ μετὰ ἐπιστήμης καὶ νουνεχίας
 ἐπισκοποῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν τὰ δέοντα. οὐκ ἀρκεῖ γὰρ δύναμις μόνη εἰς
 ἀσφάλειαν ἰδίαν ἢ βλάβην τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν καὶ ἡ 317
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διοικήσεις ἀναγκαῖα καὶ πρώτη τυγχάνει.

24. Πρέπον σε οὖν, ὦ στρατηγέ, τοῖς τε καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἀρμοδίως
 165 κεχρῆσθαι καί, ἐὰν δοκιμάσης τοῦ πάντως γενέσθαι πόλεμον δημόσιον, πάντα

148–149 *Men. Sent.*, 419; *Strat.*, 1.B.12.4. 157–158 *Arist. Phys.*, 197a30.

141 πάντας MW ἅπαντας ABE | εἰς¹ MWA om. BE | ἢ MW ἢ καὶ ABE 143 τὸν ABE τὸ
 MW 146 αἰσίως MW πρεπόντως ABE 147 τῇ MWAE om. B | ἀπειροκάλους MW om.
 ABE 148 εἰδότας MW γινώσκοντας ABE 149 καιροῦ MW καιροῦ κόπον καὶ ABE
 150 ἐπισωρεύοντας MW ὑπομένοντας ABE 150–151 κατασκευάζοντας MWA
 κατασκευάζοντες BE 152 σπουδάζειν MW σπουδάζειν χρῆ ABE | χειρὶ... λιπόντων MW
 διὰ δυνάμεως ἢ διὰ τῶν λειπόντων ABE 155 μὴδὲ¹ MWA μὴ BE 155–156 τῇ... ὀλίγην
 MWAE om. B 155 τῆς... ἐκβάσεως MW τοῦ τέλους τοῦ πράγματος AE 159 μῆτε μὴν
 MW μῆτε δὲ A μὴδὲ BE | περιφρονεῖν MWA καταφρονεῖν BE 160 νουνεχίας MW
 φρονήσεως ABE 161 ἐπισκοποῦντα MW ἐπισκοπεῖν ABE 162 τὴν MW τῆς ABE |
 βοήθειαν MW βοηθείας ABE 164 σε MW om. ABE | οὖν MWAE οὖν ἐστὶν B
 165 κεχρῆσθαι MW κεχρήσθαι σε ABE | πάντως MW πάλιν ABE

take their stand on foot in two phalanxes or formations or in one four-sided,
 rectangular formation. Place the horses and the baggage train in the middle
 with the soldiers lined up on the outside, as described, and the archers in front
 of them. In this way the army can safely change location.

21. Again, if the outcome of the battle is favorable and, with the help of God,
 victory is ours, we must not be satisfied with merely driving the enemy back,
 like inexperienced leaders who do not know how to take advantage of an oppor-
 tunity. Instead, they have an inordinate love of the saying: “Be victorious but do
 not press your victory too hard.”⁵ To their own peril they make concessions and,
 by surrendering the opportunity, they only heap up more trouble for themselves
 and place the ultimate results in doubt. You must keep at it until the enemy is
 utterly destroyed.

22. If they seek refuge behind fortifications, be sure to apply pressure direct-
 ly or else prevent them from getting more supplies for men and horses until
 they are completely wiped out or agree to terms advantageous to us. Do not let
 up after driving them back a short distance. After so much labor and hard work
 and after so many dangers in battle, do not jeopardize the outcome of the affair
 because of a lack of persistence. As in hunting, a near miss is still a complete
 miss.⁶

23. Especially after a victory, do not disregard the good order of the soldiers.
 They are to maintain formation in pursuit and the general is to use his knowl-
 edge and good sense in supervising what has to be done. Strength alone is not
 sufficient to safeguard oneself and to inflict damage on the enemy but, after the
 assistance of God, the primary and essential factor is the general's leadership.

24. Therefore, it is incumbent on you, O general, to take advantage of times
 and places. If you make a definite decision to get into a pitched battle, you must

5. Menander, *Sententiae*, 419; *Strat.* 7.B.12.4; see Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853), 26.17.

6. Aristotle, *Physics*, 197a30.

σκοπήσης καὶ τόπον ἐπιτήδειον γυμνόν τε καὶ ὁμαλὸν διὰ τοὺς κονταράτους καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ καὶ ὀπίσθια μέρη προερευνᾶν δεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς παρατάξεως μέχρι τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προκειμένους τόπους ψηλαφᾶν, μήποτε λάκκοι εἰσὶν ἢ αὐτοφυεῖς ἢ
170 ὠρυγμένοι ἢ δόλος τις ἄλλος πρόκειται.

25. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέραν, ὡς ἄνω εἵπομεν, τῶν βιγλῶν προεξερχομένων ἅμα πρῶτ' εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ τόπου, ἔνθα ἢ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριῶν μιλίων ἐν διπλαῖς βίγλαις παραγγέλλειν αὐτοὺς μὴ μόνον πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κίνησιν ἀποβλέπειν καὶ μηνύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θέλοντας
175 προσρυῆναι, ὡς εἰκός, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀποσκοπεῖν καὶ συνέχειν αὐτούς. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀποφεύγοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ ῥαδίως κωλύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένους προσρυῆναι καὶ ἐπιφερομένους, ὡς εἰκός, εἶδη τινὰ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ὑποδέχονται εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐπηρεάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς παρά τινων κακῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπερ καὶ αἰεὶ σε χρὴ παραφυλάττειν εἰς τοὺς προσφεύγοντας μετὰ
180 τινων πραγμάτων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ δίκαιον.

26. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν μέρη τῆς παρατάξεως βιγλεύοντες ἄχρι ἐνὸς σαγιττοβόλου τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἰδίας περιπατεῖωσαν καὶ ὁδηγεῖωσαν μήπως, ὡς εἴρηται, φόσσαι ἤγουν ὀρύγματ' εἰσὶν ἢ ἕτερος δόλος μεμελέτῃται παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀναστέλλειν τοὺς ἰδίους εἰς τὸ μὴ
185 ἀδοκῆτως περιπίπτειν.

27. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τόποις καὶ καιροῖς μὴ μόνον, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀπλᾶς βίγλας κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διπλᾶς ἵνα τῆς μῖας, ὡς εἰκός, λανθανομένης τὴν ἑτέραν μὴ διαλάβῃ.

investigate every open and level location suitable for lancers. You must reconnoiter not only the sectors to the right and left and rear for two or three days before forming the line and until the conclusion of the battle, but also closely examine the ground in front in case pools of water, either natural or excavated, or some other trap lies before you.

25. On the day of battle, as we remarked above, patrols, twice the usual number, are to head out early in the morning for two or three miles in the four directions of the area where the battle is to take place. Order them not only to observe and report the movements of the enemy but also to discover and to detain any of our men who, as may happen, want to go over to the enemy. Out there they can easily intercept deserters from our army. Also, in case enemy soldiers want to come over to us bringing with them, as is likely, their equipment, the patrols may receive them in safety so they will not be waylaid by evil men. It is essential and just that you always be protective of those seeking refuge in our nation along with their possessions.

26. The patrols covering the area in front of our battle line should work their way to about a bowshot from the enemy line in front of their own to make sure, as mentioned, that the enemy are not digging any ditches or planning some other trap. This will keep their own men from falling into unexpected trouble.

27. When under pressure because of the terrain and the time, do not send, as prescribed, only one patrol into the area against them but send two, so that if the first one, as can happen, fails to notice <enemy activity>, the second one will be sure to detect it.

168 δύο MWAE β' B | τοῦ πέρατος MW συμπληρώσεως ABE 169 προκειμένους Va παρακειμένους codd. | εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν BE 172 πρῶτ' MWA om. BE 173 δύο MWA β' BE 175 προσρυῆναι MW προσφυγεῖν ABE | συνέχειν MW κατέχειν ABE 176 ῥαδίως MW εὐκόλως ABE | κωλύουσι MBE κωλύουσιν WA 177 προσρυῆναι MW προσφυγεῖν ABE | εἶδη MW πράγματα ABE 179 σε χρὴ MWBE χρὴ σε A | παραφυλάττειν MW παραφυλάττεσθαι ABE 183 φόσσαι ἤγουν MW om. ABE | εἰσὶν MWA ὥσιν BE 185 περιπίπτειν MWA περιπίπτειν περὶ βιγλῶν BE 186 μὴ MWBE οὐ A 186-187 εἴρηται...βίγλας MW ἀπλᾶς (ἀπλῶς E) βίγλας ὡς εἴρηται ABE 187 τῶν...ποιεῖσθαι MW τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ποιεῖσθαι χρὴ ABE 187-188 τῆς...λανθανομένης MW ἐὰν τὴν μίαν ὡς εἰκός λαθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ABE 188 διαλάβῃ MW διαλάβωσιν A διαλάβωσι BE

28. Καί, ἐὰν ἔτοιμός ἐστιν ἡ τάξις καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐπιτήδειος, μὴ ἀναμένειν τοὺς
 190 ἐχθροὺς ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ, ἵνα μὴ κανονίζωσι καὶ μεθοδεύωσι τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ
 ἀσφαλῶς ὁρμᾶν καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

29. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑπέρθεσιν ἔχη, ὡς εἰκός, τὰ τῆς συμβολῆς διὰ τινὰς εὐλόγους
 αἰτίας, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν τὴν δευτέραν μάλιστα τάξιν ἐν ταῖς εὐρισκομέναις 33#
 ὕλαις ἢ τοῖς κοιλοτέροις τόποις ὀπισθεν κρύπτειν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῖς
 195 ἐχθροῖς ἀκαίρως προφαινομένη αὐτὴ μεθοδεύεται καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεται ὑπὸ ἐγ-
 κρυμμάτων ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἐγχειρήσεων κατασοφίζεται.

30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ βιγλῶν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, δεῖ σε αὐτὰς ὀχυρὰς ποιεῖν καὶ
 διαιρεῖν τοὺς βιγλεύοντας, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὑπνοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγοροῦσιν καὶ οὕτως
 ἐναλλάσσοντας ἀλλήλους βιγλεύειν. μὴ γὰρ πιστεύσης τινί, κἂν ὑπόσχεσιν
 200 ποιεῖται, ὅλην τὴν νύκτα γρηγορῆσαι ἄγρυπνον· καὶ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται καὶ αὐτόμα-
 τον ὕπνον ἐπελθεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις βίγλαις, ὅτε χρεῖα, πάντως καὶ ὀρθοὺς
 ἱσταμένους βιγλεύειν. αἱ γὰρ καθέδραι καὶ αἱ ἀνακλίσεις τὰ σώματα μαραίνου-
 σιν εἰς ὕπνον, ἡ δὲ τῶν σκελῶν στάσις διέγερσιν τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖ.

31. Ἀναγκαῖον δέ σοι μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὦ στρατηγέ, τοὺς πληγωθέντας ἐν
 205 αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
 ταφῆς ἀξιοῦν καὶ μακαρίζειν διηνεκῶς, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 μηδὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν προτιμήσαντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁσιόν ἐστιν καὶ προθυμίαν
 τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐμποιεῖ.

204–208 *Strat.*, 7.B.6.

189 ἐὰν MWA ἂν BE | ἐστιν...τάξις MWA ἢ τάξις ἢ BE 190 κανονίζωσι καὶ MW om.
 ABE | τάξιν MW τάξιν καὶ καταστρατηγῶσιν αὐτὴν (αὐτῆς BE) ABE | ἀλλὰ MWA ἀλλ' BE
 192 ὡς εἰκός MW om. ABE | συμβολῆς MW συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου ABE 193 ἐστιν
 WABE ἐστι M 194 κοιλοτέροις MW βαθυτέροις A βαθυτέροις καὶ χαμηλοτέροις BE
 195 προφαινομένη MW φαινομένη A φυλαττομένοι BE | αὐτὴ MWE om. AB |
 μεθοδεύεται...ἐπιβουλεύεται MW μεθοδεύεται καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεται ABE 196 ἢ MWBE om.
 A | καὶ MWA om. BE | ἄλλων MWA ἄλλων τινῶν BE | κατασοφίζεται Va κατασοφίζεται
 MW om. ABE 197 ἐπεὶ MWA ἐπειδὴ BE | ὀχυρὰς MW ἀσφαλεῖς ABE 198 διαιρεῖν
 MW διαμερίζειν ABE | ὑπνοῦσιν MW κοιμῶνται ABE | ἐγρηγοροῦσιν MW γρηγορῶσιν A
 γρηγορῶσι BE 199 ἐναλλάσσοντας MWA ἐλλάσσοντας BE | ἀλλήλους MW ἀλλήλους καὶ
 διαδεχομένους ABE | κἂν MWA καὶ BE 200 γρηγορῆσαι...καὶ¹ MW ἀγρυπνήσαι A
 ἀγρυπνεῖν BE 202–203 αἱ¹...ὕπνον MW τὸ γὰρ καθεζεσθαι καὶ (τὸ BE) ἀνακλίνεσθαι εἰς
 ὕπνον τὰ σώματα καταφέρει ABE 202–203 μαραίνουσιν W μαραίνουσι M om. ABE
 203 ἢ ABE αἱ MW | στάσις ABE στάσεις MW 204 scr. mg. περὶ τοῦ παραμυθεῖσθαι τοὺς
 πληγωθέντας καὶ θνήσκοντας θάπτειν καὶ μακαρίζειν E 205 διαπίπτοντας MW
 ἀποθνήσκοντας ABE 206 ταφῆς ἀξιοῦν MW θάπτειν ABE 207 ἐστιν MW ἐστι τοῦτο
 ABE

28. Further, if our lines are ready and the terrain is suitable, do not wait for
 the enemy to give battle, allowing them to adapt and modify their formation,
 but in safety charge and fall upon them.

29. In the likely case that the charge is delayed for some good reasons, it is
 absolutely necessary to hide the second line in the woods that may be found
 there or on lower ground to the rear. If it is seen by the enemy too soon, they
 will adapt and deal with it by ambushes or outwit it by other methods.

30. Since we have brought up the subject of patrols, you must make them
 strong. Divide the scouts in such a way that, while some are sleeping, others are
 awake, and so they carry out the patrols alternating with one another. Do not
 trust anyone to be awake and vigilant through the entire night, no matter how
 much he promises to do so. For it is possible that sleep will come upon him of
 itself. When other patrols are necessary, always have the scouts stand up
 straight. Chairs and recliners lull the body into sleep whereas standing on your
 legs keeps the mind alert.

31. After the battle, O general, you are obliged to see to the comfort of the
 soldiers wounded in the action, as well as to provide proper burial for those who
 have fallen.⁷ Constantly pronounce them blessed because they have not pre-
 ferred their own lives over their faith and their brothers. This is a religious act
 and it greatly helps the morale of the living.

32. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τέκνα αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἢ σύμβιος καὶ φανερόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἀγωνιζό-
210 μενοι προθύμως ἐτελειώθησαν, καὶ ταῦτα παραμυθίας ἀξιούν τῆς προσηκούσης.

33. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εὐρίσκομεν καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐθνικούς, ὡς ἐπίπαν
μῆκοθεν τὰς ἀλλήλων παρατάξεις ὁρώντας, ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τὴν στυνγοτέραν
μᾶλλον τῇ ὧσιν ἐπιτυχάνειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἢ περὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις λάμπουσιν,
215 καὶ τὰ ψευδὲς ἐστὶν τὸ χυδαῖον τοῦτο. μετὰ γὰρ τῆς κρίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διοίκησει καὶ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὁ πόλεμος κρίνεται. ἀλλ'
οὖν διὰ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα στοχαζομένους δέον ἐστίν, ὥστε εἰ μὲν ὕλαι ἢ κοῖλοι
τόποι πρόκεινται, ἐκεῖσε τὸν στρατὸν ἀποκρύβειν καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῖς πολεμί-
οις μὴ ἐπιδεικνύειν, ὥστε μὴ κατασοφίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ, εἰ μήπω
ἐλθῶσιν ἀπὸ ἐνδὸς ἢ δευτέρου σημείου.

34. Εἰ δὲ γυμνὸς ὁ τόπος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ ἀήρ ἐστίν, τότε τὰς κασσίδας
220 παρασκευάζειν μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ φορεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρις
ἂν ἐγγίσωσιν οἱ ἐχθροί· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκουτάρια μικρὰ ὄντα ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τὸ
στήθος φέρειν καὶ σκέπειν δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ λωρίκια· καὶ τὰς σκαπλίδας ὀπισθεν
| κατὰ τῶν ὤμοπλατῶν φέρειν. εἰ ἔχουσι σιδηρὰ σκουτάρια λαμπρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
225 σίδηρα τῶν κονταρίων ἀποκρύπτειν εἰς τὸ παντοίως τὰ ὅπλα μῆκοθεν <μὴ>
διαλάμπειν διὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοιοῦτου σημείου, ὅπερ
σημειοῦνται οἱ ἐναντίοι, προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς
δειλίαν καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης μεταπίπτειν.

228 ad μεταπίπτειν des. Va

211–228 *Strat.*, 7.B.15.

209 σύμβιος MWA σύμιοι B σύμβιοι E 210 ἐτελειώθησαν MW ἀπέθανον ABE |
παραμυθίας...προσηκούσης MW τῆς προσηκούσης παραμυθίας ἀξιούν ABE 211 ἐπίπαν
MW ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον A ἐπὶ πλεῖστον BE 212 παρατάξεις MWBE τάξεις A
213 ἐπιτυχάνειν MW εὐτυχεῖν A ἐντυχεῖν BE 214 ἐστὶν...τοῦτο MW ἐστὶ (ἢ BE) τοῦτο
καὶ χυδαῖον ABE 215 προθυμία MWAE πολεμία B | τοῦ στρατοῦ MW om. ABE | πόλεμος
MWAE πρόθυμος B 216 ὥστε MW om. ABE | κοῖλοι MW βαθεῖς καὶ (ἢ E) χαμηλοὶ ABE
217 ἀποκρύβειν καὶ MW ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ μὴ ABE 218 μὴ! MW om. ABE | αὐτῷ MW
αὐτὸν ABE | μήπω MW μήπου ABE 219 σημείου MW μιλίου ABE 220 ἐστὶν MWA ἐστὶ
BE 221 χερσὶ MABE χερσὶν W 222 ἐγγίσωσιν MWA ἐγγίζωσιν BE 223 σκαπλίδας
Strat. κασσίδας ἢ codd. 223–224 ὀπισθεν...λαμπρά MW εἰ δὲ ἔχωσι σιδηρὰ σκουτάρια
λάμποντα ὀπίσω εἰς τοὺς ὤμοπλατάς ἀπορρίπτειν ABE 225 παντοίως MW μηδαμῶς ABE
225–226 μῆκοθεν...διαλάμπειν MW διαλάμπειν ἀπὸ μακροθεν ABE 225 μὴ Va om. codd.
226 τὸν...τρόπον MW τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν ABE | διὰ² MW διὰ τοῦ ABE
227 σημειοῦνται...ἐναντίοι MW οἱ ἐχθροὶ παρατηροῦνται καλόν ἐστὶ (ἐστὶν B) ABE |
γνώμας MW διανοίας ABE 227–228 εἰς...μεταπίπτειν MW προκαταπλήττεσθαι καὶ εἰς
δειλίαν ἐμπίπτειν καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ABE

32. If they have children or a wife and it is clear that they met their end
struggling valiantly, then provide proper comfort to their children and wives.

33. We are well aware that the Romans and all other peoples, when observ-
ing each other's battle lines from a distance, generally pick out the more gloomy-
looking one as more likely to win the battle rather than the one in gleaming
armor.⁸ Although common, this view is clearly wrong. After the judgment of
God, war is decided by the leadership of the general and the morale of the army.
Be that as it may, following <the report of> those who are attentive to such
matters, if woods or hollows are found in the vicinity, the army should be
concealed in them and not be visible to the enemy for a long time, until it
advances to within a mile or two. This will not allow the enemy to organize
countermeasures against it.

34. If the ground is open and the air is clear, then train <the troops> not to
wear their helmets during a long wait before <battle> but to hold them in their
hands until the enemy gets close. If their shields are small, have them carry
them in front on their chests, in this way covering their mail coats, and throw
the mail head pieces back over their shoulders. They should conceal bright iron
shields, if they have them, and also the iron of the lances. By adopting the above
measures, our weapons will not seem to shine at all from a distance. By such
indications, which the enemy also make use of, we will frustrate them and, even
before the battle, they will fall into dejection.

8. Sections 33–34 derive from *Strat.* 7.B.15.

35. Κελεύομεν δέ σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, μάλιστα καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας ἥτοι ἐγκρύμ-
 230 ματα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ λόγον ποιεῖσθαι ἥτοι κατὰ τὸν πρῶν ἡμῖν διατυπωθέντα
 τρόπον. αὐταὶ γὰρ ἐπιτηδείως καὶ πρεπόντως γινόμεναι μεγίστας ὠφελείας ἐν
 ταῖς μάχαις ποιοῦσι, καὶ διαφόρως μεγάλας δυνάμεις ὑπὸ ὀλίγων κατέλυσαν,
 ὥστε μὴδὲ καιρὸν γενέσθαι τὴν ὅλην παράταξιν συμπλακῆναι.

36. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τόπων ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς ταῦτα εὐπορήσαντες, οἷον ἢ ὕλης
 235 δασείας ἢ κοιλάδος ἢ βουνοῦ μεγάλου ἢ φαραγγίων ἢ ὀρέων ἐγγιζόντων, καὶ
 μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως συνεκτεινομένων, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν λαθεῖν καὶ
 μὴ πόρρωθεν ὀρώμενον τὸ ἔγκρυμμα μεθοδευθῆναι πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν. οὕτως οὖν
 τοῖς νώτοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὀπισθεν ἄφνω ἐπελθόντες πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς διετάρα-
 ξαν καὶ ἔτρεψαν αὐτούς.

37. Ἄλλοι δὲ οὐ πλησίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς παρατάξεως ταύτην ἐποίησαν,
 ἐπιτήδειον οὐκ ἔχοντες τόπον, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτῶν μέσον τῆς ἰδίας καὶ τῆς
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν τάξεως ποιήσαντες ἢ καὶ ὀπισθεν τῆς ἰδίας ἐκ πλαγίου, καὶ τὴν μὲν
 μεῖζονα δύναμιν εἰς ἐγκρύμματα ἔταξαν, τὴν δὲ ἐλάττονα σχηματικῶς ἔμπρο-
 σθεν ἔταξαν.

38. Ἄλλοι δὲ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔταξαν εἰς ἔγκρυμμα, καὶ οὐ τὸ μεῖζον
 μέρος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀλιγότερον. τῆς δὲ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἐκουσίως τῶν προτα-
 γέντων εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμησάντων, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν δίωξιν ἀτάκτως ποιουμέ-
 νων, μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξελθόντες οἱ τὸ ἔγκρυμ-
 μα ποιήσαντες κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ὀπισθεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπέστησαν. εἴτα καὶ οἱ
 245 φυγόντες ἀντίστροφοι γινόμενοι πρὸς τὸ σύνθημα ὅπερ προόρισαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ

250 ad σύνθημα des. W

229–407 *Strat.*, 4.

229 δέ ABE om. MW | τὰς...ἥτοι MW τὰ ABE 230–231 ἥτοι...αὐταὶ MW καθὼς σοι
 προετυπώσαμεν ταῦτα ABE 232 ποιοῦσι MW ποιοῦσιν ABE | διαφόρως MW πολλάκις
 ABE | κατέλυσαν MW διὰ τοιούτων τρόπων κατελύθησαν ABE 234 Οἱ De ei codd. |
 εὐπορήσαντες MW ἐπιτυχόντες ABE 234–235 ὕλης...κοιλάδος MW δάσους ἢ κοιλάδων
 ABE 235 φαραγγίων MW φαραγγίων ABE | ἐγγιζόντων καὶ MW om. ABE
 236 συνεκτεινομένων MW ἐπεκτεινομένων ABE 237 μεθοδευθῆναι...ἐπιβουλὴν MW
 καταστραταγηθῆναι καὶ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι ABE 238 νώτοις MW ὀπισθίοις μέρεσι ABE |
 ὀπισθεν MW om. ABE 240 τῶν...παρατάξεως MW τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως ABE |
 ταύτην MW τοῦτο ABE 241 ἐπιτήδειον...τόπον MW μὴ ἔχοντες τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ABE |
 ἰδίας MW ἰδίας ἢ ABE 243–244 ἔμπροσθεν ἔταξαν MW προέταξαν ἔμπροσθεν ABE
 246–247 προταγέντων MW προτραπέντων ABE 248 τῆς ἐνέδρας MW τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος
 ABE 249 κατὰ...ὀπισθεν MW ὀπίσω ABE 250 ἀντίστροφοι γινόμενοι MW
 ἀντιστραφέντες ABE | σύνθημα...προόρισαν M σημειὸν καὶ τὸ σύνθημα ὃ προώρισαν ABE

35. We order you, O general, to make particular use of ambuscades or am-
 bushes in battle in the prescribed manner, that is, the manner previously set
 forth by us.⁹ When well planned and properly carried out, they are extremely
 advantageous in warfare. In various ways they have caused large forces to be
 destroyed by a few men before they had a chance to bring their entire battle line
 into action.

36. Some commanders have availed themselves of favorable terrain for these
 purposes, such as dense woods, hollows, steep hills, ravines, or nearby moun-
 tains extending up to the enemy battle line. They have used these to conceal
 themselves and avoid being detected from a distance and so have organized
 their ambush and gotten it ready. Then, well before battle, they suddenly
 charged in from behind against the enemy's rear and threw them into disarray
 and routed them.

37. Others, when the terrain was not to their advantage, would not lay the
 ambush close to the enemy battle line, but would set it up off to their flanks,
 between the enemy's line and their own or even to the rear of their own flank.
 They stationed the larger force in ambush with a smaller force assuming a
 position out in front.

38. Still others have designated a division of the army for an ambush, not the
 larger division but a smaller one. When the charge began, those who had been
 so drawn up quickly rushed into flight and, in disorder, the enemy pursued
 them. They rode past the site of the ambush and the troops who had set the
 ambush charged out behind them and struck the enemy in the rear. Then, at the
 prearranged signal, the men who had been fleeing wheeled about and caught the
 enemy in the middle. The Northern tribes and the Scythians do this very

9. Sections 35–57 derive from *Strat.* 4.

ἀπέλαβον αὐτούς. τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπὶ τῶν βορειοτέρων καὶ Σκυθικῶν ἐθνῶν γίνεται διὰ τὸ ἄτακτα εἶναι, οἷον Τούρκων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς.

39. Ἐὰν δέ τις φόσσαν βαθεῖαν ἤγουν ὄρυγμα ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα πόδας τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ ἱκανὸν διάστημα ὀρύξῃ, καὶ σκεπάσῃ ταύτην ξύλοις λεπτοῖς χόρτῳ
 255 τε καὶ χώματι, ὥστε ἡνω|μένην καὶ ὁμοίαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ ὀρύγματος εἶναι 319
 τῇ ἐγγιζούσῃ αὐτῷ γῇ, καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν διαλλάττειν. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸ ἐπαρθὲν
 χῶμα ἐάσῃ παρακεῖσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐμφαίνῃ τινὰ ξενοπρέπειαν· ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δὲ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρύγματος καταλίπη τινὰς τόπους στερεοὺς σεσημειωμένους καὶ
 ἐγνωσμένους πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ ἤγουν ἔνθεν
 260 κάκειθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἔγκρυμμα εἰς ἀφανεῖς τόπους ποιήσῃ,
 καὶ παρατάξῃ τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸ τοῦ ὀρύγματος. εἴτα συμβολῇς γενομένης
 ἐκουσίως οἱ προταγέντες τὴν τροπὴν σχηματίζοντες αὐτοὶ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐγνωσ-
 μένων αὐτοῖς τόπων καὶ στερεῶν ἀκινδύνως παρέλθωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι σφο-
 δρῶς καὶ ἀσχέτως τὴν διώξιν ποιησάμενοι ἐμπέσωσιν ἐν τῷ ὀρύγματι, ὑπεξελ-
 265 θόντες δὲ ἄφνω οἱ τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ποιησάμενοι, εἴτα ἐπαναστρέψαντες καὶ οἱ τὴν
 ὑποχώρησιν σχηματίζοντες, τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολέσωσι πάντως,
 τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐμπесόντας εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα, τοὺς δὲ ὡς τραπέντας ἀτάκτως ἐπὶ τῷ
 ἀδοκῆτῳ συμπτώματι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προγνώσθῃ ἢ διὰ τινων
 προσρυνέντων αὐτοῖς καταμνησθῇ.
 270 40. Ἐὰν δὲ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καὶ διὰ πάλων πεπηγμένων τις ποιήσῃ, δύο
 καὶ ἢ τρεῖς εἰσόδους ἀπαθεῖς ἐπινοήσῃ ἐγνωσμένας τῷ παρατασσομένῳ στρατῷ,
 εἴτα πρὸ τῶν πάλων ἐκείνων παρατάξῃται· καὶ σχηματίζόμενος ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ
 κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τὴν φυγὴν προτρέψῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῖς πάλαις
 περιπεσεῖν. καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντες οἱ τε τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ἔχοντες ἐκ πλαγίου, καὶ

frequently because they are undisciplined, like the Turks and those similar to them.¹⁰

39. A commander might dig a deep trench or ditch eight or ten feet wide and extending a good distance and cover it over with light pieces of wood and with hay and earth so it looks uninterrupted and just like the ground around the excavation, so there seems to be no difference at all. He ought then to allow the excavated earth to remain at the site to avoid giving it a strange appearance. In the middle of this trench he might leave several solid spots, well marked and known to his own army. Close to the trench on both sides, that is, here and there, he might lay an ambush in places that cannot be seen and draw up the remaining troops in formation in front of the excavation. When battle is joined, the men stationed in front make believe they are being routed and without harm cross over the solid spots that they know about. The enemy might begin an impetuous and unrestrained pursuit and fall into the trench. Then the soldiers lying in ambush suddenly charge out and the men who had feigned retreat turn back. Most of the enemy will surely perish, some because they will fall into the trench, others because they will be routed in disorder by the unexpected disaster. Of course, this will not work if the enemy learns of it ahead of time or is warned by some men going over to them.

40. If a person were to devise something similar, he could fix stakes in the ground. Plan two or three safe passageways known to the army drawn up in formation. Then draw it up in front of those stakes. In similar fashion, during the fighting it will pretend to take to flight and so cause the enemy to fall upon

251 ἀπέλαβον M ἀπέκλεισαν ABE | πολὺ M τὸ πλεῖστον ABE 253 φόσσαν...ὄρυγμα M καὶ ὄρυγμα ποιήσας βαθὺ ABE 254 ταύτην M τοῦτο ABE 255 ἐπιφάνειαν M ὅσιν ABE 256 ἐγγιζούσῃ M πλησιάζουσῃ ABE | διαλλάττειν MBE διαλλάσσειν A 257 τινὰ M τινα παραλλαγὴν καὶ ABE 258-259 σεσημειωμένους...ἐγνωσμένους M ἀποσημειῶν τινῶν γνωριζομένους ABE 259-260 ἐκατέρωθεν...ἔγκρυμμα M ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον ἐγκρύμματα ABE 260 τόπους M τόπους λαθραίως ABE 261 καὶ...λοιποὺς M τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς παρατάξῃ ABE | παρατάξῃ ABE παρατάξει M 262 τὴν τροπὴν M φυγὴν ABE 264 ἀσχέτως M ἀκρατῶς ABE 265 ἐπαναστρέψαντες M ὑποστρέψαντες ABE 266 ὑποχώρησιν M φυγὴν ABE | πλείους M πλείστους ABE 268 ἀδοκῆτῳ M ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ABE 269 προσρυνέντων M προσφύγων ABE 271 εἰσόδους...ἐγνωσμένας M παρόδους καταλείφθῃ προεγνωσμένας ABE 272 πρὸ M ἔμπροσθεν ABE | σχηματίζόμενος M σχηματίζαμενος φυγὴν ABE 273 τὴν φυγὴν M om. ABE 274 ἐπελθόντες M ἐξελθόντες ABE | τε M om. ABE

10. Cf. Const. 18. Scythian was a general designation for peoples north of the Black Sea. "Northern tribes" probably refers to the Rhos. At this time, "Turks" designated the people known as Magyars or Hungarians.

275 οἱ σχηματισάμενοι τὴν φυγὴν κατὰ κράτος καὶ οὕτως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολέσου-
σιν.

41. Γίνεται δὲ τοιοῦτος δόλος κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἄνευ ὀρύγματος ἢ
πάλων, ἂν τις τριβόλους σιδηρὰς ἀσυμφανῶς ρίψῃ πρὸς ὥραν ἐν σφηκώμασιν
ὑποδεδεμένας εἰς τὸ ἐτοίμως συστέλλεσθαι μετὰ τὴν χρεῖαν, τούτέστιν ἐπὶ
280 πλάτος μὲν ρ' ποδῶν, καὶ πρὸς μῆκος δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς παρατάξεως διάστημα. ἐν
τῷ μέσῳ δὲ τέσσαρας ἢ πέντε παρόδους καταλείπει ἀπὸ τριακοσίων ποδῶν
πλάτος ἐγνωσμένας τῷ συμβάλλοντι στρατῷ, καὶ σεσημειωμένας ἀπὸ κλάδων
μεγάλων ἢ κονταρίων κεφαλὰς ξενοπρεπεῖς ἐχόντων ἢ γῆς ἀναβολῶν ὡς
τυμβίων ἢ λίθων ἀποτιθεμένων ἢ ἕτερον εὐδῆλον σημεῖον, οὐ μόνον κατ' αὐτὰς
285 τὰς ἀρχάς, ἥτοι τῶν μετώπων τοῦ μήκους τῶν τριβόλων, ἀλλὰ | καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
βάθους ἥτοι τοῦ πλάτους παρ' ἑκάτερα τῶν παρόδων, ὥστε τῆς συμβολῆς
γενομένης σχηματίζεσθαι τροπὴν καὶ μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῶν τοιούτων
ἐγνωσμένων παρόδων τὸν στρατὸν ἐπαίρεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα σημεῖα, ἥτοι κατα-
στρέφεσθαι παρὰ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἀφοριζομένων καβαλλαρίων, εἴθ' οὕτως τὴν
290 ἐνέδραν ἐκ τῶν δύο πλαγίων ὑπεξέρχεσθαι ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
περιπιπτόντων τοῖς τριβόλοις, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲ πρόσω οὐδὲ ὀπισθεν
εὐκόλως ὑποχωρεῖν.

42. Γίνεσθαι δὲ δύναται καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καὶ ἄνευ τριβόλων, ἂν
τις στοργγύλα ὀρύγματα, ἃ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιότεροι ἵπποκλάστας, ὀρύξῃ διε-
295 σπαρμένα ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ποδὸς τὸ διάστημα ἔχοντα, καὶ βάθος δύο ἢ τριῶν ποδῶν,
καὶ πάλους ὀξεῖς ἐμπήξῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δὲ παρηλλαγμένα ὀρύξει καὶ μὴ ἐπ'
εὐθείας ἢ ἀπὸ τριῶν ποδῶν ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη ἀφεστηκότων, ἐπὶ

297 ad τριῶν de novo inc. W

293-305 *Strat.*, 4.3.53.

278 ἀσυμφανῶς M κρύφα ABE 279 ὑποδεδεμένας M ἀποδεδεμένας ABE |
συστέλλεσθαι...χρεῖαν M πάλιν μετὰ τὴν χρεῖαν συστέλλεσθαι ABE 280 ρ'...πρὸς¹ M
ποδῶν ἑκατὸν εἰς ABE 281 παρόδους M ὁδοὺς ABE 281-282 ἀπὸ...ἐγνωσμένας M
πλάτος ἔχουσας ἀπὸ τριακοσίων ποδῶν προεγνωσμένας ABE 282 συμβάλλοντι M om.
ABE 282-283 σεσημειωμένας...μεγάλων M ἀπὸ κλαδῶν μεγάλων σεσημειωμένας ABE
283 ξενοπρεπεῖς M ξενοπρεπεῖς καὶ παρηλλαγμένας ABE 283-284 ἦ²...τυμβίων M om.
ABE 284 λίθων M λίθων ὡς σωρῶν ABE | ἕτερον...σημεῖον M ἐτέρων σημείων δηλῶν καὶ
φανερῶν ABE 285 τῶν¹ M κατὰ ABE 285-286 τοῦ²...πλάτους M τὸ βάθος ἥτοι τὸ
πλάτος ABE 291 οὐ M οὔτε ἔμπροσθεν ABE | οὐδὲ¹ M οὔτε ABE | πρόσω οὐδὲ M om.
ABE 293 καὶ¹ M om. ABE 294 ὀρύγματα M ὀρύγματα ὀρύξῃ ABE | ὀρύξῃ M om. ABE
295 διάστημα M πλάτος ABE 296-297 παρηλλαγμένα...ἢ M μὴ κατ' εὐθείαν ἀλλήλων
ὀρύξῃ ἀλλὰ παρηλλαγμένα ABE 297 ἀφεστηκότων MW ἀπέχοντα ABE

the stakes. Suddenly the troops in ambush on the flank, together with those who
had feigned flight, charge out in force and utterly destroy the enemy.

41. The same sort of trap may be laid for the enemy without a trench or
stakes if, in timely fashion and secretly, a person should scatter iron caltrops
strung together so they can easily be collected after use. They should extend the
whole length of the battle line to a depth of one hundred feet. In the middle
section, which would be about three hundred feet wide, one might leave four or
five passageways known to our army in combat, marked by large tree branches,
spear heads with odd shapes, heaps of earth like burial mounds, piles of stone,
or other obvious signs. These could be placed not only at the entrances, that is,
the front of the section covered by the caltrops, but also deeply and broadly on
both sides of the passages. Then during the battle, after the units feigning flight
have passed through these passages known to them, remove the markers or have
them overturned by the cavalry men assigned to this task. The men in ambush
on both flanks can then charge out here and there while the enemy are tripping
over the caltrops and find themselves unable to move forward or backward with
ease.

42. It is possible to do something along the same lines, even without
caltrops. A person could dig round pits here and there, that the older authorities
referred to as horsebreakers.¹¹ They should be about one foot in diameter and
two or three feet deep with sharp stakes set into them. Dig these in alternating
rows, not in straight lines, about three feet apart from one another in all four

11. *Strat.* 4.3.53.

πλάτος δὲ πόδας ρν', μήκος δὲ πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως διάστημα. καὶ τούτου
γενομένου ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅταν μὲν ἡ πρώτη τάξις προπαρατάσσεται, πρέπον
300 ἵνα ὡς πρὸ ἐνὸς μιλίου τοῦ τοιοῦτου σοφίσματος ἡ αὐτὴ ἴσταιται, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα
ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλου τοῦ διαστήματος εἰς τὰ λείμματα τῶν ὀρυγμάτων ὡς
ἀπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν σαγιττοβόλων ὀπισθεν· ἵνα ἐὰν χρεῖα γένηται, καὶ οἱ τρεπό-
μενοι τῆς πρώτης διὰ τῶν ἀκινδύνων παρέρχονται, καὶ τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν, ἐὰν
χρεῖα ἐστὶν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εὐκαίρων διαλειμμάτων
305 διερχομένην καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως οὕτως ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

43. Ὅταν δὲ οὐ πρὸ τοῦ σοφίσματος ἡ παράταξις γένηται πᾶσα, ἀλλὰ ὀπι-
σθεν αὐτοῦ, δέον ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν σαγιττοβόλων τούτου ὀπισθεν τὴν παράταξιν
ἴστασθαι, καὶ ὅταν οἱ ἐχθροὶ παρέλθωσιν ἢ καταλάβωσιν τὸ σόφισμα, τότε
ὑπαντιάζειν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα φθάσωσιν οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν ἐμπεσόντες ἀφανισθῆναι.
310 ἀλλὰ τότε οὐ χρὴ πολὺ πλατέα τὰ εὐκαιρα χωρία τοῦ σοφίσματος καταλιμπάν-
ειν, ὅταν ἡ παράταξις ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ὥστε μὴ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
παροδεύοντας ἀκινδύνως τῆς μάχης προσάπτεσθαι.

44. Τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐγχειρήματα ἡγουν σοφίσματα λανθανόντως σε δεῖ ποιεῖν,
ὥ στρατηγέ, δι' ὀλίγων καὶ πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ
315 ἢ πρὸ μιᾶς αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας περὶ τὰς δειλινὰς αὐτοῦ ὥρας ἢ νυκτός, ἐν ἐκείνῳ
δηλονότι τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ μάχη προσδοκᾶται, κάκεισε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναμένειν, 340
καὶ πρὸς ὥραν θαρρεῖν τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ κατ' ἐξαίρετον τοῖς βανδοφόροις

298 πρὸ MW πρὸς τὸ ABE | διάστημα MW διάστημα καταλίπη δὲ καὶ ὁδοὺς τέσσαρας ἡ
πέντε προεγνωσμένας τῷ στρατῷ ABE 299 προπαρατάσσεται M προπαρατάσσεται W
ἐμπροσθεν τῶν τοιούτων ὀρυγμάτων παρατάσσεται ABE | πρέπον MW πρέπον ἐστὶν ABE
300 σοφίσματος...αὐτὴ MW πανουργεύματος ABE 301 δι'...ὀρυγμάτων MW εἰς τὰ
διαχωρίσματα τῶν ὁδῶν ABE 303 πρώτης MW πρώτης παρατάξεως A om. BE | ἀκινδύνων
MW ἀκινδύνων τόπων καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων ὀρύγματα A om. BE | τὴν...τάξιν MW πάλιν A om.
BE 304 ἐστὶν...ἐχθροῖς MW γένηται ἵνα καὶ ἡ δευτέρα παράταξις ἐφορμήσῃ κατὰ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν εὐκόλως διὰ τῶν τοιούτων διαχωρισμάτων διέλθῃ καὶ ἀπαρεμποδίστως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
ἐπιθήσεται ABE 306 οὐ...ἡ MW ἡ πᾶσα ABE 306-307 γένηται...αὐτοῦ MW ὀπίσω τοῦ
τοιούτου σοφίσματος μέλλῃ παρατάσσεσθαι ABE 307 δέον MW δέον ὡς ABE | τῶν MW
om. ABE | τούτου...παράταξιν MW ὀπισθεν τῶν τοιούτων ἐγκρυμμάτων ABE
308-309 παρέλθωσιν...αὐτοῖς MW παρέλθωσι τὰ ὀρύγματα τότε καταπρόσωπον αὐτοὺς
ἀπαντᾶν ABE 309 ἐμπεσόντες MW ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τὰ ὀρύγματα ABE 310 εὐκαιρα...
τοῦ MW διαχωρίσματα τοῦ τοιούτου ABE 311 ὅταν...ἐστὶν MW om. ABE
312 παροδεύοντας...προσάπτεσθαι MW ἀκινδύνως δι' αὐτῶν παρελθόντας μάχεσθαι ABE
313 ἐγχειρήματα...σοφίσματα MW σοφίσματα καὶ μηχανήματα ABE 314-316 δι'...
προσδοκᾶται MW πρὸ (πρὸς B) μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ὁ πόλεμος
προσδοκᾶται μάλιστα δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὰς δειλινὰς ὥρας ποιεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν δι' ὀλίγων καὶ
πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων ABE 317 ὥραν MW ὥραν τοῦτο ABE

directions and covering an area of 150 feet, extending the length of the battle
line. After this has been done and it is time for battle, the first line should draw
up in formation, taking its position about a mile in front of these traps. The
second line should be two or three bowshots to the rear, that is, behind those
traps along the whole distance in the clear spaces between the pits. In an
emergency, then, when the troops in the first line are driven back, they can pass
through without danger and, if it is necessary to attack the enemy, the second
line may safely advance unobstructed through those same clear spaces and fall
upon them.

43. When the entire battle line is drawn up, not in front of those traps but to
their rear, the line should take its stand about three bowshots behind them.
When the enemy advances and encounters the traps, then charge out against
them as their horses are falling into the pits and being destroyed. At the same
time, when our line is drawn up behind those traps, the clear spaces left
between them must not be very wide. This is to prevent large numbers of the
enemy from passing through and, having avoided danger, take part in the
fighting.

44. You must prepare this sort of operation or artifice secretly, O general,
with a few reliable men, either on the very day of battle or late in the evening or
at night on the previous day and, of course, in that location in which the battle is
expected, and there await the enemy. When the time is right, inform the men in
your army, especially the standard-bearers, so they may know and be on their

ἵνα δὲ εἰδότες φυλάσσονται καὶ ὀπισθεν τῶν βάνδων σφιγκτοὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν, ὡς οἱ εὐκαιροὶ τόποι ἐπιδέχονται.

320 45. Τοῦτο δὲ πάντες παραγγελῶσιν, ἵνα τοῖς βάνδοις ἐαυτῶν ἐν τῷ ὑποχωρεῖν μάλιστα ἀκολουθῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ—ὅπερ μὴ γένηται—πλανώμενοι αὐτοὶ περιπίπτουσι τῇ παγίδι.

46. Πάντων δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων σοφισμάτων, ὡς ἡγούμεθα, ἡ διὰ τῶν τριβόλων ἀπάτη εὐκολωτέρα ὡς καὶ μᾶλλον λεληθότως ἐν ἐκάστῳ τόπῳ δύναται
325 γίνεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν χρή πρὸς τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀρμόζεσθαι.

47. Καὶ ἐὰν δόξη σοι συμφέρον τὴν ἔφοδον κατὰ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως γενέσθαι, ὡς ἤδη ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ἀφορίσεις ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ καὶ δευτέρου βάνδου ἢ πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ ὄντος στρατοῦ πλείονας μετὰ ἀρχόντων ἀνδρείων καὶ τολμηρῶν καὶ φρονίμων καὶ στρατιωτῶν χρησίμων. εἰς μὲν τὸ ἴδιον δεξιὸν
330 μέρος, τοῦ τόπου δηλονότι συμπράττοντος, μίαν ἐνέδραν ὀφείλουσιν κατὰ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγχειρήσαι παρατάξεως, κατὰ δὲ ἀριστερὸν τὴν ἄλλην ἐνέδραν.

48. Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγχείρηται ταύτην τὴν ἐνέδραν βουλομένην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστέλλειν, καὶ μὴ δοῦναι καιρὸν ἔλθεῖν καὶ ταραξάει τὴν παρατάξιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐγχειρήται παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ μέρους
335 ἐκείνου ἢ εἰς τὸ τοῦλδον τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκεῖσε εὐρισκόμενον ἐπέλθωσιν ἢ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν νώτοις ἢ τῷ κέρατι, ἡγουν τῷ κυκλοῦντι μέρει τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεως ἵνα μή, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τασσομένων ἢ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔγκρυμμα ὀπισθεν τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν τάξεως ἐχόντων εὐρε-

318 δὲ εἰδότες MW γινώσκοντες ABE 318–319 καὶ...ἐπιδέχονται MW παραγγελίης δὲ ἵνα βάνδον τῷ βάνδῳ ἐπακολουθῇ πρὸς τὸ διαχώρισμα καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῶν καταλιπανομένων ὁδῶν ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ ἅμα σπουδάζοντες παρέρχεσθαι περιπίπτωσι τοῖς ὀρύγμασιν ABE 320 τοῖς...ἐαυτῶν MW om. ABE 321 μάλιστα MW μάλιστα τοῖς βάνδοις αὐτῶν ABE | ὅπερ...γένηται MW om. ABE 322 περιπίπτουσι MW περιπίπτωσι ABE 323–324 ἡ...ὡς MW εὐκολωτέρα ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τῶν τριβόλων ἀπάτη ABE 324–325 δύναται γίνεσθαι MWBE trsp. A 326 συμφέρον MW συμφέρον εἶναι ABE 326–327 παρατάξεως γενέσθαι MW trsp. ABE 328 πρὸς...πλείονας MW καὶ πλείονας πρὸς τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ ABE 330 τοῦ...ὀφείλουσιν MW συμπράττοντος καὶ συνεργοῦντος δηλονότι τοῦ τόπου ἐν (ἐὰν BE) ἔγκρυμμα ὀφείλον ABE | ἐνέδραν De ἐγχειρεῖν codd. 331 ἐγχειρήσαι MW ἐπιθέσθαι ABE | δὲ MW δὲ τὸ ABE 332–334 ἐγχείρηται...παρατάξιν MW ἔγκρυμμα γεγόμενον ἐπιθέσθαι (ἐπιτίθεσθαι B) βούληται τῇ ἡμετέρα παρατάξει ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος γινομένου ἐγκρύμματος ἀνασταλήσεται καὶ κωλυθήσεται ABE 332 τὴν ἐνέδραν MW ἕτερον ABE 334 ἵνα MW om. ABE 335 εἰς...τοῦλδον MW κατὰ τοῦ τοῦλδου ABE | ὡς MW om. ABE | εὐρισκόμενον MW εὐρισκόμενον ABE 336 τοῖς...νώτοις MW εἰς τὰ ὀπίθια (ὀπίσθια B) τῶν ἐχθρῶν ABE | ἢ² MW ἢ καὶ ABE 336–337 τῶν ἐχθρῶν² MW αὐτῆς ABE 337 παρατάξεως MW παρατάξεως φυλάττεσθαι σε (δὲ B) χρή ABE 338 αὐτῶν τάξεως MW παρατάξεως ABE 338–339 εὐρεθῶσι MBE εὐρεθῶσιν WA

guard, and the troops will follow behind the standards in close order, as the clear spaces permit.

45. All the soldiers must be ordered to follow their own standards, especially in withdrawing lest—may it not happen—they wander about and themselves fall into the trap.

46. Of all the stratagems described here, it is our opinion that the stratagem of the caltrops can more easily and with greater secrecy be employed on every kind of ground. One must also, of course, form the line in accord with the terrain.

47. If you see an advantage in attacking the enemy battle line, then, as we have prescribed earlier, detail one or two banda, or even more, depending on the size of the army, made up of competent soldiers under intelligent, courageous, and bold officers. If the terrain is favorable, obviously, you should have them undertake one ambush against the enemy battle line on their own right and another one on their left.

48. If the enemy should launch an attack, those units are to repel any attempt planned by the enemy and not allow them the chance to reach and harass our battle line. If the enemy does not attempt any such attack, then those units should attack in that sector or against the enemy's baggage train, if it happens to be in that place, or against the enemy rear or flank, that is, the encircling section of the enemy's battle line. In the likely event that the enemy are drawn up in a second line or have ambushing units behind their own line

θῶσι τὰ σὰ ἐγκρύμματα ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὑπ' αὐτῶν βλαπτόμενα. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ
 340 αὐτοὺς τοὺς εἰς ἔγκρυμμα ἀπερχομένους προσκοιλεῖν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ οὕτως
 ἀρμόζεσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσει.

49. Τὸν δὲ καιρὸν τοῦ ἐγκρύματος ἐπιμελῶς κανονίζειν καὶ μηδὲ πρὸ
 πολλοῦ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐγχειρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ὀλίγους ἔχουσα ἡ ἐνέδρα ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν βαρῆται μηδὲ πάλιν ὑστερεῖν, ἵνα μὴ φθάσῃ ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς παρατάξεως
 345 γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνωφελὴς αὐτῇ εὐρεθῇ.

50. Ἀλλὰ πρέπον ἐν τῷ ἅμα μὲν κινεῖν τὴν τε παράταξιν καὶ αὐτὰ εἴτε ἐν εἴτε
 δύο γίνονται ἐγκρύμματα· μᾶλλον δὲ ὀλίγον | προκινήσαι τὴν παράταξιν, ἵνα ἡ 340
 μὲν παράταξις διὰ τῶν φανερῶν τόπων ἐρχομένη ἐκείθεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀντι-
 περισπᾷ, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀφανῶν ὁμοίως περισπᾷ καὶ ἀλλήλους διὰ σκούλας καὶ
 350 σημείων καὶ εἰκασμοῦ κανονίζειν καὶ τόν, ὡς εἰκός, διὰ συντομίας τοῦ τόπου
 προλαμβάνοντα ἐμβραδύνειν καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν ἄλλον ὥστε, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, ἴσως
 τὰς ἀμφοτέρας τὴν τε ἐνέδραν ἡγουν τὸ ἔγκρυμμα καὶ τὴν παράταξιν εὐρίσκεισ-
 θαι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὀλίγον τι τὴν ἐνέδραν μᾶλλον προκρούειν ἵνα, ὅταν
 ἄρξωνται οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας διαταράττεσθαι, τότε ἡ παράταξις ἐγγὺς
 355 εὐρίσκομένη συμβάλῃ.

51. Διὰ οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἐὰν οἱ τόποι ἐπιτήδείοι εἰσιν, ἐκ τῶν δύο
 μερῶν δεῖ σε τὰ ἐγκρύμματα ἐκπέμπειν, μάλιστα ἐὰν πολὺν καὶ μέγαν στρατὸν
 ἔχῃς, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ἐν ἔγκρυμμα τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἀναστέλλῃ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον
 ἀρμοδίως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχειρῇ.

360 52. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐγχειροῦντες, ὡς εἰκός, μὴ ἐπιτύχωσιν ἢ καὶ τροπὴ τῆς παρατάξε-
 ως ἐν τοσοῦτῳ παρακολουθήσῃ, μηδὲ οὕτως ἐνδιδόναι ἢ ἀφίειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς,
 μηδὲ ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν ἔρχεσθαι καὶ συναπλέκεσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ἀλλὰ
 ἔξωθεν ἀπομένειν καὶ σπουδαίνειν αὐτοῖς τῷ νώτῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἥτοι ὀπισθεν
 ἐνεδρεύειν καὶ ἐπέρχεσθαι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν ιδίων φυγὴν.

340 ἀπερχομένους MW ἐπερχομένους ABE 342 μηδὲ MW στοχάζεσθαι ὥστε μήτε ABE
 343 ἔχουσα...ἐνέδρα MW ἔχον τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ABE 344 μηδὲ MW μήτε ABE | ὑστερεῖν
 MW ὑστερῇ ABE 346-347 αὐτὰ...γίνονται MW τὰ ABE 347-348 ἡ...παράταξις MW
 αὐτῇ ABE 348-349 ἀντιπερισπᾷ MW περισπῶσιν ABE 349 ἡ MW τὰ ABE | σκούλας
 MW βίγλας ABE 350 σημείων ABE σημείω MW | κανονίζειν MW κανονίζωσιν AE
 κανονίζεμοι B | συντομίας MW συντομίαν ABE 352 τὰς ἀμφοτέρας MW ἀμφοτέρα ABE |
 354 τῆς...διαταράττεσθαι MW τοῦ ἐγκρύματος διαταράσσεται ABE 356 οὖν τοῦτον
 MW trsp. ABE 360 μὴ ἐπιτύχωσιν MW om. ABE 361 τοσοῦτῳ παρακολουθήσῃ MW
 ὅσω ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιχειροῦσιν ABE 363 αὐτοῖς...νώτῳ MW ὀπισθεν ABE 363-364 ἥτοι...
 ἐπέρχεσθαι MW ἐπιτίθεσθαι ABE

assigned to discover and harm your ambushing units opposed to them, our
 units that have been sent off to set ambushes must keep up careful reconnais-
 sance and adapt their plans as necessary for their assault against the enemy.

49. The time of the ambush should be carefully arranged. Our men should
 not make their attack too far ahead of the main battle line for, being less numer-
 ous, their ambush will be crushed by the enemy. On the other hand, they should
 not be too far behind so that they show up after the main battle line has gotten
 into action and they cannot be of any help to it.

50. The units assigned to ambuscades and to the main battle line must move
 at the same time, whether there is to be one ambush or two. But it is better to
 have the main battle line move out a bit earlier, because it advances through
 open spaces where it diverts the enemy's attention; the other likewise distracts
 the enemy but under cover. They should coordinate <their moves> with one
 another by scouts, signals, and estimates. If one happens to use a short cut to get
 ahead, it should slow down and wait for the other one, so that, if possible, both
 of them, the ambush, that is, the ambuscade, and the main line, should make
 contact with the enemy at the same time, rather, with the ambush unit pushing
 ahead just a little. The purpose of this is that when the enemy begins to be
 thrown into disorder by the ambush, the main battle line moves closer and
 attacks.

51. In this manner, then, if the ground permits, you must send out ambushes
 from both sides, especially if you have a large and numerous army. One am-
 bushing party may repel enemy assaults while the other is free to attack them.

52. In the event that the assaults are unsuccessful or, in the meantime, your
 main battle line is driven back, do not for this reason give in or break off contact
 with the enemy or fall back on the second line and get mixed in with the
 fugitives, but remain out in the open and try to ambush and attack the enemy's
 rear, that is, behind, and in this way rally your own men in flight.

365 53. Ἀσφαλὲς δὲ ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἵνα οἱ πρὸς ἐγκρύμματα πεμπόμενοι εἴτε εἰς ἐπέλευσιν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν ἢ ἐκ πλαγίων τινὸς παρατάξεως εἴτε εἰς τούλδου φυλακὴν εἴτε εἰς ὀξεῖαν βοήθειαν μέρους τινός, ὡς εἰκός, βαρουμένου, εἴτε εἰς νώτους παρατάξεως φυλακὴν εἴτε εἰς βίγλαν, ὀλίγοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἀρμόδιόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μᾶλλον δρουγγιστὶ τάσσωνται, ἤγουν ὁμοῦ ὡς μᾶζα ἄνευ ὀρδίνων, οὐχὶ δὲ
370 ἐπὶ μακρᾶς παρατάξεως, τουτέστι κατ' ὀρδινὸν ἀκίας ἢ δεκαρχίας ἢ πενταρχίας. αὐτὴ γὰρ κομπή καὶ ἐξογκωμένη καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα καὶ εὐτακτοτέρα ἐστί, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰς συμβολὰς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ποιεῖται· βραδεῖα δὲ καὶ δυσμετάθετός ἐστι ταῖς χρεῖαις, ἢ δὲ δρουγγιστὶ τασσομένη τὰ ἐναντία ἔχει καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις μᾶλλον εὐκόλως λανθάνειν δύναται ὀλίγῳ τόπῳ ἀρκουμένη καὶ συν-
375 τόμῳ μετατίθεται πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας, διὸ χρὴ μετὰ γυμνασίας δοκιμάσαι εὐκαίρως | καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότερον δι' αὐτῆς τῆς πείρας ἐπιλέξασθαι.

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54. Ἀρμόζει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεμπομένου, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν τόπων θέσεις. ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ μείζων δύναμις ἢ ἰσόμετρος τῆς φανερώς τασσομένης πέμπηται εἰς ἔγκρυμμα δι' ἑνὸς τόπου ἐγχειρῆσαι προσ-
380 δοκῶσα, τότε δέεται κατὰ δεκαρχίαν τάσσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ πεμπόμενοι ἢ κατὰ διαφόρων τόπων, τότε δρουγγιστὶ καὶ ὁμοῦ ἄνευ ὀρδίνων σφιγκτοὺς τάσσεσθαι.

55. Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ διαφορά, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἐν συντάξει γινομένη ἐνέδρα τὸ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς μάχεσθαι ἔχει, ἡ δὲ δρουγ-
385 γιστὶ γινομένη τὸ ὀξέως παρέχειν τὰς βοηθείας καὶ τὰς διώξεις καὶ τὰς ἀθρόας ἐπελεύσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ποιεῖσθαι.

56. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τῶν καβαλλαρίων ἀρμοδίαν νομίζομεν, ἣν δεῖ σε κατορθοῦν διὰ συνεχοῦς γυμνασίας, καθ' ὃν εἰρήκαμεν τρόπον, εἴγε μὴ ἐν πείρᾳ ταύτης προέγροναι. ἐὰν γὰρ αὐτὴ δεόντως κατορθωθῇ, οὐδὲ μανδάτων
390 χρεῖα ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, οὐδὲ ἄλλης παραγγελίας. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ τάξις καὶ γυμνασία ἕκαστον διδάσκει τὰ δέοντα. ἴσως δὲ τινες τῶν ὀκνηροτέρων καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρων λογίζονται ποικίλην τινὰ καὶ πολυειδῆ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην εἶναι καὶ ἐντεῦ-

53. Assuredly, we take it for granted that detachments sent out to lay ambushes or to attack the rear or the flanks of a battle line or to guard the baggage train or to give quick support to a unit which is hard pressed, as is likely, or to guard the rear of the battle line or the small parties sent out for reconnaissance, are more effective if they assume irregular formation, that is, in a mass without regular columns, not as in a large battle formation arranged in files with dekarchies and pentarchies. A battle line is impressive, very full, stronger, and better ordered and it can make its charge more securely in battle, but in emergencies it is slow and not very flexible. The irregular formation has the opposite characteristics. It can be easily concealed when setting up ambushes; it does not require much space, and it can move about quickly in an emergency. For these reasons you must spend time practicing it, and learning its basic elements from experience itself.

54. It should be adapted to the size of the army sent out for this and to the lay of the land. If a very large or even moderate-sized force of the line drawn up in the open is assigned to an ambush with the expectation that it will attack in one place, then it should be organized by dekarchies. But if only a few troops are sent out or they are to attack in different locations, then form them in irregular formation, tight together but not in regular ranks.

55. To repeat, the difference between the two is this: the ambush in regular formation enables one to fight with strength and safety; the irregular one is for quick support, for pursuits, and for sudden raids and harassment.

56. We believe this formation is suitable for cavalry and you must perfect it by constant drilling in the manner we have described, unless you have already learned it from experience. If the skills are acquired properly, there will be no need of instructions in time of battle or of other commands. The formation itself and the drill teach each man what he has to do. Perhaps some people, hesitant and overcautious, might argue that this formation is rather complicated

367-368 νώτους...φυλακὴν MW φυλακὴν τῶν ὀπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως ABE 371 κομπή MW ἐμφανεστέρα μὲν ABE | ἐστί MBE ἐστὶν WA 373 ἐστί MBE ἐστὶν W ἐστὶν ἐν A 373-374 ταῖς ἐνέδραις MW τοῖς ἐγκρύμμασι ABE 374 δύναται MW δύναται ἐν AE δύναται B 377 τὸ ποσὸν MW τὴν ποσότητα ABE 378 ἰσόμετρος BE ἰσόμερος MWA 380 ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν ABE ὀλίγων MW 383 ὡς εἴρηται MW om. ABE | ἡ² MW τὸ ABE 384 γινομένη ἐνέδρα MW γινόμενον ἔγκρυμμα ABE | ἡ MW τὸ ABE 385 γινομένη MW τασσομένη ABE 388-389 εἴγε...προέγροναι MW om. ABE 389 δεόντως MW πρεπόντως ABE 390 παραγγελίας MWBE παραγγελία A

θεν ἐπὶ κόπον. οὓς εἰδέναι δέον ὅτι οἱ ἀθληταὶ καὶ ἡνίοχοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν
 εἰς παίγνια καὶ τέρψιν ἀγωνιζομένων, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐπιτυχία ὀλίγων ἐστὶ χρημάτων
 395 εὐπορία, ἡ δὲ ἀστοχία ἀζήμιός ἐστι λύπη. οὗτοι οὖν τοσοῦτον μόχθον καὶ
 κάματον ὑπομένουσι μετὰ νηστείας βρωμάτων καὶ παραφυλακῆς καὶ ἀνενδότου
 γυμνασίας, εἰς τὸ δυνηθῆναι μαθεῖν, ποῖα μὲν εἰσι τὰ πρὸς βλάβην τῶν ἀντιπά-
 λων γινόμενα, τίνα δὲ τὰ φυλάττοντα τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρουμένην ἐργασίαν.
 400 παρατάξεις καὶ γυμνασίας ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπου τὸ μὲν σφάλμα παρעוּתָּהּ ἢ τὸν
 θάνατον ἢ τὴν χεῖρονα θανάτου φυγὴν φέρει, ἡ δὲ ἐπιτυχία χαρὰν καὶ κέρδος
 καὶ ὑπόληψιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ μνήμην ἔνδοξον ἀληθάργητον.

57. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἐπιβλαβὲς καὶ ὀλέθριον, ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπλῶ
 τρόπῳ τάσσεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος σφάλματος κρίσιν τοσοῦτου πλήθους
 405 ἀνδρῶν γίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴδὲ ἐπιγινώσκεσθαι τὸν ἀμαρτήσαντα; ἀλλὰ τῷ σφάλ-
 ματι τοῦ ἐνὸς πάντας ὑπάγεσθαι, | ὅποταν οὐδὲ πολλά εἰσι τάχα τὰ κεφάλαια τὰ 341
 ὀφείλοντα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ λογισμοὶ τῶν αἰτίων αὐτῶν ἐμήκυναν τὸν λόγον.

58. Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς καβαλλαρικῆς τάξεως ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω, περὶ δὲ
 τῆς πεζικῆς καὶ τῆς συμμίκτου ἥδη ἐροῦμεν ἅπερ ἀναγκαῖα κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέ-
 410 μου καιρὸν γενέσθαι νομίζομεν· περὶ ὧν ἀκριβέστερον ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ
 προδιώριται.

59. Τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εἰσι σκουτάτοι λεγόμενοι, οὓς καὶ ὀπλίτας καλοῦμεν.
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν σκουτάτους ὀρίσεις οὕτως· πρότερον μὲν ποιήσεις τὰς ἀκίας ἡγουν
 τοὺς ὀρδίνους τοῦ τάγματος ἐκάστου, τινὲς ἀριστερά, καὶ τινες δεξιὰ τοῦ
 415 βάνδου, ἡγουν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τάσσονται. καὶ προπορευομένου τοῦ ἄρχοντος
 ἅμα τῷ βανδοφόρῳ καὶ τῷ βουκινάτῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐπακο-
 λουθοῦσιν ὡς ὠρίσθησαν οἱ λοχαγοί· πρῶτον οἱ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους, εἴτα οἱ
 τοῦ δεξιοῦ. γινομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς παρατάξεως τόπῳ, ἵσταται ὁ ἄρχων

412–463 *Strat.*, 12.B.11–13.

393 δέον MW προσήκει A χρῆ BE | οἱ De εἰ codd. 396 κάματον MW κόπον ABE |
 ὑπομένουσι MBE ὑπομένουσιν WA sc. mg ὥρ<αῖον> ὄλον W 399 καὶ²...τὰς MW om.
 ABE 400 τὸν MW om. ABE 401 θάνατον MW θάνατον ἐπιφέρει ABE | φέρει MW om.
 ABE 402 ἀληθάργητον MW ἀνεπίληστον AE ἀνεπίλητον B 403–404 ἀπλῶ τρόπῳ MW
 τρόπῳ ἀπλῶς ABE 406–407 ὅποταν...ὀφείλοντα MW καὶ τότε μὴδὲ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν
 κεφαλαίων τῶν ὀφειλόντων ABE 407 ἀλλ' οἱ MW οἱ γὰρ ABE 408 ἡμῖν MW om. ABE
 410 γενέσθαι MW γίνεσθαι ABE 412 καλοῦμεν MW καλοῦμεν οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ οὓς τοξότας
 καὶ ριπταρίστας ὀνομάζομεν ABE 414 ἐκάστου MW ἐκάστου εἴτα διορίση ABE
 415 ἄρχοντος¹ MW ἄρχοντος ὀφείλουσι τάσσεσθαι ABE 416 ἅμα MW σὺν ABE | λοιποῖς
 MW λοιποῖς τοῖς ABE

and variable and, consequently, is too much trouble. Those people ought to realize that athletes, charioteers, and others who compete for sport and amusement are rewarded for their success by only a small amount of money, and the only penalty for failure is their own sorrow. They subject themselves to so much hardship and labor; they rigidly restrict their diet and never cease training so they may learn various ways of injuring their adversaries as well as ways of warding off actions attempted by them. How much more, then, ought we to practice those formations and drills tirelessly, with flexibility and with intelligence? In this case, failure brings swift death or flight that is worse than death. Success brings gratification, material gain, good reputation, and a glorious memory that will not be forgotten.

57. How is it not out of place, harmful, and destructive to line up in one and the same simple manner? One accidental mistake decides the fate of such a great multitude of men. The one responsible may never be known, but for the mistake of one man all must suffer. In any case, perhaps, the topics that must <still> be brought up are not many; moreover, listing the reasons themselves has <already> lengthened this book.

58. We have said enough about cavalry formations. We now turn to what we believe is fundamental for the infantry and the mixed formations in time of battle, which we have already set forth in greater detail in another chapter.

59. Among these are those called heavy-armed troops, whom we also refer to as hoplites.¹² This is how you shall organize the heavy-armed troops. First line up the files or columns of each tagma, some to the left and some to the right of the standard, that is, the commanding officer. The commander moves forward together with the standard-bearer, the trumpeter, and the rest as is customary. The group leaders follow in their assigned positions, first those on the left side, then those on the right. On arriving at the site of the battle line, the commander

12. Sections 59–63 derive from *Strat.* 12.B.11–13.

καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ βανδοφόρος καὶ οἱ πρὸς συνήθειαν. καὶ παρατάσσονται αὐτῷ
 420 ἐκατέρωθεν αἱ ἀκίαι ὡς ὠρίσθησαν, πρῶτον ἐν ἀραιότερῳ διαστήματι, ἵνα μὴ
 συντρίβωνται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπὸ ἐξκαίδεκα τὸ βάθος ἔχουσαι καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς
 ὀπισθεν. τὰ δὲ ξίφη τῶν κονταρίων τέως ἄνω βλέποντα, ἵνα μὴ ἐμποδίζονται ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν. ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ μετώπου περιπατοῦσιν ὁ καμπιδούκτωρ, ἡγουν ὁ τοὺς
 425 τόπους ἐρευνῶν, καὶ ὁ μανδάτωρ, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ὁδηγῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ μαν-
 δάτα γνώμη τοῦ ἀρχοντος διδούς. ὅταν δὲ κατασταθῶσιν τὰ τάγματα, καθὼς
 προδιωρισάμεθα, εἰς μοίρας καὶ εἰς μέρη, ἡγουν εἰς τοὺς δροῦγγους αὐτῶν καὶ
 εἰς τὰς τούρμας καὶ γένηται ἡ πᾶσα παράταξις τῶν σκουτάτων, τότε παρατάξεις
 καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς λεγομένους κατὰ διαφόρους τόπους.

60. Τοὺς μὲν τοξότας ὀπισθεν ἐκάστης ἀκίας πρὸς τὸ μέτρον τῶν ὄντων,
 430 τούτέστιν εἰς τοὺς ἐξκαίδεκα σκουτάτους τέσσαρας ψιλοὺς, ἵνα καὶ μέχρι
 τεσσάρων μεριζομένης τῆς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἥτοι τῶν λεγομένων σκουτάτων ἀκίας
 εὐρεθῇ εἰς τοξότης ὀπισθεν αὐτῆς. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπαιτῇ, τάξεις αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ βάθος
 τῶν ἀκιῶν ἕνα παρ' ἕνα σκουταράτον καὶ τοξότην. ποτὲ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀκίας καὶ
 εἰς τὰ κέρατα τῆς παρατάξεως, τούτέστιν ἔσωθεν τῶν καβαλλαρίων, πολλάκις
 435 δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μικροῦ διαστήματος, μετὰ | καὶ ὀλίγων σκουταράτων, 341
 εἰς τὸ διεκδικεῖν τοὺς ἐξώτερον ἐστῶτας καβαλλαρίους. τοῦτο δὲ ἐὰν πολλοί
 εἰσιν οἱ ψιλοί. οἱ δὲ ρικτάρια ἢ τζικούρια ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἔχοντες ἢ ὀπισθεν τῶν
 ἀκιῶν τῶν σκουταράτων ἢ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς παρατάξεως, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ. οἱ
 δὲ σφενδοβολιστὰι πάντως εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς παρατάξεως.

61. Εἰς δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς πεζικῆς παρατάξεως τάσσεσθαι τοὺς καβαλλαρίους
 κελεύομεν. τὰ δὲ μείζονα τάγματα μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἐξωτέρω. καὶ ἐὰν
 μὲν πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ καβαλλάριοι, τούτέστι πλεόν τῶν δώδεκα χιλιάδων, ἀπὸ
 δέκα τὸ βάθος ἡγουν τὸ πάχος τῆς ἀκίας τὴν παράταξιν γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ
 ὀλιγώτεροι τοῦ μέτρου τούτου, ἀπὸ πέντε εἶναι δὲ ἐκ περισσοῦ τινὰς ὀπισθεν εἰς
 445 ὑποβοήθειαν αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἵνα, ἐὰν μὲν τινες τῶν ἐχθρῶν διὰ τοῦ
 νώτου ἡγουν τῶν ὀπισθεν φανῶσιν, ἀποσοβήσωσιν αὐτούς. εἰ δὲ μήγε, προστε-

419 πρὸς MW ἄλλοι οἱ κατὰ ABE 420 ἀκίαι MW ἀκίαι ἡγουν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ABE
 421 ἐξκαίδεκα MW δὲ δεκαεξ A ις' BE 424-425 μανδάτα γνώμη MW ἥτοι τὰ
 παραγγέλματα γνώμη καὶ προτροπὴ ABE 425 κατασταθῶσιν M κατασταθῶσι WABE
 430 τούτέστιν MWBE τούτέστι A | ἐξκαίδεκα MW ις' ABE 431 λεγομένων MW om. ABE
 433 σκουταράτον MW σκουτάτον ABE 435 σκουταράτων MW σκουτάτων ABE
 436 ἐξώτερον MW ἔξωθεν ABE 437 ρικτάρια MW ριπτάρια ABE 438 σκουταράτων
 MW σκουτάτων ABE 439 σφενδοβολιστὰι MW σφενδονῆται ABE | παρατάξεως MW
 παρατάξεως ταχθήσονται ABE 442 δώδεκα MW ιβ' ABE 445-446 διὰ...τῶν MW
 ὀπισθεν ABE 446 ἀποσοβήσωσιν MW ἀποκωλύσωσιν ABE

halts with the standard-bearer behind him and the others in the usual manner.
 'The files draw up in formation on both sides of them as they have been ordered,
 at first far enough apart so they will not bump into each other. They keep the
 depth at sixteen, with the light-armed troops to the rear. Hold the points of the
 spears high to avoid any obstructions. The field guide, that is, the one who
 reconnoiters the sites, and the herald march out in front of the line, the one for
 guide duty and the other to transmit orders from the commander. When the
 units have been organized, as we have prescribed, into moirai and divisions, that
 is, into their droungoi and tourmai, and the entire battle line of the
 heavy-armed soldiers is in place, then draw up the light-armed troops in dif-
 ferent places.

60. The archers are posted in the rear of each file in proportion to the num-
 bers of men, that is, four light-armed men for the sixteen heavy infantry, so that
 if the hoplites are reduced to four deep, that is, a file of heavy infantry, as they
 are called, there will be one archer behind it. If called for, station them in the
 depth of the files alternating one heavy-armed soldier with one archer, at
 another time, inside the files and on the flanks of the battle line, that is, on the
 inside of the cavalry. If there is a large number of light-armed troops, <station
 them> a short distance to the outside, along with a few heavy-armed infantry to
 provide cover for the cavalry riding along further out. The men with short
 javelins, axes, or similar weapons should be behind the files of heavy infantry or
 on the flanks of the line, not in the middle. The slingers always belong on the
 flanks of the line.

61. We order that the cavalry should be drawn up on the flanks of the battle
 line, the larger units with their own officers further out. If the cavalry force is
 large, that is, more than twelve thousand, the line should be ten deep, that is, the
 thickness of the file. If the force is less than that number, the line should be five
 deep. An extra force should be posted for their support to the rear, outside the
 wagons. In case some of the enemy should appear behind, that is, to the rear,

θῶσι τοῖς πλαγίοις καὶ αὐτοί. τάσσονται δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀραιότερον πρότερον διάστημα, ἵνα μὴ ἐμποδίζωνται ὅτε γένηται καὶ καιρὸς καὶ μέλλουσι μεταβάλλεσθαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς στάσεως αὐτῶν.

450 62. Τοὺς δὲ καβαλλαρίους παραγγείλῃς μὴ κατατρέχειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μηδὲ ἀφίστασθαι τῆς πεζικῆς παρατάξεως ἐπὶ πολὺ διάστημα. κἂν τάχα καὶ τραπῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, ἵνα μὴ ἐνέδρας ἦγουν ἐγκρύμματος παρ' αὐτῶν γενομένου, ἐὰν περ ἀπὸ διαστήματός εἰσι γυμνούμενοι τῆς παρατάξεως ἐπηρεασθῶσιν, ὥς ὀλιγώτεροι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν βιασθῶσιν, ὥς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ἦγουν
455 ὀπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως προσφεύγωσι, καὶ μὴ παρέρχονται τὰς ἀμάξας. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἀντέχωσι κατέρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἵππων καὶ οὕτως πεζῇ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικεῖν.

63. Ἐὰν δὲ βουλευθῇς παρατάξεσθαι μὲν τὸν στρατόν, μὴ συμβάλλειν δὲ τὴν μάχην κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατὰ τῶν καβαλλαρίων, καὶ μὴ βαστάσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοι, μὴ ἀναμένειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ κέρατα τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο γένηται, τότε χρεῖα μείζονος τοῦ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διαστήματος ἵνα μεταβαλλομένων, ὥς εἰκός, τῶν καβαλλαρίων μὴ στενοχωρηθῶσιν μηδὲ αἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σαγίτται βλάψωσιν αὐτούς.

64. Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ ὅτι τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ περὶ γυμνασίας
465 διατάξει εἰρήκαμεν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἄτοπον καὶ ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου διατάξει προσυπομνησαίμεν περὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οὕτω γὰρ σκοποῦμεν ὥστε πάντα τῷ πολέμῳ ἀρμόζοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ γυμνασίᾳ δεῖν ἀρμόζειν, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ ἀσιδήρου γίνεσθαι τὴν ἑκταξίν καὶ ἄμαχον. ὅθεν καὶ πάλιν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐμφιλοχωρῆσαι οὐκ ὠκνήσαμεν ὑπομνήσεων χάριν ἐκείνων. οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν τὸ παρὰ
470 μικρόν.

469–470 Cf. Arist. *Phys.*, 197a30.

447–448 τὸ...διάστημα MW ἀραιότερον διάστημα πρότερον ABE 448 καὶ¹ MW om. ABE 448–449 μεταβάλλεσθαι MW μεταλλάξει ABE 451 καὶ MW om. ABE 452 ἐνέδρας ἦγουν MW om. ABE | γενομένου MW γινομένου ABE 453–454 ὀλιγώτεροι MW ὀλιγώτεροι μακρόθεν τῆς παρατάξεως εὐρισκόμενοι ABE 455 προσφεύγωσι MBE προσφεύγουσιν W προσφεύγουσιν A 456 ἀντέχωσι MW ἀντέχωσιν A ἀπαντῶσι BE | οὕτως² MW om. ABE 457 ἐκδικεῖν MW διεκδικεῖν ABE 459 ὁρμήσουσιν ABE ὁρμήσωσιν MW 464 περὶ MW om. ABE 466 ὥστε MW om. ABE 467 πάντα MW πάντα τὰ ABE | δεῖν MW δέον ABE 467–468 μόνου...ἄμαχον MW μόνον τὸ ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ μάχης τὴν τοιαύτην γυμνασίαν γίνεσθαι ABE 468–469 καὶ²...ἐμφιλοχωρῆσαι MW πάλιν τὰ ὅμοια εἰπεῖν ABE 469 ὑπομνήσεων MW ὑπομνήσεως ABE

they can repel them. If such is not the case, they may be assigned to the flanks. They should first line up in a very open formation so they may not be impeded when the time comes for them to change the shape of their position.

62. You should order the cavalry not to race after the enemy or to get too far away from the infantry battle line even if the enemy are routed. They might run into an ambush or ambuscade set by them and, few in numbers, bereft of help and far from the main line, they might be done in. But if, as is likely, they should be driven back by the enemy, they should seek refuge to the rear or behind the battle line, but they should not go further than the wagons. If they still cannot hold out, they should dismount and defend themselves on foot.

63. If you wish to have the army form in line but not engage in battle that same day, and the enemy charges against our cavalry, who may not be able to deal with it, they should not await the enemy on the flanks of the battle line and of the wagons. If this should happen, then the distance between them should be increased, so the cavalry may not be cramped in any maneuvers they may have to make and may not be injured by the enemy's arrows.

64. We are not unaware that, in the constitution on drilling, we have already written about some matters now under discussion in this chapter. But it is not at all out of place, even in this constitution about combat, to speak to our readers about the same topics. It is our aim that everything appropriate to combat must also be appropriate to training except, of course, that those exercises are carried out with blunt weapons and without actual fighting. With this in mind then, we have not hesitated to dwell upon related topics once more to aid in remembering those matters. Missing by a small amount is not a small matter.¹³

13. Cf. Aristotle, *Physics* 197.30.

65. Τάξεις δὲ τὰ μέρη τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν ἢ διακοσίων ποδῶν ἀλλήλων διακεκριμένα, ἵνα μὴ στενοχωροῦνται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συμβολῆς ἐνοῦνται καὶ βοηθῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παραγγέλλωνται τῷ μέσῳ μέρει πείθεσθαι, ἔνθα τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἢ τινος ἑτέρου τεταγμένου
475 ἄρχοντος βάνδον ὀφείλει τάσσεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ μέσον τόπον τῆς παρατάξεως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τοῦτο στόμα ἐκάλεσαν καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν ἵνα αὐτῷ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη πείθωνται.

66. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ σφίγγεσθαι ἦτοι πυκνοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀραιοῦσθαι καὶ πλατύνεσθαι συντομώτερον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν, οὐ χρὴ ἀπὸ προοιμίων
480 ἐξκαίδεκα τὸ βάθος τῶν ὀρδίνων ἦτοι τῶν ἀκιῶν τάσσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τεσσάρων, ἵνα καὶ κομπωδεστέρα φαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ παράταξις, καὶ ἀνετώτεροι γίνωνται οἱ ὀπλιταὶ ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν μάλιστα ἐπὶ διάστημα. ἐὰν γὰρ γένηται χρεῖα ἢ ἀπὸ ὀκτῶ ἢ ἀπὸ ἐξκαίδεκα γενέσθαι τὸ βάθος ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν συντόμως γίνεται καὶ σφίγγεται.

485 67. Εἰ μέντοι σφιγκτικῆς καὶ κοντῆς οὔσης τῆς παρατάξεως χρεῖα γένηται ἐκταθῆναι τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς, πολλῆς ὥρας δεῖται εἰς τοῦτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ χρεῖῳδες τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγιζόντων ἐκτείνειν τὴν παράταξιν.

68. Οἱ δὲ βανδοφόροι μέχρι μὲν τῆς παρατάξεως καβαλλάριοι μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ παρατάξει καὶ αὐτοὶ πεζοὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἴστασθαι.

490 69. Ὡστε ἀνάγκη μὴδὲ τῶν ἐξκαίδεκα πλέον τὸ βάθος τῶν ἀκιῶν γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων βαθύτερα ἐστίν, μὴδὲ τῶν τεσσάρων ἑλάττω, καὶ εἰ λεπτότερα ἐστὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ παράταξις. ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλέον τῶν ἐξκαίδεκα ἄχρη-

489 ad lousin de novo inc. V

475-477 Cf. Asclepiod., 2.5; Aelian., 7.3; et al. 478-532 *Strat.*, 12.B.17-18.

472 διακεκριμένα MW διακεχωρισμένα ABE | στενοχωροῦνται MW στενοχωρῶνται ABE
473-474 παραγγέλλωνται ABE παραγγέλλονται MW 476 ὀφθαλμὸν MW ὀμφαλὸν ABE
478-479 ἀραιοῦσθαι... πλατύνεσθαι MW om. ABE 479 συντομώτερον MW
συντομώτερόν ἐστι ABE 479-480 ἐστίν... ἀλλὰ MW παρὰ τὸ ἀραιοῦσθαι καὶ πλατύνεσθαι
οὐ χρὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ ις' τὸ βάθος τῶν λόχων τάσσεσθαι ἀλλ' ABE 481 κομπωδεστέρα MW
ἐμφανεστέρα ABE 481-482 ἀνετώτεροι γίνωνται MW om. ABE 482 μάλιστα...
διάστημα MW ἄδειαν ἔχωσιν μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων στενοχωρούμενοι ABE 483 ἐξκαίδεκα MW
δεκαεξ' A ις' BE 484 καὶ σφίγγεται MW τοῦτο καὶ σφίγγεται ἢ παράταξις ABE
487 ἐκτείνειν τὴν MW εἰς μῆκος ἐκτείνειν ABE 489 αὐτῶν MW αὐτῶν ὀφείλουσι
περιπατεῖν ABE | ὀφείλουσιν MW ὀφείλουσι AVBE 490 ἐξκαίδεκα MW ις' AVBE
491 ἐναντίων MWB ἐναντίων παράταξις AVE | εἰ MW om. AVBE 492 ἐστὶ MVB ἐστὶν
W ἐστὶν ἢ A | ἢ... ὥστε MW om. AVBE | μὲν MW μὲν γὰρ AVBE | ἐξκαίδεκα MW ις' AVBE

65. You will form the divisions of the battle line about one hundred or two hundred feet apart from one another so they will not be crowded all together on the march. But when the time comes for battle, they act in unison and provide mutual support. They should be ordered to use the central meros as a guide, for it is there that the standard of the general, or of another officer posted there, ought to be fixed. For this reason the ancient authorities referred to the middle location as the mouth and the eye because the divisions obey it.¹⁴

66. Since it is quicker and safer to tighten or close ranks than to open or widen them, the initial formation of the columns or the files does not need to be sixteen deep, but only four.¹⁵ This makes the battle line look more impressive to the enemy and the heavy infantry will be more relaxed while marching, especially if it is for some distance. If, while marching along, it should become necessary to assume a depth of eight or sixteen, they may do this and close ranks quickly.

67. If the battle line is tightly formed and short and the need arises to extend its width, many hours are needed for this. Furthermore, it is not helpful to extend the battle line while the enemy are approaching.

68. The standard-bearers, together with their officers, should remain mounted until the battle line is formed; then they are to take their position in the line on foot.

69. The depth of the files must not be more than sixteen or less than four, even if the battle line of the enemy is deeper than that or not as deep. More than

14. Cf. Asclepiodotus, 2.5; Aelian, 7.3; et al.

15. Sections 66-76 derive from *Strat.* 12.B.17-18.

στον, τὸ δὲ ὀλιγώτερον τῶν τεσσάρων ἀσθενές. μέση δὲ τάξις τῶν ὀκτὼ σκου-
ταράτων λεγομένων ἤγουν ὀπλιτῶν ἐστιν.

495 70. Παραγγείλης δὲ ὥστε πᾶσαν ἡσυχίαν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ
ἐκάστης ἀκίας οὐραγοὶ ἐὰν ἕως ψιθυρισμοῦ ἀκούσωσι παρά τινος τῶν μετ'
αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἀστιλιῶν νύσσουσιν αὐτούς. | καὶ ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς δὲ ἤγουν 341
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ τινὰς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐξ
ὀλιγωρίας, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπομένειν.

500 71. Μὴ ἐπιτηδεύῃ δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ διάστημα τοὺς πεζοὺς ὠπλισμένους περιπα-
τεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἐμβραδύνωσιν οἱ ἀντιτασσόμενοι καὶ χρεῖα τοῦ ἀναμεῖναι τὴν
παρατάξιν γένηται κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, μὴ ἀναγκάζειν αὐτοὺς ἴστασθαι πολλὰς
ῥας, ἵνα μὴ ὡς βαρεῖαν ὀπλισιν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ κεκοπιωμένοι εὐρεθῶ-
σιν, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζειν αὐτοὺς καθέζεσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι καί, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ
505 πλησίον ἔλθωσιν, τότε ἐγείρειν αὐτούς, ἵνα ἄκοποι καὶ ἀσύντριπτοι μένωσιν.

72. Μηδὲ ἐν καιρῷ μάχης ἔμπροσθεν τῆς παρατάξεως περιπατεῖν, πλὴν τῶν
τουρμαρχῶν καβαλλαρίων καὶ μανδατέρων δύο καὶ καμπιδουκτέρων δύο καὶ
στράτωρος ἑνὸς καὶ σπαθαρίου ἑνός, ὡς μοι καὶ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καθ' ἑκα-
στον ἄρχοντα μέχρις οὗ ἐγγίσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. τότε δὲ ἕκαστον ἀσφαλῶς ἐν τῷ
510 ἰδίῳ μέρει ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἴστασθαι.

73. Ἐὰν δὲ δόξῃ σοι τὸν карагὸν ἤγουν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀκολουθῆσαι τῇ παρα-
τάξει, τάσσεσθαι αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς τελείου σαγιττοβόλου τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ
συνακολουθεῖν ἐν τάξει τῷ ἰδίῳ μέρει, τοσοῦτον δὲ διάστημα κρατεῖν τὰς
ἀμάξας ὅσον ἡ παρατάξις ἔχει, ἵνα μὴ ἔξωθεν γινόμενοι ταύτης ἀβοήθητοι
515 μείνωσιν.

74. Ἐκάστην δὲ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κιλικίῳ τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος σκέπεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ οἱ
ἀμαξελάται ἄνω ἰστάμενοι καὶ μαχόμενοι ὡς ἀπὸ προμαχόνων βοηθοῦνται, καὶ
οἱ βόες φυλάττωνται ἀπὸ τῶν βαλλομένων σαγιττῶν, τὰς δὲ βαλιστροφόρους
ἀμάξας, ἥτοι τὰς ἔχουσας τὰς λεγομένας τοξοβολίστρας, καὶ τὰ μαγγανικά

sixteen is useless and less than four is weak. The middle section consists of eight
men referred to as heavy armed, also as hoplites.

70. You shall order absolute silence to be observed by the army. If the file
closers of each file hear so much as a whisper from one of their men, they are to
poke him with their lance. In combat also, that is, during the fighting they are to
push forward the men in front of them so that none of them will lose heart and
be likely to fall back.

71. Do not arrange for the foot soldiers to march for long distances in full
armor. But, in case their adversaries are slow in coming and the troops on the
battle line have to wait in place for some time, they should not be forced to
stand there for many hours. When the fighting begins they will already be
exhausted because of the heavy armament they are wearing. But arrange for
them to sit down and rest so they will not become tired and worn out. Only
when the enemy gets close, call them to attention.

72. At the time of combat, nobody should march in front of the battle line
except the tourmarchs, mounted, each officer accompanied by two heralds, two
field guides, one strator and one spatharios, as I have prescribed earlier. They
stay until the enemy gets close, then each should depart safely and take his
position in his own meros.

73. If you decide to have the baggage train, that is, the wagons, follow the
battle line, station it a full bowshot from that line with each section following its
own meros in order. The wagons should cover the same extent of ground as the
battle line for, if they go beyond it, they will remain without protection.

74. Each wagon should have its back part covered by heavy cloth so that the
drivers can stand up and fight, as though protected by a bulwark, and the oxen
are protected from the hail of arrows. The wagons carrying the ballistai, that is,
having the so-called toxobolistras and the alakatia machines, should be distrib-

493-494 σκουταράτων MW σκουτάτων AVBE 494 ἐστιν MW om. AVBE 495 ὥστε
MW om. AVBE 496 ἀκούσωσι MAVBE ἀκούσωσιν W 497 ἀστιλιῶν νύσσουσιν MW
ξύλων τῶν κονταρίων πληττέτωσαν AVBE 498 τῇ... ὠθοῦσι MW (ὠθοῦσιν) ταῖς μάχαις
ὠθείτωσαν AVBE | τινὰς MW τινὰ AVBE 500 ἐπιτηδεύῃ MW ἐπιτηδεύης AVBE
502 κατὰ... καιρὸν MW om. AVBE 502-503 ἴστασθαι... ῥας MW πολλὰς ῥας
ἴστασθαι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον AVBE 505 ἔλθωσιν MW ἐξέλθωσιν AVBE 506 μάχης
MW μάχης ἕτερόν τινα AVBE 511 τὸν... ἤγουν MW om. AVBE 512 αὐτὸ MW αὐτὸς
ABE 514 γινόμενοι ταύτης MW trsp. AVBE 515 μείνωσιν MW καταλειφθῶσιν AVBE
516 ἀμαξῶν MW ἀμαξῶν προσήκει AVBE 517 προμαχόνων MAVBE προμαχόντων W |
βοηθοῦνται MW βοηθῶνται AVBE 518 ἀπὸ AVBE ὑπὸ MW

520 ἀλακάτια, δι' ὅλου μὲν καταμερίζειν τοῦ διαστήματος, τὰς δὲ πλείονας τὰς
χρειώδεις ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις τάσσειν.

75. Τοὺς δὲ ἀμαξηλάτας ἀκοντιστὰς δεῖ εἶναι ἢ σφενδοβόλων ἢ τζικουρίων ἢ
ματζουκίων ἢ σαγιττῶν. ἔσωθεν δὲ τῶν ἀμαξῶν εὐθέως τὸ λοιπὸν τάσσεσθαι
τοῦλδον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μέσον τόπον τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τῆς παρατάξεως εὐκαιρον
525 εἶναι ἵνα, κὰν πρὸς διφалаγγίαν καιρὸς γένηται, μερισθῆναι τοὺς σκουταράτους
βιαζομένων τῶν ἀμαξῶν, εἴτε τοὺς καβαλλαρίους εἴτε τοὺς πεζοὺς, μὴ ἔχωσιν
ἐμπόδισμα μὴδὲ συγχέωνται.

76. Ἐὰν δὲ πολλὴ δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνοχ-
λῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἀντέχωσιν οἱ ἀμαξηλάται ἢ οἱ, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς διφалаγγίαν μεριζό-
530 μενοι, τότε ρίπτεσθαι ὀλίγας τριβόλους. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ρίπτωνται, παραφυλάττεσθαι | 341
χρὴ τοῦ μὴ δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ ὑποστρέψαι τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρας ἵνα μὴ
βλάβῃ τις ὑπὸ τῶν τριβόλων γένηται αὐτῷ.

77. Καὶ τοῦτό σοι κελεύομεν, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἵνα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πολέμου
τῆς πεζικῆς ἢ καὶ συμμίκτου παρατάξεως, ἐὰν πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ καβαλλάριοι τῶν
535 ἐναντίων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἡμέτερόν ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, καὶ καραγὸς οὐκ ἀκο-
λουθῇ τοῖς ἡμετέροις, μὴ ἐπιτηδεύῃς εἰς ἴσον καὶ ἐπίπεδον τόπον παρατάσσε-
σθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τόπους δυσχερεῖς καὶ δυσβάτους, τουτέστιν ἢ ἐλώδεις
καὶ παλματώδεις ἢ πετρώδεις καὶ ἀνωμάλους ἢ δασεῖς.

78. Φροντίσεις δὲ καὶ τὰς, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ τοῦ νώτου καὶ τῶν πλαγίων
540 ἐπελεύσεις, καθὰ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, τὸ ἀσφαλίζεσθαι διὰ βίγλας. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ
ὀλίγους σκουταράτους εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἀμαξιῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν ἵνα, ἐὰν
χρεία γένηται, ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν, ὡς εἰκός, βουλομένων παρενοχλεῖν ἐχθρῶν
ἢ αὐταῖς ἢ τῇ παρατάξει, καὶ τοῖς καβαλλαρίοις αὐτῆς.

79. Ἐὰν δέ ποτε δυνηθῇς, ἀπληκευόντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔτι ἀκαταστάτων
545 ὄντων, κλέψαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τότε συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς, πάντως ἂν τὰ μέγιστα
βλάψεις αὐτούς.

uted along the entire distance with the most useful ones positioned on the
flanks.

75. The drivers must be able to throw javelins, slings, axes, metal darts, or
arrows. Form the rest of the baggage in a line to the inside of the wagons. The
area between the wagons and the battle line must be kept clear so that in case
the heavy-armed soldiers, either mounted or on foot, have to split up into the
double phalanx because of pressure on the wagons, the wagons will not be an
obstacle or cause disorder.

76. If a strong, hostile force harasses the wagons from behind, and the dri-
vers cannot hold them off, and it is not likely that the men making up the
double phalanx can do so, then throw out a few caltrops. But if you do throw
them out, you must make sure that the army does not return by the same route
but by another, so it will not suffer harm from the caltrops.

77. And we enjoin this upon you, O general, that on the day when the infan-
try or even the mixed formation faces battle, if the enemy has a large cavalry
force, more numerous than ours, and the baggage train is not accompanying us,
do not draw up your formation in open or level terrain. Line up instead on
rugged, impassable ground, that is, swampy, muddy, rocky, uneven, or thickly
wooded.

78. Take care, as we have frequently remarked, to protect yourself by means
of patrols against likely attacks from the rear and the flanks. Post a few heavy-
armed men to the sides of the wagons and in between them, so that, when
needed, they may come to assist them against the enemy seeking to harass the
wagons or the battle line and its cavalry.

79. If, at some time when the enemy are setting up camp and are still in
disarray, you are able to bring about battle by stealth, then charge into them and
you will certainly inflict the greatest amount of harm on them.

520 τὰς² MW καὶ AVBE 522 ἢ¹ MW ἢ ἐμπίρους AVBE 524 ἐφ' ᾧ MW ὥστε AVBE
525 σκουταράτους MW σκουτάτους AVBE 529 ἀμαξηλάται AVBE ἀμαξελάται MW
530 ρίπτεσθαι MW ρίπτεσθαι προσήκει AVBE 532 ὑπὸ MW ἀπὸ AVBE 534 ἢ καὶ MW
ἦτοι AVBE 535 ἐστι MAVBE ἐστιν W 535-536 καὶ²... ἀκολουθῇ MW αἱ ἀμάξαι δὲ οὐκ
ἀκολουθῶσι AVBE 536 ἐπίπεδον MW ὁμαλὸν AVBE 537 δυσχερεῖς MW τραχεῖς
AVBE | ἐλώδεις MW ὕλδεις AVBE 538 ἢ² MW καὶ AVBE 539 κατὰ... νώτου MW ἐκ
τῶν ὀπισθεν AVBE 540 τὸ MW τοῦ AVBE | βίγλας MW βιγλῶν AVBE | ἔχεις MW ἔχειν
AVBE 541 σκουταράτους MW σκουτάτους AVBE | ἀμαξιῶν MW ἀμαξῶν AVBE
543 αὐτῆς MW αὐτοῖς AVBE 545 συμβαλεῖν MW συμβάλλειν AVBE

80. Πολλοὺς δὲ καβαλλάριους ἐν ταῖς πεζικαῖς μάχαις μὴ βάλλειν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους κατὰ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς παρατάξεως· ἄχρι τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων χιλιάδων λωρικάτων καὶ χρησίμους τοὺς ὀφείλοντας, εἰ καιρὸς γένηται, τοὺς τρεπομένους τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ διώκειν. τὸ γὰρ τούτου πλεόν ἐν συμμέτρῳ πεζικῷ οὐκ ἀσφαλές.

81. Ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καβαλλάριοι ὄντες ἐδειλίασαν πρὸς τὴν πεζικὴν μάχην, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ καβαλλάριοι ἡμῶν, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πεζοί, τοὺς μὲν καβαλλάριους τάσσειν εἰς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν μέρη, ὀπισθεν δὲ τὴν πεζικὴν παράταξιν ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐν τάξει ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου μιλίου τῶν καβαλλάριων. καὶ παραγγείλεις τοῖς καβαλλάριοις τοῦ διαστήματος τούτου μὴ ἀφίστασθαι τῆς πεζικῆς παρατάξεως. εἰ δὲ καὶ βαρηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διὰ τῶν πλαγίων καὶ τοῦ νώτου τῆς παρατάξεως, ἤγουν ὀπισθεν αὐτῆς προτρέχειν, καὶ μὴ διὰ ὀψεως ἵνα μὴ διαλύσωσιν αὐτήν.

82. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συμβολῆς μὴ σπουδάζειν τὴν πεζικὴν παράταξιν, ὥς μοι καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται, ἐπὶ πολὺ διάστημα κινεῖν περαιτέρω δύο μιλίων ἔξωθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου, ἵνα μὴ τῷ βάρει καὶ τῇ ὀπλίσει συντρίβηται, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὑπερτίθεται οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου συμβολήν, καθέζεσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι μέχρις οὗ μέλλωσιν ἐγγίξειν.

83. Εἰ δὲ καιρὸς θέρους ἐστὶν καὶ τὰς κασσίδας αὐτῶν ἐπαίρειν ἵνα διαπνέωνται αἱ κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν. οἴνου δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς μεταλαμβάνειν τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ χρή, ἵνα μὴ ἀναξέων οὗτος σκοτώσῃ αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις βαστάζειν καὶ καθ' ἕνα διδόναι τοῖς δεομένοις ὥς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει αὐτῶν.

84. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ πολέμου | δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πεζικὸν στρατὸν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καβαλλάριων ἐνέγκαι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μίᾳ ὁμοῦ συνηγμένον. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἶδασιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου μανδάτα, ἤγουν τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐπιτίμια, ὑπομνήσαι αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα· εἰ δὲ μή γε, εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἰδίως ἐκάστῳ τάγματι, ἅπερ εἴρηται ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω

80. Do not send large numbers of cavalry into an infantry battle, but just a few on the wings of the battle line. There should be no more than three or four thousand well-armed and effective horsemen. If the opportunity presents itself, they are to attack and pursue the enemy who have turned to flight. More than this number in an average-sized infantry force is not safe.

81. If the enemy, although on horseback, are hesitant to engage the infantry in battle and we have a large number of cavalry but few infantry, station the cavalry in the front lines. Have the infantry follow them in formation about one or two miles behind the cavalry. Order the cavalry not to separate itself further than this distance from the infantry formation. Then, if they come under pressure from the enemy, they should ride on through the flanks and the rear of the battle line, that is, behind it, and not through the front so they might not break it up.

82. On the day of battle, as I have previously remarked, do not attempt to have the infantry formation march outside its camp for a long distance, further than two miles, so the men will not be worn out by the weight of their armament. If the enemy puts off attacking in battle, have your men sit down and relax until the enemy are about to draw close.

83. If it is summertime, have them take off their helmets so their heads may breathe a bit. At such a time the soldiers ought not to partake of wine because it might warm them up and make them dizzy. But carry water in the wagons and distribute it to those requesting it as they stand in formation.

84. Before engaging in battle you must, just as you did with the cavalry, bring the infantry army all together on one day. If the soldiers already know what is mandated by law, that is, the military punishments, then remind them of it all. If they do not know them, have each commanding officer announce to the men in his own tagma those prescriptions that we gave earlier in this book

549-550 τοὺς τρεπομένους MW τοῖς τρεπομένοις AVBE 550 διώκειν MW ἐπιδιώκειν AVBE 551 πεζικῷ MW πεζικῷ στρατῷ AVBE 556 καβαλλάριοις MW καβαλλάριοις πλεόν τούτου AVBE 557 καὶ¹ MW om. AVBE 557-558 καὶ²...προτρέχειν MW διατρέχοντας ὀπισθεν τῆς πεζικῆς παρατάξεως γίνεσθαι AVBE 560 σπουδάζειν MW σπουδάζειν πλεόν τῶν δύο (β' B) μιλίων περιπατεῖν AVBE 560-561 ὥς...μιλίων MW om. AVBE 562 καὶ WAVBE om. M 563 καθέζεσθαι MW καθέζεσθαι αὐτούς AVBE 572 μανδάτα...τὰ² MW om. AVBE 573 αὐτοῖς¹ MW αὐτούς AVBE | ἰδικῶν MW ἰδίων AVBE

575 κειμένοις, περὶ τῶν τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι στρατιώταις κειμένων ἐπιτιμίων ἐν μάχῃ
καιρῷ. καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντας οὕτως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παράταξιν.

85. Οὐκ ἄχρηστον δέ σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ καὶ τὴν τῶν παλαιότε-
ρων τακτικῶν ὑποδείξει διατύπωσιν, ἣν ἐν τοῖς πεζικοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς συμμίκτοις
ἐποιοῦντο στρατεύμασιν, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ πολλοῦ εὐπόρου στρατοῦ.

580 86. Τὴν γὰρ ἅπασαν πεζικὴν στρατιὰν εἰς δέκα ἕξ χιλιάδας καὶ τριακοσίους
ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρας ἄνδρας ἐμέτρουν ὡς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου ἐκ πολλῶν
τακτικῶν ἀριθμῶν συνηγμένου καὶ ἀρκούντος εἰς τελείαν παράταξιν, καὶ δυνα-
μένου διαιρεῖσθαι καὶ καταμερίζεσθαι ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ τοσούτου πλήθους μέχρι
καὶ ἑνός, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐκάλουν τελείαν φάλαγγα. αὕτη δὲ ἡ
585 φάλαγξ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς δύο διαιρεῖται μέρη διχοτομουμένη ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ
μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἥτοι τῆς παρατάξεως μέχρι τῆς οὐρᾶς διὰ τοῦ βάθους,
ἥτοι τοῦ πάχους τῆς τομῆς διερχομένης. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ μέρος δεξιὸν καλεῖται
κέρας καὶ κεφαλὴ, ἐν ᾧ ,ηρθβ' ἄνδρες εἶναι ὀρίζονται· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἡμισυ μέρος
ἀριστερὸν λέγεται κέρας καὶ οὐρά, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸ ἴσον μέτρον τοῦ
590 δεξιοῦ τάττονται ὁμοίως ὀκτάκις χίλιοι ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα δύο. ἡ δὲ διὰ μέσου
γινομένη διχοτομία, ἣγουν ὁ κενὸς τόπος, ὁμφαλὸς καλεῖται καὶ στόμα τῆς
φάλαγγος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γίνεται στάσις, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιβλέπειν τὰ ἐν
τῷ πολέμῳ πραττόμενα, καὶ διακυβεῖν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται. αὕτη δὲ ἡ πᾶσα παρά-
ταξις ὀπλῖται καλοῦνται, διὰ τε σκουταρίων τελείων καὶ κονταρίων καὶ σπαθίων
595 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων περιπεφραγμένοι, βαρυτέραν ἔχοντες ὅπλιν τοῦ ὅλου
στρατοῦ.

87. Ὅπισθεν δὲ ταύτης τῆς διπλῆς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν παρατάξεως τάσσεται ἡ τῶν
ψιλῶν λεγομένων στρατιωτῶν ἐλαφροτέραν ὅπλιν ἐχόντων τῆς πρώτης
παρατάξεως, διὰ τὸ εὐχερῶς ἔνθα βούλονται τρέχειν, ἐν οἷς εἰσι καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ
600 καὶ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονισταί. τούτων δὲ ἡ παράταξις εἶναι ὀφείλει ἡμίσεια τὸν
ἀριθμὸν τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως ἣγουν ,ηρθβ'. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ταύτης ὀπισθεν ἡ τῶν
καβαλλαρίων παράταξις τάσσεται καθωπλισμένων καὶ τούτων δὲ ὁ ἀριθμὸς

about the punishments decreed for soldiers who commit offenses during com-
bat. When the troops have been informed about these matters, then proceed to
form your line.

85. It may not be useless, O general, to present to you, in summary fashion,
the regulations laid down by the ancient tactical authors concerning infantry
and mixed armies, especially when they had the advantage of a large army.

86. They numbered the entire infantry army at 16,384 men because this
number is based on a consensus of the numbers given in many tactical books
and is sufficient for a complete battle line.¹⁶ It can be divided and apportioned in
equal numbers from such a large multitude down to a single man. The ancients
referred to the entirety of the army as a perfect phalanx. This phalanx was
divided by them into two sections and was split into two equal parts from the
front of the phalanx, that is, the battle line, down to the rear end according to
the depth or the thickness of the cut going through it. One half of the division
was called the right horn and the head, in which regulations called for 8,192
men. The other half of the division was called the left horn and the tail, in which
the same number of men is stationed as in the right division, 8,192. The area of
this split down the middle, the empty space, is called the navel and the mouth of
the phalanx. This is where the general takes his stand so that he may oversee
what is taking place in the battle and manage things as best he can. This entire
battle line is <sometimes> referred to as the hoplites because they are armed
with full-sized shields, lances, swords, and other weapons, the heaviest arms in
the whole army.

87. Behind this double battle line of heavy-armed soldiers is formed that of
the troops called light armed, who have lighter armament than those in the first
battle line, because their purpose is to move about there rapidly and easily.
Among these are javelin hurlers, archers, and slingers. This battle line ought to
comprise half the number of the first line, that is, 8,192. Right behind this line

575 τῶν MW τῶν κειμένων AVBE | κειμένων MW om. AVBE 577 ἐπιτόμῳ MW συντόμῳ
AVBE 584 τοῦ AVBE om. MW 585 αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοῦ AVBE 588 ,ηρθβ' De ,ςρθβ'
M χιλιάδες ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα δύο WA 590 ὀκτάκις... δύο M ὀκτάκις χίλιοι
ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα δύο WA 591 ὁ... τόπος MW τὸ διαχώρισμα AVBE 595 ὅλου MW
ἄλλου AVBE 599 εὐχερῶς MW εὐκόλως AVBE | τρέχειν MW διατρέχειν AVBE
600 σφενδονισταί MW σφενδονῆται AVBE 600-601 εἶναι... πρώτης MW τὸν ἡμίση
ἀριθμὸν ἔχειν ὀφείλει τῆς προτέρας AVBE 601 ,ηρθβ' De χιλιάδες ,ηςθβ' M χιλιάδες ὀκτῶ
καὶ ἐνενήκοντα δύο WA

16. Cf. Asclepiodotus 2.10; Aelian, 8.3. Much of this section is taken from Aelian.

ἡμισυ πάλιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν λεγομένων ψιλῶν παρατάξεως, ἥτοι τετρακισχιλίους ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ.

605 88. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη ἐποιοῦν συντάσσοντες ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς, ὥς ἂν ἡ χρεια ἀπῆται, εἴτε παρὰ τὰ πλάγια τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς εἰς δύο ἑτέρας παρατάξεις εἴτε ἔμπροσθεν | ἢ ὥς ἂν ἐδόκει 344 τῷ στρατηγῷ χρήσιμον.

89. Τοὺς δὲ καβαλλαρίους εἰς δύο διμερίζον, ἔνθεν κάκειθεν ἢ ἐπὶ νώτου 610 τῶν πεζῶν ἡγουν ὀπισθεν ἢ εἰς τὰ πλάγια ἢ ὥς ἂν ἡ χρεια ἀπῆται. ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς οὐχ ὥς βούλεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὥς ἀναγκάζεται, οὕτως καὶ τάσσει τὸ στράτευμα. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀντιπολέμιον καβαλλαρικόν, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον στήσει ἵνα εὐρυχωρίαν ἔχοντες μὴ ἐμποδίζονται πράττειν ὅσα δεῖ ποιεῖν τοὺς καβαλλαρίους εἰς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν βοήθειαν, εἴτε κατὰ πρόσωπον εἴτε ἐκ πλαγίου εἴτε ὀπισθεν κατὰ 615 τοῦ νώτου.

90. Κρεῖττον δὲ ποιήσει τις ἂν τῶν λεγομένων ψιλῶν τὴν παράταξιν πρῶτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν παρατάξεως, ἢ χρειας οὕτω καλούσης ἐκ πλαγίων. εἰ γὰρ μέσοι ταγῶσιν ἀνενέργητα αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ ἀκοντίζοντες ἢ τοξεύοντες ἢ σφενδονοῦντες ἀναγκάζονται εἰς ὕψος πέμπειν καὶ μᾶλλον 620 τοὺς ἰδίους βλάπτουσιν ἢ τοὺς ἐναντίους. καὶ γὰρ τὰ βέλη κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐνεχθήσονται τῶν ἔμπροσθεν. οἱ δὲ σφενδονοῦντες ἐμποδισθήσονται τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν μὴ δυνάμενοι τὴν σφενδόνην ἐλίσσειν.

91. Ἐὰν δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι πλεον ἔχωσι ψιλοὺς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἡμετέρους, τότε τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἡγουν τοὺς πρωτοστάτας, ἔμπροσθεν δεῖ τάσσεσθαι ἔχοντας σκουτάρια 625 μεγάλα ἐπιμήκη, ἅπερ λέγουσι θυρεοὺς, ὥστε σκέπειν ὅλα τὰ σώματα, ἀνδρὸς ἔχοντα μήκος. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ὀπισθεν τασσόμενοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὀπίσω ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἄραντες τοὺς θυρεοὺς οὕτως προσερχέσθωσαν, ἕως ἂν ἐντὸς γένωνται τῶν ῥιπτομένων σαγιτῶν ἢ ῥικταρίων. οὕτως γὰρ ὥς εἰπεῖν κεραμωθέντες οὐδὲν πάθωσι κακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥιπτομένων παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων 630 βελῶν.

603 τετρακισχιλίους MW τετρακισχιλίων AVBE 604 ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ De ἐνενήκονταῖς WAVBE τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ M 607 τοὺς ψιλοὺς M τοὺς πεζοὺς W om. AVBE | δύο MW δύο ἑτέρας AVBE | παρατάξεις MW παρατάξεις διαιροῦντες αὐτοὺς AVBE 609 ἐπὶ νώτου MW ὀπισθεν AVBE 610 ἡγουν ὀπισθεν MW om. AVBE 612 ἀντιπολέμιον MW πολέμιον AVBE 617 οὕτω MW om. AVBE 619 ἢ σφενδονοῦντες MW om. AVBE 623 πλεον MW πλείονας AVBE 624 ἡγουν...πρωτοστάτας MW om. AVBE 625 ὥστε...σώματα MW om. AVBE 626 μήκος MW μήκος ὥστε σκέπειν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα AVBE 628 ἐντὸς MW ἔσωθεν AVBE | ῥιπτομένων MW βαλλομένων AVBE | ῥικταρίων MW ῥιπταρίων AVBE

the cavalry units, well armed, take their position. The number of these is again half of that of the line of so-called light-armed troops, that is, 4,096.

88. The ancients divided the foot soldiers into four divisions, drawing up heavy-armed and light-armed troops together, either arranging the light-armed troops in two other battle lines along the flanks of the heavy-armed, as the situation requires, or else in front or wherever the commander thinks is most effective.

89. They also divided the cavalry in two, here and there, to the rear of the infantry, that is, behind them or on the flanks or as need may demand. The general organizes his army, not as he wishes, but as he is compelled to do. When confronted by an enemy cavalry force, he will station his own cavalry so they cover a wide area and will not encounter obstacles in doing what they have to do in support of the infantry, either in front or on the flank or behind to the rear.

90. A person will do better if he positions the so-called light-armed troops for battle in front of the battle line of the heavy-armed troops or, if need calls for it, on their flanks. If they are drawn up in the middle, their weapons are completely ineffective. When hurling javelins or shooting arrows or using their slings, they are forced to shoot on high and are more likely to injure their own men rather than the enemy. Their missiles will land on the heads of the men in front of them, whereas the slingers will not have room for their hands and will be unable to whirl their slings about.

91. If the enemy have more light-armed troops than we do, then you must position the heavy-armed ones, that is, the protostatai, in the front ranks. They should have large, oblong shields, called thyreoi, which cover the entire body, being as tall as a man. The men stationed behind these down to the rear lines should raise these oblong shields over their heads and in this very manner march forward until they come within range of the arrows or other missiles being fired. For with this kind of a roof, so to speak, they will suffer no harm from the missiles fired by the enemy.

92. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν κάκειθεν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ψιλῶν βοήθεια πάρεστιν, οὗτοι
 πρώτοι, πρὶν ἢ γένηται ἡ συμβολή, καὶ σαγίττας καὶ ρικτάρια ρίψωσι κατὰ τῶν
 πολεμίων, ἢ καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τῆς μάχης ἐκ πλαγίων τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 παρατάξεως ἐπιτιθέντες πεμπέτωσαν τὰ βέλη κατὰ αὐτῶν, ἵνα συναυνοῦνται
 635 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων θορυβοῦνται, καὶ ἐλαττοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν. ἐὰν
 δὲ παράκειται ὀχύρωμα, τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοὺς ψιλοὺς βοηθήσει· βάλλοντες γὰρ
 τὰ βέλη κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ κατατρέχοντες ἀφοβότεροι γίνονται.
 οἷον εἴτε κρημνῶδης τόπος εἴτε ποταμοῦ ὄχθη ἢ καὶ βουνὸς ὑπερανέχων ἢ καὶ
 ἕτερόν ἐστιν ὀχύρωμα.

93. Ὅφειλε δὲ εἶναι διάστημα εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἵνα ἐὰν οὕτω συμβῇ καὶ οἱ
 ψилоὶ ἐκκενώσωσιν τὰ βέλη αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτω ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή ἄλλ' ἔτι
 προάγουσιν οἱ πολέμοι, τότε ἐπιστρέψωσιν οἱ ψилоὶ μετὰ εὐταξίας, καὶ διελθόν-
 τες μέσσην τὴν φάλαγγα ἀταράχως ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν διασωθῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν
 ἀσφαλὲς κυκλεῦειν αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὕτω διέρχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ
 645 παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐρχομένων μέσοι γενόμενοι διαπέσωσιν· οὔτε δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ
 ὄπλα μέσους | ἐμπίπτειν, πεπυκνωμένης οὖσης τῆς τάξεως, καὶ οὕτω βιάζεσθαι. 341
 ἑτέρας δὲ τάξεις ἔχειν ἐνόπλους καὶ ἐτοίμους ἵνα ὅταν οἱ ψилоὶ τὰ ὄπλα κενώ-
 σωσι, τότε ἐκεῖνοι ἀντισέλθωσιν καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐκείνων τελέσωσιν.

94. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πάχος τῆς παρατάξεως πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας ἐκτεινομένης αὐτῆς
 650 ἐπὶ μῆκος συστέλλεται καὶ λεπτύνεται, δεόν ἐστὶν μὴ ἐκτείνειν τὴν παράταξιν
 τοσοῦτον, ὥστε πᾶσαν ἀσθενῆ καὶ χωρὶς βάθους ποιῆσαι, ἥγουν κατὰ τὸ πάχος,
 φοβούμενον τὰς κυκλώσεις. συμβαίνει γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους ταχὺ διακόψαι
 αὐτὴν καὶ δίοδον ποιῆσαι, καὶ μηκέτι ἀπὸ ἔμπροσθεν μόνον ἐνεργεῖν τὴν
 κύκλωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ μέσου διελθόντας ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν εὔρεθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω
 655 ποιῆσαι τὴν βλάβην. τοῦτο δὲ δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν μὴ μόνον φυλάττεσθαι ἵνα μὴ
 πάθῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπως τοιοῦτον ποιήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

92. If the light-armed troops provide support here and there, then, before
 contact is made, these go first and fire arrows and short spears against the
 enemy. After the enemy have been engaged, moreover, they continue their
 attack against the enemy's battle line from the flank, firing their missiles against
 them. Under attack also from the sides, the foe will be confused and less
 effective against the men in front of them. If there is some kind of fortification
 nearby, it will be to the advantage of the light-armed troops. They shoot their
 missiles against the enemy and, without any fear, race right up to the obstacle,
 whether it be a precipitous place or the banks of a river or a mountain rising up
 above them or some other obstacle.

93. There must be a distance between the battle lines. If it happens that the
 light-armed troops have discharged all their missiles and the enemy has not yet
 been engaged but is still moving forward, then the light-armed troops should
 turn about in good order and pass undisturbed through the middle of the
 phalanx to a secure place in the rear. It is not safe for them to circle about
 outside the main force and so to pass through, for they may be caught in the
 middle by the advancing enemy and be killed. Then too, the very large number
 of men in the middle may be so tightly packed together and under such pressure
 that they may fall upon their own weapons. Have the other formations armed
 and ready so that, when the light-armed troops have discharged their weapons,
 then these may march out in their place and perform the task assigned to them.

94. Since the thickness of the battle line, when it is expanded to meet certain
 contingencies, is reduced and made thinner along its length, it is necessary not
 to extend it, because of fear of encirclement, to such a degree as to make it
 extremely weak and without depth, that is, in thickness. It may happen that the
 enemy will quickly cut through it, making a sort of passageway. They will then
 put the encirclement into action, not only from the front but also by advancing
 through the middle and, reaching the rear, they will cause a great deal of dam-
 age. The general must not only be on his guard against suffering this but he must
 also seek ways in which he can do the same sort of thing to the enemy.

632 ρικτάρια MW ριπτάρια AVBE | ρίψωσι MW ρίψουσι AVBE 633 πολεμίων MW
 ἐναντίων AVBE | συμβολὴν MW συμπλοκὴν AVBE 634 ἐπιτιθέντες De ἐπιτεθέντες MW
 ἐπιπεσόντων AVBE | κατὰ MW κατ' AVBE 635 θορυβοῦνται MW θορυβῶνται AVBE |
 ἐλαττοῦνται MW ἐλαττώνται AVBE 636 τοὺς ψιλοὺς MW τοῖς ψιλοῖς AVBE
 639 ἕτερόν MW ἕτερόν τι AVBE 640 οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE 641 ἐκκενώσωσιν MW
 ἐκκενώσωσι AVBE 643 ἀταράχως AVBE ταραχῶς MW 644 οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE
 646 οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE 647-648 κενώσωσι MVBE κενώσωσιν WA
 648 τελέσωσιν MW πληρώσωσιν AVBE 649 ἐκτεινομένης αὐτῆς MW trsp. AVBE
 651 κατὰ τὸ MW ἔχουσαν AVBE 653 δίοδον MW πάροδον AVBE 656 τοιοῦτον MW
 τοιοῦτόν τι AVBE

95. Πάλιν δὲ μὴ οὕτως πυκνῶσαι τὴν παράταξιν εἰς πάχος, ὥστε εὐκόλως κυκλώσεις παθεῖν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ μάλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πλαγίων καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν ἐστῶτας στρατιώτας κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ὀπλίσαι τῶν πρωτοστα-
 660 τῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ δύνανται τὰς κυκλώσεις μάλλον ἀπαντᾶν τῶν πολεμίων.

96. Σοφοῦ δὲ καὶ φρονίμου στρατηγοῦ τὸ εἰς τοιοῦτους τόπους παρατάσ-
 σεσθαι, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ ἐπιτύχη τοῦ σκοποῦ, ἐν οἷς οὔτε κυκλώσεις οὔτε ἄλλο τι
 τοιοῦτον δύναται γίνεσθαι, ὥς ἀνωτέρω ἡμῖν δεδήλωται. πολλὰ γὰρ ἰσχύει
 φρόνησις στρατηγοῦ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἐφευρίσκουσα τὰ συμφέροντα ὅπερ τῆς
 665 ἄνωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ ροπῆς καὶ εὐμενείας δῶρον ἐγὼ καλῶ καὶ ἐπίσταμαι τοῖς
 ἀξίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν παρεχόμενον.

97. Καί ποτέ τις ἐν καιρῷ μάχης τῶν πολεμίων προτερυνόντων ψεῦδος
 ἐφήμισε βοήσας· “τέθνηκεν ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατηγός.” ταύτης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς
 δοθείσης, ἐπειδὴ ὁ καιρὸς ὀξὺς ὦν οὐκ ἐδίδου ταχέως τὸ δέον πᾶσι νοεῖν, οἱ μὲν
 670 πολέμιοι πόρρω τοῦ ἰδίου ὄντες στρατηγοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φημί-
 σαντος στρατηγοῦ θάρσος ἀναλαμβάνοντες, ὥς ἀληθοῦς τῆς φήμης, εὐψυχότεροι
 ἠγωνίζοντο. καὶ οὕτω τῆς σεσοφισμένης φήμης κατισχυσάσης τὴν νίκην ὁ
 φημίσας ἤρατο. οὕτως ἀγχίνοντα ἐπικαίρως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιλαμβανομένη
 πολλάκις κατεστράτηγχε σοφισαμένη τοὺς ἀντιπάλους.

98. Εἴρηται τε τοῖς νεωτέροις περὶ τοῦ μὴ λαμπρὰν φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις
 τὴν σὴν παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ κρύπτειν τῶν ὅπλων τὴν στίλψιν ἕως αὐτῆς τῆς διὰ
 χειρῶν συμβολῆς, διὰ τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν τοῖς ἔθνεσι φήμην. Ὀνήσανδρος δὲ καὶ
 αὐτὸς στρατηγικὸν συντάξας λόγον οὐχ οὕτω λέγειν δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ μάλλον
 λαμπρὰν κελεύει τὴν παράταξιν φαίνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν.
 680 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ἢ ἀγνοεῖν ἐκεῖνον τότε τὴν τοιαύτην φήμην ὥς νεωτέραν γενο-
 μένην ἢ τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀφεῖναι, κατ’ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν συμβολήν, καὶ
 αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς | νεωτέροις καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοίως παραγγέλλει λαμπρὰ τὰ ὅπλα
 δεικνύειν ἀθρόως. κατάπληξις γὰρ μάλλον γίνεται, οὐχ ὅταν μακρόθεν ἔρχο-

675–680 Onas. 28.

658 κυκλώσεις MW κύκλωσιν AVBE 659 εἰς τὸ MW ἐκ τῶν AVBE 664 τὰ
 συμφέροντα MW τὸ συμφέρον AVBE 667–668 καί...βοήσας MW πολλάκις δὲ προσήκει
 καὶ ψεῦδη φημίζειν ὅτι AVBE 668–674 ταύτης...ἀντιπάλους MW τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκούμενον
 τοῖς μὲν ἡμετέροις προθυμίαν ἐνεποίησεν τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις δειλίαν ἐνέβαλεν τὸ γὰρ ὀξὺ τοῦ
 καιροῦ οὐ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἀκριβές τι μαρτυρεῖν περὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατηγοῦ καὶ οὕτως
 πολλάκις φρόνησις στρατηγοῦ τοὺς ἐναντίους κατεστράτηγχε AVBE 676 στίλψιν MW
 λαμπρότητα AVBE 677 χειρῶν AVBE χειρὸς MW | ὀνήσανδρος MW ὀνόσανδρος AVBE
 678 συντάξας λόγον MW trsp. AVBE | οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE 679 παράταξιν¹ MW
 κατάπληξιν AVBE 681 ἀφεῖναι MW καταλιπεῖν AVBE

95. Again, do not tighten up the thickness of the battle line so that it will easily suffer encirclement by the enemy but rather arm the soldiers on the flanks and those stationed in the rear in the same way as those in the front ranks. These men will be able to deal with any enemy encirclement.

96. It is the mark of a wise and prudent general, if he is to attain his goals, to form his battle lines in such places in which encirclements or anything of that sort cannot be set up, as we have made clear above. In time of war, the prudent discretion of the general is able to discover many things that are beneficial. I call this a gift of the intervention and good disposition of God above and I know that he bestows it upon those whom he deems worthy because of their virtue.

97. Once, during a battle in which the enemy held the advantage, a person made use of falsehood. He cried out: “The enemy general is dead.” This cry was made at a critical moment and did not allow everyone to think quickly about what they had to do. Some of the enemy were at a distance from their own general and some of them despaired, whereas those with the general who had shouted the cry took up courage again, <believing> the rumor to be true, and they continued the struggle in excellent spirits. Thus, the man shouted and achieved victory on the strength of a fabricated rumor. By shrewdly taking timely advantage of the situation, a stratagem has frequently out-generaled the adversaries.

98. More recent authorities advise not letting your battle line appear shiny to the enemy but, according to the tradition prevailing among foreign peoples, you should hide the shining of the weapons until you come to close quarters. But Onasander himself, in compiling his book on strategy, does not appear to say this.¹⁷ Rather, he prescribes that the battle line should appear shining in comparison to that of the enemy. But it seems to me that, either he was unaware of such a statement in his day, since it was really of more recent origin, or else <his advice> was to put aside <the shining> of the armament before the battle but, when it comes to the actual battle, he joins the more recent authors, and ourselves as well, in declaring that you should show the weapons in their

17. Onasander 28.

μένων λαμπρῶν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἢ θεά συνήθης γίνηται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ δοκοῦσα καὶ
 685 φαινομένη στυγνὴ παράταξις ἀθρόον καὶ παρ' εὐθὺ ἀναδειχθῇ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκή-
 των λαμπρά. τοῦτο γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ θείας βοηθείας σημεῖον τάχα ὑπονοήσουσι
 καθ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι. χρήσιμον δέ σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ τὸ μὴ πρότερον τὴν
 σὴν παράταξιν δεικνύειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου, πρὶν ἂν τὴν ἐκείνων
 μάθῃς πῶς καὶ ὁποῖω σχήματι παρετάξεται.

690 99. Σὲ δὲ χρὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μάχης προνοεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν μαχομένων,
 καθὼς σοι καὶ πρόσθεν ὑπεθέμεθα, ἢ τολμηρότερον ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ
 συμπλέκεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ ἀνάγκης ἐστὶ καιρὸς· μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ παντελῶς ἀπέχε-
 σθαι διὰ χειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις συμπλέκεσθαι, καὶ ἂν ὑπέρβλητον ἀνδρείαν
 ἐπιδείξῃς. οὐ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὠφελήσεις τὸ στράτευμα μαχόμενος, ὅσον ἀποθα-
 695 νῶν βλάβεις αὐτό, ὅπερ τοῖς συμπλεκομένοις οὐκ ἀπροσδόκητόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ
 διὰ φήμης μόνης ψευδοῦς, ὡς πρὸ μικροῦ ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ὅτι πέπτωκεν ὁ στρατη-
 γός, οἱ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο, πόσῳ μᾶλλον, εἰ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γένηται, τοῦτο
 μεγάλη παρακολουθήσει βλάβη τῷ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀληθῶς στρατηγοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματι.

700 100. Μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὀξέως καὶ βλέπε καὶ πράττε τὰ δέοντα. τότε
 γὰρ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται στρατηγός, ὅταν κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τῆς ἀνάγκης τὰ πρέποντα
 διοικήσῃ, ὅτε ἐν ἀδείᾳ ὧν τὰ εἰκότα προβουλευσῇται.

101. Εἰ δὲ χρὴ τότε καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν λόγοις παραθαρρύνειν σε τοὺς
 στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν
 705 ἀποκειμέναις, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν παροῦσαν. εἰ δέ τι πλεῖον, καὶ σημεῖα
 τινὰ ἐπινοεῖν, καὶ δεικνύειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι φανέντα καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σημαί-
 νοντα νίκην, καὶ ἕτερα ἅπαντα ποιεῖν ἅπερ τὸ σύνταγμα οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται νῦν, ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς συνηγμέναις γνώμαις κατὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ συντάγματος εὐρίσκων ἀναμά-
 θοις, ὅσα σε δεῖ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ
 710 λέγειν ἢ πράττειν. καὶ διὰ τούτων καθυπέρτερον τῶν πολεμίων ἀναδείκνυσθαι.

684 γίνηται MW γένηται AVBE 685 ἀναδειχθῇ MW ἀναφανῇ AVBE 686 ὑπονοήσουσι
 MW ὑπονοήσουσιν AVBE 689 ὁποῖω MW ποῖω AVBE | παρετάξεται MW παρετάξαι
 AVBE 691 πρόσθεν MW ἔμπροσθεν AVBE 691-692 τολμηρότερον... συμπλέκεσθαι
 MW τολμηρῶς συμπλέκεσθαι ταῖς χερσὶν AVBE 692 τὸ MW om. AVBE 693-694 καὶ...
 ἐπιδείξῃς MW om. AVBE 695 ὅπερ... ἐστὶν MW om. AVBE 702 διοίκησιν ὅτε MW
 διοικῇ ἢ ὅταν AVBE 704 καὶ MW καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ AVBE 705 εἰ... πλεῖον MW om.
 AVBE 706 ἐπινοεῖν... δεικνύειν MW φανέντα ὑποδεικνύειν AVBE | καὶ³ MW ὡς AVBE
 706-707 σημαίνοντα νίκην MW trsp. AVBE 707 τὸ... νῦν MW λέγεσθαι νῦν οὐκ
 ἐνδέχεται AVBE 708-709 συντάγματος... ἀναμάθοις MW βιβλίου ἀναμαθήσει AVBE
 710 καθυπέρτερον MW ἐπικρατέστερον AVBE | ἀναδείκνυσθαι MW ἀναφαίνεσθαι AVBE

brightness very suddenly. For the usual sight of the brilliant heavy-armed men
 approaching from a distance is not a cause for wonder, but what does cause
 astonishment is when what appears to be a dull-looking battle line all of a
 sudden, straightaway, unexpectedly appears brilliantly shining. Perhaps the
 enemy will look upon this rather as a sign of God's help. It is useful for you, O
 general, not to be first in showing your battle line to the enemy on the day of
 battle, before you learn about theirs and how and in what manner they have
 been organized.

99. At the time of battle you must devote special attention to the men doing
 the fighting, as we explained to you earlier, rather than very rashly springing
 into action yourself and engaging in hand-to-hand combat when the situation is
 not critical. It is better <for you> to refrain completely from close combat with
 the enemy, even if you could project the image of unlimited bravery. By engag-
 ing in combat you will not benefit your army as much as you will harm it by
 dying, something not unexpected in close combat. For, as we mentioned to you
 shortly before this, if merely by the false rumor that the general has fallen, the
 soldiers of that nation were destroyed, how much more, if it should prove to be
 true, will it cause serious harm to the army of the general who has actually
 fallen?

100. Rather, in safety keenly observe and carry out your proper task. It is
 then that the general is admired: when at the critical point of an emergency he
 arranges for what should be done, when in full freedom he plans ahead for what
 is likely to happen.

101. If then, at that same time, it is necessary for you to address words of
 encouragement to your soldiers, <tell them of> the abiding help of God as well
 as the promised rewards of Our Majesty set aside for those who have distin-
 guished themselves. If anything more <is needed>, contrive certain signs and
 point to them and suggest that they have appeared and portend victory for us.
 And there are other things to do that this compilation cannot provide at this
 time, but which you may find and study in the collected gnomic sayings at the
 end of this composition, that is, all the things you must do and say before war,
 during war, and after war, and that will enable you to prove that you are superior

τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ πράξεων ὡς ἐν συντόμῳ ἡμῖν εἴρηται.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν, ὅσαι τε καβαλλαρικαὶ καὶ ὅσαι
πεζικαί, εἰρήσθω ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν συνόψει.

to the enemy. These and other topics dealing with activities during the war itself
are summarized by us. These matters, therefore, about military preparations,
both for cavalry and for infantry, have been set forth in summary fashion by us.

711 τοιαῦτα...εἴρηται MW om. AVBE 712 παρασκευῶν MW παρασκευῶν εἰρήσθω
AVBE 713 εἰρήσθω ἡμῖν MW om. AVBE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΕ'

Περὶ πολιορκίας πόλεων

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ περὶ πολιορκίας σοι χρεῶν διατάξασθαι, ὧ στρατηγέ, ἅπερ ἔκ
τε παλαιῶν καὶ νέων ἀνθολογήσαμεν, καὶ ὅσα δεῖ πράττειν ἢ πολιορκοῦντα
5 πολεμίους, ὡς εἰκός, ἢ πολιορκούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τούτων μετρίαν
πεῖραν ἔχοις, δι' ἧς δυνήσῃ προσεπινοῆσαι λαβόμενος ἀφορμῆς καὶ ὅσα μὴ
ἐνταῦθα μὲν εἴρηται, δυνατὰ δὲ γενέσθαι, τῆς χρείας κατὰ τε καιροὺς καὶ τό-
πους διδασκούσης τὰ ἕκαστα.

2. Πολιορκία τοίνυν στρατηγοῦ ἀνδρείαν ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ διάνοιαν ὀξεῖαν καὶ
10 στρατηγικὴν καὶ ἔμφρονα καὶ παρετοιμασίας μηχανημάτων, ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἐν τῷ
παρακαθῆσθαι ἢ πόλει ἢ φρουρίῳ ἢ ὀχυρώματι, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προσοχῆς
ταύτην γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

3. Χρὴ οὖν σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, παρακαθεζόμενόν τινα τῶν εἰρημένων ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ
καθέλῃ φοσσάτον ὀχυρὸν ποιεῖν, ἥτοι ἢ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ἢ ἀπὸ κτισμάτων ἢ
15 λίθων ἢ πλίνθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ὡς ἐπινοήσεις περιφράσσειν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων, καὶ βίγλας πολλὰς καὶ ἀκριβεῖς ἔχειν, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς ἀνυπονόη-
τους τόπους, ἵνα μὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι ἢ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἄφνω ἐπερ-
χόμενοι, ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κινδύνους τῷ στρατῷ προσάγουσιν. ὅπερ γέγονε
πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πόλεων. οἱ γὰρ ἔξωθεν οὐκ οἶδασι τί μελετῶ-
20 σιν οἱ ἐντός· οἱ δὲ ἔσωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βλέπουσιν ὅπερ ἂν πράττειν μέλλῃς
κατ' αὐτῶν. διὸ πρότερον σοι τὸ ἴδιον ἀσφαλιζεσθαι στρατεύμα.

M W A V B E PG 107:885

3-405 Cf. *Strat.*, 10. 9-26 Onas. 40-41.

1 πολεμικῶν...ι�' MW λέοντος ἐν χρίστῳ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλεὺς ῥωμαίων A διάταξις ι�'
VBE 2 πόλεων WAVBE πόλεων πῶς δεῖ ταῦτας πολιορκεῖν M 3 χρεῶν MW χρὴ AVBE
4 ἀνθολογήσαμεν MW συνελεξάμεθα AVBE | πράττειν MW ποιεῖν AVBE 5 ὡς εἰκός MW
om. AVBE 6 δυνήσῃ MW δυνήσῃ καὶ ἕτερα ἀπὸ σου AVBE 7 δυνατὰ MWVBE δυνατόν
A 8 τὰ ἕκαστα MW ἅπαντα AVBE 9 στρατηγοῦ...ἐπιζητεῖ MW ἀνδρείαν ἐπιζητεῖ
στρατηγοῦ AVBE 14 ἢ! M om. WAVBE | τάφρον MW σοῦδαν AVBE 18 προσάγουσιν
MW προσφέρουσιν AVE προσφέρουσιν B | γέγονε MWVBE γέγονεν A 20 ὅπερ ἂν AVBE
ὅτι ἂν καὶ MW

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XV

About Besieging a City

1. Next, O general, we are obliged to give you instructions about siege war-
fare that we have gathered together from ancient and recent authorities, what
you must do when you are besieging the enemy and, likely enough, when you
are being besieged by them. Even if you have only moderate experience of such
matters, this will provide you with a starting point that will enable you to devise
further <means>. You will be able to bring matters not mentioned here into
being. The needs of time and space will teach you the details.¹

2. Siege warfare calls for a general who is brave and sharp witted, who has
military knowledge, common sense, and who can prepare war machines. He
must see to security in encamping about a city or fortress or fortification and he
must devote a great deal of attention to such security.

3. Therefore, O general, when you are encamped around one of those places
we have mentioned, the site of your camp must be strongly fortified either by a
deep ditch or by constructions of stone, brick, wood, or in whatever way you
can devise to protect yourself from the enemy. In the most unlikely places, espe-
cially, station a large number of sharp-witted scouts to prevent either the
besieged or enemy forces on the outside from suddenly attacking, either by day
or night, and exposing the army to danger, as has often occurred in cities under
siege. The troops outside do not know what the people inside may be planning,
but those inside, on the walls, can easily see what operations you are planning to
take against them. For this reason you should attend to the security of your own
army.

1. For Const. 15 cf. *Strat.* 10; for §§2-4 cf. Onasander 40-41. See also D. Sullivan,
Siegecraft: Two Tenth Century Instructional Manuals by Heron of Byzantium (Washington, DC,
2000), including drawings of contemporary siege equipment from cod. Vat. Gr. 1605; H. van
den Berg, *Anonymous de obsidione toleranda* (Leiden, 1947).

4. Κρείττον δὲ ποιήσεις ἂν καὶ παρὰ τὰς πόρτας ἢ εἰς τὰ παραπόρτια τῆς πόλεως ἢ κάστρου ἢ τὰς διεξόδους ἑτέρου ὀχυρώματος παρακαθίσεις τινὰς στρατιώτας, οἵτινες τὰς αἰφνιδίους καταδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκωλύσαι
25 δύνανται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς νυξί, χρή σε τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχειν ἀσφάλειαν. τότε γὰρ μᾶλλον αἱ τοιαῦται καταδρομαὶ γίνονται.

5. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπιβάλῃς τὴν πολιορκίαν, φοβερώτερος γενήσῃ τοῖς ἔσωθεν πολιορκουμένοις· οὐ γὰρ δύνανται ὁρᾶν τὰ γινόμενα διὰ τὸ σκότος, καὶ πλεον ταρασσονται, καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὐτῶν ὑποχαλῶσιν, καὶ
30 πολλὰ δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν νύκτα γίνεσθαι ὑπονοοῦσι κατ' αὐτῶν, ὅσα πολλάκις οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπινοεῖς. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐν νυκτὶ γινόμενον, κἂν μικρὸν ἔστι, φοβερώτερον γίνεται τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις· διὸ καὶ ταχύτερον ὑποχαλῶσι καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν ἀσπάζονται. εἰ γὰρ ἰσχύσεις ἕνα που ἢ δύο ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβᾶσαι, νομίσουσιν οἱ ἐντὸς πᾶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἀναβῆναι, καὶ τραπήσονται καὶ ἔρημα
35 καταλείψουσι τὰ τεῖχη.

6. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων δεῖ τὴν εὐψυχίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείαν φαίνεσθαι. ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιπόνων τῆς πολιορκίας ἔργων ἄπτηται χερσὶν οἰκείαις. μᾶλλον γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς ἐντραπήσεται· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ὥς ἐπιταττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐξ ἴσου φίλῳ συμπονοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ τῶν ἔργων
40 ἐπιδώσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς προθυμότερον.

7. Χρεὼν δέ σε ἀνασκοπῆσαι ἀκριβῶς καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀρχόμενον, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν δυνατόν ἔστι στενοχωρεῖν τοὺς ἐντὸς περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰσόδον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἢ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἢ περὶ τὴν τροφήν. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως ἔχουσι, τότε μηχαναῖς κεχρησθαι πολεμικαῖς.

8. Καταπλήξεις δὲ αὐτούς, ἂν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἀρχόντων ἐπιλεξάμενος ἡλικία καὶ θεωρία τελείους καὶ ὅπλοις ἀστράπτοντας, τούτους ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον τοῦ τεῖχους ἢ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος ἐκ παρόδου ὑποδείξης τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις. τοὺς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρους μετὰ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς μηκόθεν ἐκτάξης ἵνα μὴ

4. You will do better if you station some soldiers by the gates or at the postern gates of the city or fortress or at the passageways into some other fortification. They should be able to repel sudden assaults of the enemy. You must have this sort of security, especially at night, for such assaults are more commonly made at night.

5. If, however, you carry on your siege operations at night, you will cause more fear among the people inside who come under siege. Darkness prevents them from seeing what is happening and they grow all the more confused, their spirits are cast down, and they imagine that they will suffer many terrible things during the night, even things that you have no intention of doing. For everything that happens at night, even something very minor, causes more fear among people under siege, and so they very quickly become slack and embrace subjection. If you can do so, have one or two men mount the wall and the people inside will think that the whole army has climbed onto the wall. They will run away and leave the walls deserted.

6. These situations call for the general to give evidence of his courageous spirit and bravery. He should take part in the labors and work of the siege with his own hands. Indeed, he will put the soldiers to shame. They will labor together on the difficult tasks not so much because they have been ordered to do so but because it will be on an equal basis with a friend, and they will become more enthusiastic.

7. When you begin the siege, you must make an accurate assessment. First, is it possible to keep the necessities, such as food and water, from getting to the people within? If they possess these in abundance, then resort to siege engines.

8. You will cause great consternation if you select from among your soldiers or officers the most impressive, in the prime of life, very large in appearance, and with bright, shining armor. Show them off to the besieged by having them pass close to the wall or the fortification. Station the less impressive troops

25 ad μάλιστα des. W

23 ἢ κάστρου MW om. AVBE 25 νυξί MVBE νυξιν A 26 καταδρομαὶ γίνονται M trsp. AVBE 27 ἐπιβάλῃς... πολιορκίαν M πολιορκίῃς AVBE 30 οὐδ' M οὐδὲ AVBE 32 ὑποχαλῶσι M ἐνδιδοῦσιν AVBE 33 ἀσπάζονται M ἀγαπῶσιν AVBE | που M om. AVBE 34 ἐντὸς M ἔσωθεν τὸ AVBE | ἔρημα M ἔρημα καὶ ἀφύλακτα AVBE 36 καὶ M καὶ τὴν AVBE 37-38 ἄπτηται... οἰκείαις M ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἄπτηται AVBE 38 ἔστι ὅπως M ἔτι AVBE 39 φίλῳ M φίλῳ συνεργοῦντες καὶ AVBE | τὰ M τὰ δύσκολα καὶ AVBE 40 ἐπιδώσωσιν M ἐπιδώσουσιν AVBE 41 χρεὼν M χρή AVBE | ἀνασκοπῆσαι M κατασκοπῆσαι AVBE 42 περὶ M περὶ τὴν AVBE 44 ἔχουσι MVBE ἔχουσιν A

δύνωνται οἱ πολέμοιοι διακρίνειν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἄνδρα ἢ ἄλογον. οὕτως γὰρ πάντας
 50 τοὺς φαινομένους ἄνδρας εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοιοῦτους οἴους εἶδον πλησίον
 ἐλθόντας.

9. Πάντως δὲ χρήσιμόν ἐστιν τὸ πολλοὺς λωρικάτους καὶ καταφράκτους
 φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας λωρίκια καὶ κασ-
 σίδας δι' ἐπιτηδεύσεως δεικνύειν ὥς λωρικάτους καὶ καταφράκτους ἵνα πάντες
 55 τοιοῦτοι φαινόμενοι δειλίαν ἐμποιώσι τοῖς ἔσωθεν.

10. Καὶ τὰ ἀπλικάτα δὲ ἀπὸ μηκόθεν | ποίει, ἵνα πάντα τὰ ὀρώμενα παρὰ τῶν
 ἐντὸς στρατιώται φαίνωνται.

11. Καὶ πρότερον μὲν δηλοποιεῖν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῷ φρουρίῳ, καὶ προ-
 βάλλεσθαι εἰς ἐπιζήτησιν τῆς διαλύσεως πράγματα εὐχερῆ, ἥτοι ἢ ἄλογα αὐτῶν
 60 ἢ τινα ἄρματα ἢ ἑτέρα τινα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων φορητά, ἵνα τῇ
 εὐχερείᾳ τῶν προτεινομένων καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς σωτηρίας εἰς διχόνοιαν ἔλθωσιν,
 καὶ χαυνώτεροι γένωνται πρὸς ἀντικατάστασιν καὶ κινδύνους.

12. Τὸ γὰρ εὐθέως ἐκ προοιμίων σκληρὰ καὶ βαρεῖα προτείνειν οὐκ ἔμφο-
 ρος κρίνομεν στρατηγοῦ. τῇ γὰρ δυσχερεῖα καὶ τῷ βάρει τῶν προτεινομένων
 65 λόγων ἐλαφρότερον λογίζονται τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 εἰς ἔνωσιν καὶ ἀπόνοιαν ἔρχονται.

13. Πρὸ πάντων δὲ πρέπον ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μακραῖς πολιορκίαις,
 εὐτρεπίζειν σε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἵνα ἀστενοχωρήτως καθέζηται ὁ στρατὸς μηδενὸς
 λειπόμενος.

70 14. Ἀφορίσεις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐπὶ ἐκάστη χρεῖα ἰδιαζόντως
 ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ κάμνειν τοῖς πόνοις ὀφείλοντας, καὶ διορίσαι τις ποῖαν χρεῖαν
 ποιεῖν ὀφείλει.

15. Ὅταν δὲ ἀπάρξη τοῦ προβάλλειν εἰς πολιορκίαν, οὐ χρή σε πάντα τὸν
 στρατὸν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἄγειν εἰς πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ πάντες ὁμοῦ ἀποκάμω-
 75 σιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μέρη διάφορα αὐτὸν διαμερίσῃς καὶ ἀφορίσῃς, πόσοι καὶ πόσας
 ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας ὀφείλουσι κάμνειν, καὶ διακρίνης τίνες οἱ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ τίνες

49 ad διακρίνειν de novo inc. W

49 δύνωνται M δύνανται WAVBE 50 νομίζουσι M νομίζουσιν W νομίσουσιν A νομίσουσι
 VBE 52 ἐστιν M ἐστι WAVBE 57 ἐντὸς MAVBE ἐκτὸς W 60 φορητά MW εὐτελῆ
 AVBE 61 εὐχερεία MW εὐτελεία AVBE | προτεινομένων MW ἐπιζητουμένων AVE
 ζητουμένων B 63 ἐκ προοιμίων MW καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς AVBE | βαρεῖα MW βαρέα AVBE
 63-64 προτείνειν... ἔμφορος MW ζητεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐ φρονίμου AVBE 64 τῇ MW πρὸς
 AVBE | δυσχερεῖα MW δυσχερεῖαν AVBE | καὶ... βάρει MW om. AVBE 66 καὶ MW
 <κα> ὁμόνοιαν καὶ AVBE 67 ἐστί M ἐστὶν WAVBE 68 καθέζηται MW παρακαθέζεται
 AVBE 73 προβάλλειν M προσβάλλειν WAVBE

farther off with the baggage so the enemy will not be able to form any judgment
 of them, either men or horses. In this way they will believe that all the men are
 as impressive as those they have seen up close.

9. It is always useful to have a large number of your men be seen by the
 besieged in coats of mail and full armor. To this end, have those who do not
 have coats of mail and helmets present themselves as mailed and fully armed. By
 having all of ours appear in this way, you will instill fear in the people within.

10. Set up your camp a good distance away so that everything in it will look
 like soldiers to the besieged.

11. First, make clear to the people inside the city or fortress that you are
 proposing light and bearable terms to seek their surrender, either their horses or
 some weapons or some of their other moveable possessions. Such moderate
 proposals and the hope of safety may lead them to differences of opinion and
 they may become more hesitant to offer resistance and face dangers.

12. In our judgment, an intelligent general does not propose severe and
 harsh terms at the very beginning. If the terms are severe and harsh, the be-
 sieged may think that the risks are more acceptable and this may lead them to
 unite in rejecting them.

13. Above all, especially in a lengthy siege, you must make sure that your
 supplies are gotten ready, so the army may undertake the siege fully equipped
 and with nothing missing.

14. Also assign men who will be obliged to work at each of the necessary
 tasks and who must work hard at it. You are to designate what kind of duty an
 individual has to perform.

15. When you begin to get the siege under way, you must not lead the entire
 army out to combat every day. If you did, all of them would immediately
 become exhausted. You should divide it into various sections and assign the
 number of men and how many hours they are obliged to work each day. Sched-

οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὀχλεῖσθαι τοὺς πολιορκουμένους διὰ πολέμου ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἐν ταῖς νυξὶν ὁμοίως διὰ φόβου, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀφοριζομένων τινῶν καὶ ποιούντων διὰ νυκτὸς τοὺς φόβους οἷους καὶ ὅσους

80 ἐπινοήσεις.

16. Εἰ δὲ στρατὸν ἔχεις πολὺν, ὥστε δύνασθαι καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχθαι πολιορκίας, καλῶς ποιήσεις ἂν τοῦτον διέλης εἰς ὅσα συνορᾶς μέρη. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς ὠρισμένας κοιμῶνται, οἱ δὲ προσβάλλουσιν καὶ πάλιν οἱ καμόντες τῇ προσβολῇ ὑπνοῦσιν, καὶ οἱ πρώην ὑπνώσαντες πολιορκουῖσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνενδότως ποιεῖς, ὥστε μὴ ἔᾶσαι κἂν μικρὰν ἄνεσιν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους λαβεῖν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐκλυόμενοι ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ τῆς συνοχῆς τοῦ | καμάτου, εὐχερῶς 190 διὰ τῶν προσβαλλομένων καὶ μηχανημάτων καὶ λογισμῶν ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδώσωσιν ἑθελουσίως ἢ καὶ ἄκοντες ἀλωθήσονται, μικρὸν ἀμελήσαντες διὰ τὸ ἀνένδοτον τῶν ἐπερχομένων αὐτοῖς κινδύνων.

17. Ἡ τὸ πολλὰκις γινόμενον διὰ προδοτῶν μᾶλλον καὶ εὐχερέστερον αὐτοὺς παραλάβης ἀνυπονοήτου τόπου ἢ τρόπου σοὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὑποδειχθέντος.

18. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐκ διαδοχῆς πολιορκίαις καὶ αὐτός, ὦ στρατηγέ, χρόνον ὀλίγον ἀναπαύου καὶ σύντομον ἵνα νήφης πρὸς τὰ ἀρμόζοντά σοι 95 διατάγματα.

19. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδρειότερον διακείμενος κελεύσης διαμερισθῆναι εἰς πολλὰ μέρη τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἕκαστον μέρος προσφέρειν σκάλας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, κρεῖττον ποιήσεις. ἐν κύκλῳ γὰρ γινομένης τῆς προσβολῆς ὁμοῦ εἰς ἀμηχανίαν καὶ ὀλιγωρίαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι ἐμπεσοῦνται, μάλιστα ὅταν μετὰ τῶν σκαλῶν καὶ 100 τὰ ἕτερα μηχανήματα προσβάλλης, οἷον κριοὺς ἢ χελώνας ἢ πύργους ἢ ἕτερόν τι πολιορκητικὸν ὄργανον. ἂν γὰρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα προσφέρης, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς σκάλας ἐπιστήσης εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, διὰ πολλῶν μερῶν συνταραχθήσονται οἱ ἐντός. εἴ τε γὰρ ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὰς προσβαλ-

82 διέλης MW διαχωρίσης AVBE 83 προσβάλλουσιν MW προσβαλῶσιν AVBE 84 καμόντες MW κοπιάσαντες ἐν AVBE 85-86 ἐκ...πολιορκουμένους MW καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσεις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ διαδεχομένων ἀλλήλους τῶν προσβαλλόντων ὥστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κἂν μικρὰν ἄνεσιν AVBE 87-89 τῆς²...ἐθελουσίως MW ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεχοῦς καμάτου ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν προσβαλλόντων μηχανημάτων καὶ τῶν καταστρατηγήσεων ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδώσωσιν (ἐπιδώσουσιν B) ἐκουσίως AVBE 89 ἀλωθήσονται μικρὸν MW κρατηθήσονται μικρὸν τι AVBE 89-90 ἀνένδοτον MW ἀνένδοτον καὶ ἀδιάπαυστον AVBE 91-92 διὰ...αὐτοὺς MW εὐχερέστερον μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς διὰ προδοτῶν AVBE 94 ἵνα MW ἵνα ἐγρηγορῆς καὶ AVBE 96 ἀνδρειότερον διακείμενος MW om. AVBE 101 ὄργανον MW μηχανήματα AVBE 102-103 συνταραχθήσονται... ἐντός MW οἱ ἔσωθεν περισπώμενοι συνταραχθήσονται AVBE

ule some to work at night and others during the day. For not only must the besieged be harassed by continuous attacks during the day but, in like manner, they should be kept on edge all night by troops designated for this. You will devise what these fears at night should consist of and their duration.

16. If you have an army large enough that you can carry on the same siege at night, you will do well to divide it into as many sections as you judge best. One section sleeps during designated hours of the night, others carry on the attack; again, the men who are weary from <fighting off> the attack sleep, while those who had slept earlier continue the siege. Do this, one following after the other, without let-up both by night and by day, so as not to allow the people under siege even a tiny respite. In this way they easily become unstrung from lack of sleep and constant hard work as well as by the attacks, the siege engines, and stratagems. They will then either willingly surrender themselves or, unwilling, be taken captive, for they will have grown careless because of the unyielding nature of the dangers falling upon them.

17. Or, as frequently happens, you will take them more easily by means of traitors, who may point out to you a place or a way <of attacking> that you had not thought of.

18. In the course of the unrelenting activity of such sieges, you, O general, must take a short and brief rest so you may be wide awake to manage things properly.

19. If you feel more emboldened, you may order the army to be divided into a large number of sections and have each section bring ladders up to the wall. With the assault then being carried on in a circle all at once, the besieged will fall into helplessness and dejection, especially when, along with the ladders, you move the other machines into place, such as rams, tortoises, towers, or other siege engines. If you bring up the siege engines and, at the same time, set the ladders against the wall, the people within will be harassed from many directions. If they neglect the other sections of the wall in order to concentrate

λομένας μηχανὰς ἀντιμάχονται πάντως, οἱ τὰς σκάλας προσφέροντες μηδενὸς
 105 ἀποκωλύοντος βιαίως εὐκόλως ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβήσονται· κἂν τε διαμερίσωσιν
 ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς σκάλας, τότε οἱ τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγον-
 τες τῶν ὀργάνων σφοδρότερας αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι τὰς ἐπιθέσεις καὶ οὐ δυνήσονται
 τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα κακὰ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προσβολῶν ἀποκρούσασθαι.

20. Πολλάκις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας οἱ νομιζόμενοι ὀχυρώτατοι καὶ ἀνεπινό-
 110 ητοι πρὸς ἄλωσιν τόποι μᾶλλον ἀφορμὰς σοι παρέξουσιν ἀλώσεως. οἱ γὰρ
 ἐντὸς διὰ τὴν δοκοῦσαν ὀχυρότητα τοὺς τοιούτους τόπους ἀφυλάκτους κατα-
 λιμπάνουσιν. σὺ δὲ διὰ τῆς σῆς ἐπινοίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιπόνου ἐργασίας τοὺς τοιού-
 τους τόπους κατανοῶν, τάχα μηχανὴν εὐρήσεις καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφυλάκτους
 ὄντας, ἢ διὰ σκαλῶν ἀναβαινόντων ἢ διὰ τινος βιαίας ἀναβάσεως εὐτόλμων
 115 ἀνδρῶν ἐπαγγελίας λαβόντων δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῶν. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσ-
 δοκῆτου θεωρήσαντες οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς | τοιούτους τόπους καταληφθέντας ἀπο-
 παύσονται, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ρίψαντες, ἢ αἰτήσουσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἢ κατὰ κράτος
 διαφθαρήσονται. οἱ γὰρ ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ τεῖχος διὰ τῆς δυσχερείας ἐκείνης ἢ
 σαλπίσουσι καὶ φόβον ἐμποιήσουσι μέγιστον ὁραθέντες ἢ διαδραμοῦνται μετὰ
 120 τὸ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὰς πόρτας ἀνοίξουσιν, εἰ τύχοι τοῖς ἔξω στρατιώταις, ἢ διὰ
 τινων ἐτέρων ἐπινοιῶν τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ἢ τοῦ κάστρου διαθήσουσιν.

21. Εἰ δὲ τὸ κάστρον ἢ ἡ πόλις πλήθος ἔχει λαοῦ καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ τολμῶσιν
 ὑπαντιάζοντες ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς εἰσελθόντας, δεῖ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑψηλωτέρους
 τόπους καταλαβεῖν ἢ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πολεμοῦντας κακῶσαι
 125 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀλόντας. κηρύξουσιν δὲ τότε, ἵνα μηδεὶς κτείνειν τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα

105 βιαίως MAVBE βιαιού W 106 τὰς μηχανὰς MW τὰ πολιορκητικὰ AVBE 107 τῶν
 ὀργάνων MW μηχανήματα AVBE | σφοδρότερας...ἐπιθέσεις MW σφοδρότερος αὐτοῖς
 ἐπιτεθήσονται AVBE 107-108 δυνήσονται MW δυνήσονται αὐτοῖ (οὔτοι B) AVBE
 108 δι'...τῶν MW διὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων AVBE 109-110 καὶ...ἀλώσεως MW τόποι μᾶλλον
 ἀφορμὰς σοι παρέξουσιν (προξένουσι B) πορθήσεως AVBE 112 τῆς...ἐργασίας MW
 φρονήσεως AVBE 113 κατανοῶν MAVBE ἐπινοῶν W | εὐρήσεις MW τινα εὐρήσεις ὥστε
 AVBE 114 ἀναβαινόντων MW ἀναβαινόντων τινῶν AVBE | διὰ MW διὰ ἄλλης AVBE |
 βιαίας MW δυσκόλου AVBE | εὐτόλμων MW τολμηῶν AVE τολμηρῶν B 115 ἐπαγγελίας
 λαβόντων MW τοῦτο ποιούντων ὑποσχέσεις λαμβανόντων AVBE 116 ἐντὸς MW ἔσωθεν
 AVBE | καταληφθέντας MW κατακρατηθέντας AVBE 116-117 ἀποπαύσονται MW
 ἀποπαύσονται τῆς μάχης AVBE 118 δυσχερείας MW δυσκολίας AVBE 119 ὁραθέντες
 MW θεαθέντες AVBE | διαδραμοῦνται MW διαδραμῶσι AVBE 120-121 ἢ...διαθήσουσιν
 MW ἢ δι' ἄλλης τινὸς ἐπινοίας τὴν τῆς πόλεως κράτησιν ἢ τοῦ κάστρου ποιήσουσιν AVBE
 123 ὑπαντιάζοντες ἀμύνεσθαι MW ἀπαντᾶν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι AVBE 123-126 εἰσελθόν-
 τας...φέροντας MW ἔσωθεν συλληφθέντας κηρύξεις δὲ τότε καὶ διαλαλήσεις ἵνα τὸν μὴ
 ἔχοντα ὄπλα μηδεὶς φονεύῃ μόνους δὲ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς τὰ ὄπλα φοροῦντας AVBE

their defense against the engines that have been moved up, the men bringing up
 the ladders will encounter no strong opposition and will easily climb up onto
 the wall. Even if they divide their own forces to confront the men bringing up
 the ladders, then those who are bringing up the machines will make their
 attacks all the more forcefully. They will not be able to beat off the evils brought
 upon them by both assaults.

20. Frequently, when it comes to a siege, there are places that are considered
 extremely well fortified and their capture is inconceivable. Yet, the very fortifica-
 tions may provide you with the means to take them. The defenders, confident in
 those fortifications, may leave such places unguarded. Because you are attentive,
 though, and a diligent worker, you will investigate those places. Since they have
 been left unprotected, you will soon discover some means of capturing them,
 such as having some bold men, lured by the promise of gifts and honors, climb
 ladders and force their way to the top. As a result, when the people inside look
 upon the completely unexpected capture of those places, they will leave off
 «fighting» and throw down their weapons. They will beg for their safety or they
 will be destroyed by force. The men who have climbed up onto the wall in that
 difficult place will sound the trumpet and the sight of them will cause the
 greatest fear, or else they will race along as they enter in and will open the gates
 to our soldiers, who may be outside, or they will think of some other means to
 bring about the capture of the city or fortress.

21. If the fortress or city is strong and has a large number of men who are
 bold enough to confront and ward off our troops as they charge in, we must
 occupy the higher places or the highest points of the city and, fighting from that
 vantage point, cause serious injury to those caught in the city. Our men will

ὄπλον, μόνους δὲ κτείνειν τοὺς τὰ ὄπλα φέροντας. ταύτην δὲ τὴν φωνὴν κηρύττεσθαι τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν διαλέκτῳ. ἕκαστος γὰρ ἀκούσας, καὶ τῆς ἰδίας προνοούμενος σωτηρίας, ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ τοῦ φόβου ἀπορρίψει τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων ὀλιγουμένων κατὰ κράτος οἱ πολιορκοῦντες νικήσουσιν. οἱ γὰρ πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ οὕτως ἀλίσκόμενοι, ὅταν μικρὰν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας λάβωσιν, οἰκέται λοιπὸν ἀντὶ πολεμίων γίνονται.

22. Εἰ δὲ χρόνιος γένηται ἡ πολιορκία καὶ συμβῇ συλλαβεῖν σέ τινας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς μὲν ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις νεωτέρους ὥς ἂν βούλῃ κάτεχε. γυναῖκα δὲ καὶ παιδάρια καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποπέμπε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν. οὕτως γὰρ ἡ ἄχρηστος ἡλικία καὶ τὰς τροφὰς δαπανήσει, καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ βλάψει. ἔτι δὲ καὶ φιλελευθροπίας ὑπόνοιαν δώσεις τοῖς ἐντός, ὥστε διαιρεθῆναι τὰ φρονήματα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι ἐντεῦθεν τῆς πρὸς σε ὑποταγῆς αὐτῶν.

23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἴωθεν καὶ θόρυβος γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ὑπὸ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤχου τῶν σκουταρίων, ἵνα μὴ βαροῦνται καὶ ἐνοχλοῦνται οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντες ὁμοῦ, δέον σε ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου μιλίου ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπληκεῦν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος, ὁπόθεν οὐκ ἐξακούεται ὁ ἦχος τῶν θορυβούντων τοὺς πολιορκουμένους.

24. Μὴ ἐπικινδύνως δὲ καὶ ἀσκόπως προστάσεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς προσβολὰς | 140 ἵνα μὴ τινων διαπιπτόντων καὶ οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ δειλιάσωσιν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι προθυμότεροι γένωνται—τοῦτο γὰρ πολλάκις ἀνέγνωμεν γινόμενον—καὶ ὁ κρείττων τῶν ἄλλων στρατιώτης ὑπὸ γυναικὸς οὕτω τύχοι καὶ ἀσθενοῦς ἢ διὰ λίθου βληθέντος ἢ κεράμου ἢ διὰ ξύλου κατενεχθέντος πληγεῖς ἀπώλετο.

146–148 Cf. Leon diac. 3.7; Theoph. Cont., 438.13–14.

126–127 κηρύττεσθαι... διαλέκτῳ MW διαλαλεῖσθαι παρακελεύου τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ τῶν πολεμίων AVBE 128 ἐν... φόβου MW om. AVBE 129 νικήσουσιν MAVBE νικήσουσι W 130 ἀλίσκόμενοι MW κατακρατούμενοι AVBE 132 χρόνιος... πολιορκία MW ἐν ἰκανῷ χρόνῳ ἡ πολιορκία γένηται AVBE 132–133 συμβῇ... βούλῃ MW κρατήσεις τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν νεωτέρους καὶ ἰσχυροὺς ὥς ἂν βούλῃ AVBE 134 καὶ³... ἀνθρώπους MW ἀχρήστους AVBE | πρὸς MW πάλιν εἰς AVBE 135 αὐτῶν οὕτως MW αὐτῇ AVBE | καὶ¹... καὶ² MW οὕτε AVBE 136 οὐδὲν... βλάψει MW ὠφελήσει τι καὶ τὰς τροφὰς καταδαπανήσει AVBE 137 ὑπόνοιαν MW ὑπόληψιν AVBE 138 ἐντεῦθεν MW πρὸ τούτου AVBE 142 ποιεῖν... ὁπόθεν MW τοῦ ὀχυρώματος ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπληκεῦν ὅθεν AVBE 145 διαπιπτόντων MW ἀναιρουμένων AVBE | οἱ² MW οἱ λοιποὶ AVBE 147 κρείττων... στρατιώτης MW καλλίων τῶν στρατιωτῶν AVBE | οὕτω... καὶ² MW om. AVBE | ἀσθενοῦς MW ἀσθενούς πολλάκις AVBE 148 βληθέντος MW βληθεὶς ἢ διὰ AVBE | κατενεχθέντος MW om. AVBE

then proclaim that nobody should kill persons not carrying a weapon but kill only those bearing weapons. Make this proclamation in the language of the citizens. On hearing it, each individual will be concerned for his own safety and, gripped by fear, will throw away his weapons. Armed resistance will then drop off and the besieging forces will win a decisive victory. Those who were under siege and who have been taken in this manner, moreover, when they have small hope of safety, will become your servants rather than your enemies.

22. If the siege proves to be lengthy and you happen to capture some people outside the city, hold on to the younger men in the prime of life as you might wish. But send the women, children, elderly, and infirm individuals back into their city. In this way, people of a useless age will consume the food and will bring no benefit to the besieged, in fact, they will cause them trouble. In addition, you will give the people in the city reason to expect humane treatment. This should instill doubt in their minds and will mark the first steps of their subjection to you.

23. Since a great deal of noise, coming from the shouts of men and the clash of shields, usually accompanies a siege, make sure that all the men in the army together are not unduly disturbed or under stress. Have your men set up camp one or two miles from the fortification, beyond earshot of the noise that is causing confusion to those under siege.

24. Do not order assaults to be made recklessly and without purpose lest, when some losses occur, our troops become discouraged and the people under siege become more defiant. For we have often read about this happening. The strongest soldier might be struck by a stone or tile or piece of wood thrown or hurled down by a weak woman and so perish.²

2. In 963, in Constantinople, a woman threw a ceramic flower pot that killed Marianos Argyris, katapano of the West: Leo the Deacon 3.7 (trans. p. 96). Theophanes (*Cont.*) states that it was a roof tile (438.13–14). Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 3.245C.

25. Ἐὰν δὲ μικρὰ ὀχυρώματα παρακαθίσαι καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ἢ ἐπικίνδυνον
150 νομίζης τὴν προσβολήν, καὶ οἶδας ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λείπονται, σπού-
δαζε διὰ θορύβων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνοχλεῖν, ἵνα τῇ ὀχλήσῃ
ἀποκάμωσιν ὀλίγοι ὄντες πρὸς πλῆθος κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνενδότης αὐτοῖς
προσβάλλον.

26. Εἰ δὲ καὶ οἶκοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐπιτήδαιοι πρὸς τὸ καῖναι διὰ πυρ-
155 φόρων σαγίττων συνεχῶν διὰ πολλῶν τόπων, ἀνέμου μάλιστα σφοδροῦ κινου-
μένου, πέμπε καὶ ἐμπύριζε, ὕλην πυρὸς προσδεσμών τῇ σαγίττῃ διὰ τῶν πετρο-
βόλων μαγγανικῶν τῶν λεγομένων ἀλακατίων ἢ τετραρέων τῶν πετρῶν πυρὸς
πεπληρωμένων δι' ὕλης, καὶ βαλλομένων κατὰ τῶν εὐεμπρήστων οἴκων. καὶ ἐν
ὅσῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀσχολοῦνται σβέσιν, σκάλας εἰς τοὺς ἐπιδεχομένους
160 τόπους ἰστὰν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιβαίνειν κέλευε.

27. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὡς ἐπίπαν ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις εἶδη μηχανημάτων πολιορκητικὰ
διάφορα, ὅσα οἱ τε παλαιοὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ μικρῷ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπενόησαν κατὰ
δύναμιν ἕκαστος, καὶ τὴν καλοῦσαν τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ τόπου χρεῖαν. οὐ γὰρ
νῦν ἔστι λέγειν διὰ ποίων ὀργάνων πολιορκήσεις, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ἢ χρεῖα
165 διδάξει σε ἕκαστα. καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι κριοὶ δι' ὧν τὰ τεῖχη κρούμενα
συντρίβεται· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πύργοι ἀπὸ ξύλων συγκείμενοι καὶ διὰ βурсῶν ἢ ἐτέρας
ὕλης ἐπισκεπόμενοι, ὥστε διὰ πυρὸς μὴ φθειρεσθαι, οἵτινες καὶ διὰ τροχῶν τοῖς
τείχεσι προσφερόμενοι ἀπὸ ὕψους μάχονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ· καὶ χελῶναι δὲ
προσφερόμεναι τῷ τείχεϊ καὶ τὰ θεμέλια ἐξορύσσουσαι, καὶ σκάλας σύνθεται ἢ
170 ἐπιτεθεῖσαι τῷ τείχεϊ ἢ ἐν ὀρθοῖς ξύλοις ἐπικείμεναι καὶ διὰ τροχῶν προσφερό-
μεναι.

28. Καὶ ὀρύγματα ἔξω μὲν τοῦ τεύχους κατὰ γῆν ἀπαρχόμενα, ἐντὸς δὲ διὰ
τῶν θεμελίων εἰσερχόμενα, καὶ ἀνατρυποῦντα τὴν γῆν ἔσωθεν τῆς πόλεως, |
εἶγε ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ τόπῳ τύχει κειμένη.

150 οὐδὲν W οὐδὲ MAVBE | ἐπιτηδείων MW ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ἀναγκαίων AVBE
151 αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοῦς AVBE | ἐνοχλεῖν MW ὀχλεῖν AVBE 152 κατὰ... ἀνενδότης MW
ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπαύστως AVBE 153 προσβάλλον AVBE προσβάλλοντος M προσβάλλοντες
W 154 φρουρίῳ MW ὀχυρώματι AVBE 155 σφοδροῦ MW om. AVBE 156 σαγίττῃ
MW σαγίττα ἢ AVBE 157 μαγγανικῶν MW μαγγανικῶν ἢ AVBE | ἀλακατίων ἢ MW om.
AVBE 158 εὐεμπρήστων οἴκων MW οἴκων τῶν εὐκόλως ἐμπρησθῆναι δυναμένων AVBE
160 κέλευε MW om. AVBE 161 ἐπίπαν MW ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον AVBE 162 μικρῷ MW
om. AVBE 163 καλοῦσαν MW ἀναγκάζουσαν AVBE 165 εἰσὶ MW τισὶ AVBE
167 ἐπισκεπόμενοι MAVBE σκεπόμενοι W 169 ἐξορύσσουσαι καὶ MW ἐξορύσσουσιν
AVBE 174 τύχει κειμένη M κειμένη τύχοι W τύχη κειμένη AVBE

25. If you are setting siege to a small fortification, and you believe an assault
will be risky and costly and you know that the besieged are not lacking in
supplies, concentrate on confusing and harassing them day and night. Such
harassment will leave them exhausted, since they are only a few against a mul-
titude of unending attacks, one after the other.

26. If there are houses within the fortified city that can be easily set on fire,
shoot a constant barrage of fire-bearing arrows in many directions, especially if
there is a strong wind blowing, and set them on fire, affixing inflammable mater-
ial to the arrows, by means of the stone-throwing machines that are called
alakatia or tetrareai, and hurl stones filled with inflammable material against the
houses and they will burn easily.³ While the inhabitants are busy trying to ex-
tinguish the fire, put up ladders, where the ground permits, and give the com-
mand to climb up on them in safety.

27. In general, when it comes to sieges, there are different kinds of siege
engines that have been devised by commanders in the past and by others in
recent times, each one according to his ability and the requisite demands of time
and place. This is not the time to tell you what machines you should employ in
carrying out a siege. The needs of the time will teach you about each one. There
are the ones called rams that pound the walls and shatter them. There are also
the towers constructed of wood covered with hides or other materials so they
will not be destroyed by fire. Wheels are used to bring them close to the walls
and from the top soldiers fight against the people on the walls. Tortoises are also
brought up to the walls to undermine their foundation. Composite ladders are
set up against the walls or placed on rigid wooden beams and brought forward
on wheels.

28. Excavation can also begin in the ground outside the walls, continue
inside through the foundations, and bore through the earth inside the city,
provided that the location is level.

3. See Dennis, "Byzantine Heavy Artillery."

175 29. Καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἕτεροι μηχαναὶ ὀργάνων, ἅπερ ἔν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱστορίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῶν στρατηγικῶν, ἐρευνῶν εὐρήσεις, καὶ ὅπως κατασκευάζονται καὶ ὅπως προσάγονται καὶ ἐν ὁποίοις τόποις τῶν πολιορκουμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν μηχανημάτων αἱ παρασκευαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐτοιμασίαι οὐ μόνον
180 ρίων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας κατασκευάς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπινοῇς τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα μηχανήματα, κάκεῖνοι τοῖς διὰ χειρῶν ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς διὰ τῆς πείρας ἐπινοίαις συμβοηθήσωσί σοι.

30. Τοὺς δὲ προδότας λεγομένους ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ὀχυρώματος ἢ ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς πολέμιαν εἰσόδου, καὶ ὑποδέχου εὐμενῶς καὶ τὰς πίστει πρὸς
185 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας φύλαττε, ἐὰν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀληθεύουσιν, οὐχὶ δι' αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ πάλιν σοι τοιαύτας προξενεῖν χάριτας. ὁ γὰρ διδούς τι τῷ προδότῃ μᾶλλον λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ πλέον παρ' ὃ ἐκείνῳ χαρίζεται. οὐ γὰρ κριτὴς τῆς παρὰ τοῦ προδότου ἀδικηθείσης πόλεως ἢ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑπάρχεις, ἀλλὰ στρατηγός, καὶ διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σου λαοῦ λυπεῖν
190 καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς πολέμιους σπουδάζων. τὸ γὰρ δοκεῖν τοὺς κακοὺς μὴ εὐεργετεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἀπειρόκαλόν μοι φαίνεται. πάντα γὰρ καλὰ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν. ὁ γὰρ προδότης, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς πολέμιους κακὸς γέγονεν, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς σε καὶ τὸν ὅλον σὸν λαὸν ἀγαθὸς ἀπεδείχθη.

31. Ἐὰν δὲ Θεοῦ παρέχοντος τὴν χάριν ὑποταγῇ σοι ἢ πόλις ἢ φρούριον ἢ τοῖς
195 κάστρον ἢ διὰ φόβον πολιορκίας ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν, πρῶως καὶ εὐμενῶς διατέθητι πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ μήτε φόροις αὐτοὺς καταβαρῆσης μήτε ἀπηνῶς ἐκφοβήσης ἢ ἀπειλήσης διὰ τινος τιμωρίας μήτε ἀδικίας λυπῆσης. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐπιεικὴς αὐτοῖς γίνου, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁρῶντες τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα εἰς τοὺς ὑποταγέντας σοι μετὰ προθυμίας προσέρχωνταί σοι, μηδὲν
200 κακὸν ὅπερ ὑπενεγκεῖν οὐ δύναται παρὰ σου παθεῖν ἐλπίζοντες.

192 ad προδότης des. W

178 αἰ² MAVBE om. W 179 δύναται γίνεσθαι MW trsp. AVBE 180 αὐτὸς MW σύ AVBE 181 κάκεῖνοι MW καὶ ἐκείνοι AVBE 182 ταῖς MAVBE τοῖς W | συμβοηθήσωσί AVBE συμβοηθοῦσιν M συμβοηθήσουσιν W 185 ἀληθεύουσιν MAVBE ἀληθεύουσιν W 187 μᾶλλον MW μᾶλλον αὐτὸς AVBE 188 τῆς MWAVBE τοῦ A 190 δοκεῖν MW δοκεῖν ἐνταῦθα AVBE 191 ἐνταῦθα MW om. AVBE 194 φρούριον M κάστρον AVBE 196 φόροις M πάκτοις AVBE 198 αὐτοῖς γίνου M γένου AVBE 198–199 χρηστότητα M ἀγαθότητα AVBE 200 ὅπερ... δύναται M om. AVBE

29. In a word, there are other machines and engines that, upon investigation, you will find in other historical works and more fully in the expositions of the strategists. How are they constructed? How are they moved forward? In what kind of places under siege? Not only will you be able to bring about the construction and erection on site of these machines but you will be helped by the practical knowledge of the artillerymen with you and of the men familiar with such equipment. You are to figure out what machines are efficient and available and they are to assist you with their craftsmanship and the knowledge they have gained from experience.

30. Be sure to receive kindly those who are called traitors either from a city, some other sort of fortification, or a road leading into enemy territory. Observe the guarantees and promises made to them if they are really telling the truth, not only on their account, but also on account of those who, in return, will present you with certain favors. He who grants something to a traitor actually receives more from him than he has given. For you are not a judge of the city or of the enemy unjustly treated by the traitor, but you are a military commander, employing many means on behalf of your people to injure and destroy the enemy. Giving the impression of not offering favors to wicked men in these circumstances strikes me as foolish. All good things have their time. For the traitor, even if he is wicked as far as your enemies are concerned, yet, as far as you and all your people are concerned, he turns out to be good.

31. If God bestows his grace upon you, and the city or fortress or walled town submits to you, either out of fear of a siege or for some other reason, act gently and kindly toward the population. Do not weigh them down with fiscal impositions or frighten them in a harsh manner or threaten them with some punishment or harass them unjustly. Instead, be good and fair with them. Then, as others see your goodness toward those who have submitted to you, they will eagerly approach you in the hopes that they will not suffer any evil from you that they cannot bear.

32. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσμεν καὶ Νικηφόρον τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν πρὸς τὸ Λαγοβάρδων ἔθνος πεποιηκότα, ὅτε παῖρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ ὑποτάξαι αὐτοὺς ἐξαπεστάλη. οὐ μόνον γὰρ διὰ πολέμων ἀκριβῶς ἐκτεταγμένων τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπήγαγε τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγχινοῖα χρησάμενος καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ
 205 χρηστότητι, ἐπεικῶς τε τοῖς προσερχομένοις προσφερόμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς πάσης τε δουλείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φορολογιῶν χαρίζομενος.

33. Οὐ γὰρ κέρδους ἕνεκεν ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν τὴν ὑποταγὴν τῶν ἀντικαθισταμένων ἐπιζητεῖ, ἀλλὰ δόξης μὲν ἰδίας καὶ τιμῆς, σωτηρίας δὲ καὶ εὐεργεσίας σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῆς.

210 34. Οὕτως οὖν εὐμενῶς τοῖς προσερχομένοις σοι καὶ ὑποτασσομένοις διακείμενος, δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς μήπω προσελθόντας οἰκειώσῃ. ἡ γὰρ τεθριωμένη γνώμη καὶ ἀπηνῆς καὶ τοὺς ὑποτασσομένους εἰς μετάμελον φέρει, καὶ τοὺς μήπω ὑποταγέντας ἀναστέλλει καὶ μᾶλλον προθυμότερους ποιεῖ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας σωτηρίας ἢ ὑπὸ χεῖρας τοιοῦτου ἀπηνοῦς στρατηγοῦ ἐμπί-
 215 πτειν, καὶ ταλαιπωρήσεις πολιορκῶν ἴσως καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύων. εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὸν σε μάθωσιν ὄντα, ταχέως ἐνδώσουσι τῇ ὑποταγῇ.

35. Τῆς γὰρ βασιλείας ἡμῶν τὸ εὐμενὲς καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ἀγαπῶσης πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁπνίκα διὰ σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσχωρήσαι βουλευθῇ ἢ πόλις ἢ φρούριον ἢ ἔθνος τοῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐμενείας σπλάγχχνους σε δεῖ
 220 ἀφορᾶν, καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν εὐμενείας καὶ σωτηρίους κελεύσεις περὶ αὐτῶν δέχεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν.

36. Οὐκ ἄνευ δὲ σκοποῦ νομίζω καὶ τοῦτο ὥστε γινώσκειν σε ἀκριβῶς ὥσπερ τὰς ἡμερινὰς ὥρας, οὕτως καὶ τὰς νυκτερινὰς διὰ τῆς τῶν φαινομένων ἀστέρων καὶ τῆς σελήνης κινήσεων, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ ὑποσχέσεως ὥρας ἢ παρὰ
 225 προδότου προτεινομένης, ἢ παρὰ σου αὐτοῦ ἐπινοουμένης ἢ ἐν πολιορκίᾳ ἢ ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ ἀσφαλῆς περὶ τὸ σύνθημα τοῦ καιροῦ ἢ τὸν ὀρισμὸν ὑπάρχῃς. τὸ γὰρ

211 ad αὐτῶν de novo inc. W

201–202 Cf. Skylitzes *Basil.Mak.*, 37–38.

201 ἴσμεν M γινώσκομεν AVBE 204 ὑπήγαγε τὸ M ὑπήγαγετο AVBE 206 πάσης... χαρίζομενος M χαρίζομενος πάσης τε δουλείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δημοσίων ἐλευθερῶν AVBE 211–212 τεθριωμένη...ἀπηνῆς MW τεθριωμένοι καὶ ἀπηνεῖς AVBE 212 φέρει MW φέρουσιν AVBE 213 ἀναστέλλει MW ἀναστέλλουσι AVBE | ποιεῖ MW ποιῶσι AVBE 214 ἀπηνοῦς στρατηγοῦ MW trsp. AVBE 216 ἐνδώσουσι MAVBE ἐνδώσουσιν W 218 προσχωρήσαι MW προσελθεῖν AVBE 219 τοῖς MW εἰς τὰ AVBE | σπλάγχχνους MW σπλάγχχνα AVBE 220 εὐμενείας MW φιλανθρώπους AVBE 222 οὐκ...ὥστε MW om. AVBE | ἀκριβῶς MW δὲ δεῖ AVBE 224 κινήσεων MW κινήσεως AVBE

32. We recall that our commander, Nikephoros, acted in this way toward the people of the Lombards when he was sent by Our Majesty to subdue them.⁴ For it was not only by well-organized military operations that he subdued that people, but he also displayed shrewdness, justice, and goodness. He presented himself with fairness to those who came to him and he granted them freedom from all servitude and other fiscal exactions.

33. It is not for the sake of gain that Our Majesty seeks the subjection of those who stand against us, but for our glory and honor as well as the security of our subjects and the blessings that accompany freedom.

34. Act, therefore, in an equitable manner to those who approach and submit to you. Through them you will make friends of those who have not yet approached you. A ferocious and harsh manner leads those who have been subjected to change their minds and causes those who have not yet been subjected to resist. It makes them all the more enthusiastic about facing danger on behalf of their own safety rather than falling into the hands of such a harsh commander. You are likely to have a difficult time in carrying out a siege and will accomplish nothing. But if they learn that you are good, they will quickly offer their submission.

35. Seeing that Our Majesty cherishes fairness and goodness and peacefulness toward our subjects, whenever, by your action, a city or fortress or nation should wish to come over to us, you must look to our mercy and kindness and receive and observe our gentle and salutary commands for them.

36. I do not think that even this is without purpose, namely that, just as with the hours of the day, you should have precise knowledge of those at night by following the movements of the visible stars and the moon. Then you appear safely at the opportune hour arranged or proposed by a traitor or devised by you, either during a siege or on the march, according to the time agreed upon or

4. This refers to the campaign of Nikephoros Phokas the Elder in Calabria, in 885; Skylitzes, *Basil.Mak.*, 37–38; Theophanes *Cont.* 312–314.

ταχύτερον ἢ βραδύτερον πολλάκις φθάνειν τῆς συνταγῆς ἢ τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ ἄπρακτον ἐποίησε τὸ προκείμενον ἔργον.

37. Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ κατὰ τῆς πολιορκίας, εἴτε διὰ προδότου εἴτε ἄλλως πως, 230 ὅσους κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπαντήσεις συλλάμβανε πάντας διὰ τινων καβαλλαρίων προαποστελλομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἢ διὰ τῶν μετὰ σου στρατιωτῶν ἵνα μὴ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ ἐπέλευσίς σου μηνυθῇ. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῶν | πολεμίων ἔργα αἰφνιδίως γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ ἀνυπονοήτως.

38. Ὅταν γὰρ ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπέλθῃ κατ' ἐχθρῶν στράτευμα, καὶ ὀλιγώτε- 235 ρόν ἐστί τῶν πολεμίων, διὰ τὴν ἀνυφόρατον ἐπιδρομὴν ἐκπλήττει τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ κρείττονές εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι· καὶ ἐκ τούτου διὰ πολλῶν ἐκφοβῶν αὐτοὺς δύνασαι μᾶλλον πρὸ τοῦ θαρρῆσαι αὐτοὺς οἰκειώσασθαι εἰς τὸ σὸν βούλημα.

39. Οὕτως οὖν ἐπειδὴν ἡ πόλις ἢ κάστρον ἢ ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα παραλάβῃς, 240 καὶ λάβῃ πέρας ὁ πόλεμος, μὴ γενήσῃ βαρὺς διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχῆσαι σιν ἢ τοῖς ἅμα σοι ἐκστρατεύουσιν. μηδὲ τύφον καὶ ἀπήνειαν περιφέρεις, ἀλλὰ εὐμενής, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ταπεινόφρων γένου· φιλάνθρωπος μὲν περὶ τοὺς ἀλωθέντας καὶ δυστυχῆσαντας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔτι παρὰ σου ἢ πολεμεῖσθαι ἢ πολιορκεῖσθαι, ταπεινόφρων δὲ περὶ τοὺς πλησίον καὶ φίλους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλησίον καὶ φίλους οὐ μόνον εἰς φθόνον οὐ 245 κινήσεις ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ζῆλον τῶν ὁμοίων σου κατορθωμάτων διεγείρεις, τοὺς δὲ πολιορκεῖσθαι μέλλοντας εὐπειθεῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ὑποταττομένους σοι παρασκευάσεις διὰ τὴν ἐλπίζομένην παρὰ σου εὐμένειαν καὶ ἀγαθότητα. ταῦτα μὲν παρακελευόμεθά σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, παραφυλάττειν ὅταν αὐτὸς πολεμίους ἐπελθῶν πολιορκεῖν τὰ ἐκείνων μέλλῃς.

40. Εἰ δ', ὅπερ πολλάκις συμβαίνει, πόλις ἢ κάστρον ἢ τι ἕτερον ὀχύρωμα 250 ὑπὸ σε ὑπάρχον μέλλει παρὰ πολεμίων πολιορκεῖσθαι, εἰ μὲν δύνασαι τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, καὶ ἄπρακτον αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς σῆς προσβολῆς τὴν βουλὴν ἀποδείξαι, τῷ Θεῷ χάρις· εἰ δὲ μήγε, πάντως παρασκευάσεις τοὺς μέλλοντας πολιορκεῖσθαι, εἴτε αὐτὸς μέλλεις ἐξ ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἐκεῖ παρεῖναι 255 εἴτε ἕτερός τις τῶν ὑπὸ σε ἀρχόντων ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος καὶ ἔμπειρος.

41. Πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων χρῆ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς ἀποτροφὴν φροντίσαι τῶν ἐγκλειομένων ὅσον οἶδας τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐξαρκεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χρόνον, καὶ εἰ

determined. Often enough, arriving sooner or later than agreed on or determined has rendered the task at hand without effect.

37. When you march out to begin a siege, either with the help of a traitor or in some other way, cavalry units specifically assigned to this duty or the soldiers accompanying you should detain all those you encounter on the road, so they may not give warning of your advance. It is necessary to engage in such actions against the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly.

38. Whenever an army unexpectedly advances against the enemy, even though it is smaller than they are, the unforeseen attack causes panic among its adversaries even though they may be stronger. As a result, you will fill them with fear and, before they regain their confidence, you will be able to win them over to your will.

39. Therefore, whenever you take over a city or walled town or some other fortified place and the war has come to an end, do not become overbearing because of your success either to those who have suffered adverse fortune or to those who campaigned with you. Do not strut around in a cruel and arrogant manner. But act kindly, as has been said, humanely and humbly. Treat in a humane manner those who have been captured and subjected to misfortune, as well as those whom you will still battle or besiege. Act humbly toward your friends and those close to you; not only so you will not make them jealous, but also so you will arouse them to strive for success similar to yours. The people whom you are about to place under siege hope that goodness and kindness will mark your dealings with them and this will render them disposed to obey and submit to you. We command, O general, that you observe these points when you proceed against the enemy with the intention of laying siege to their places.

40. But if, as often happens, a city, walled town, or some other fortified place subject to you is about to come under siege by the enemy, and you are able to deal with them as they approach and your attack nullifies their intention, thanks be to God. But if that is not the case, you are to take all means to prepare the people for what they are soon to face, whether you will be there in person for some necessity or whether one of your officers, prudent and experienced, will be there.

41. First of all, you must take thought for the provisions needed by the people under siege. Find out how much time the enemy has to spend on the

228 ἐποίησε MW ἐποίησεν AVBE 229 κατὰ MW διὰ AVBE 230 ὑπαντήσεις MAVBE ἀπαντήσεις W 233 δεῖ W om. MAVBE | ἀνυπονοήτως MW ἀνυπονοήτως προσήκει AVBE 234 κατ' MW κατὰ τῶν AVBE 239 γενήσῃ MW γένη AVBE 242 ἀλωθέντας MW κρατηθέντας AVBE 243 πολεμεῖσθαι...πολιορκεῖσθαι MAVBE trsp. W 252 ἐπιτηδεῦσαι MW καταστρατηγήσαι AVBE

260 μὲν εὐπορία ἐστὶ τοσαύτης ἀποτροφῆς. εἰ δὲ μὴ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἡλικίαν ἐκβαλε
ἐκ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσίας, οἷον γυναῖκας, γέροντας,
ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ παιδιά, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν δυνάμει οὖσιν ἢ εὕρισκομένοις ἢ δαπάνη ἐξαρ-
κῆσθαι, καὶ ἵνα ὁ μέλλων πολιορκεῖσθαι προευντρεπίσῃ μηχανήματα ἀντικείμενα
πρὸς τὴν ἀποσοβὴν τῶν πετροβόλων μαγγάνων τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

265 42. Ἀντίκεινται δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις βολαῖς κιλίκια κρεμάμενα ἔξωθεν τοῦ
τείχους κατὰ τοὺς προμαχώνας, ἢ σάρκινα ἢ σχοινία εἰλημένα ἢ πόντιλα ἥτοι
ξύλα κρεμάμενα, καὶ πλίνθος δὲ ἐν τοῖς προμαχώσιν οἰκοδομουμένη, καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς κριοὺς δὲ ἀντίκειται τυλάρια καὶ σακκία γέμοντα ἄχυρα καὶ ψάμμον.

43. Πρὸς δὲ τὰς χελώνας ἄρπαγες ἥτοι ξύλα μεγάλα ἔχοντα ξίφη καὶ ἐμπισ-
σόμενα, ὥστε ἢ ἐκστρέψαι αὐτὴν ἢ ἀνακουφῖσαι καὶ γυμνῶσαι τοὺς ἔσωθεν τῆς
χελῶνος καὶ οὕτως κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγχειρεῖν ἄνωθεν.

270 44. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πίσσα, δι' ἧς κενουμένης ἐμπρησθήσονται, καὶ πῦρ καὶ λίθοι
βαρεῖς κατάκεντροι ἀπὸ μαγγάνων ἄφνω χαλῶμενοι διὰ σχοινίων ἥτοι ἀλύσεων,
καὶ πάλιν ἀνασπώμενοι δι' ἐτέρων ἀντιβαρημάτων.

275 45. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπαγομένους πύργους πυροβόλα εἶδη καὶ πετροβόλοι, ἢ εἰ
μὴ τοῦτο ἀντιστῆναι, ἀντιπύργους ὁμοίως οἰκοδομεῖν, ἢ διὰ ξύλων ἢ δι' ἐτέρας
ὑλῆς τοὺς ἔσωθεν τοῦ τείχους ἄντις ἐκείνων, ἢ ἀπλῶς ὥς ἂν δυνατόν πρὸς τὴν
μηχανὴν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀντιμηχανᾶσθαι τοὺς ἔσωθεν, καθὼς ἐν τῷ πλάτει μετὰ
σχολῆς ἐρευνῶν εὐρήσεις πρὸς ἐκάστην μηχανὴν ἀντεξευρημένα. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ
ἐστὶ τοὺς πύργους τοὺς ἐπιμάχους τοῦ τείχους ἀσκεπεῖς εἶναι, ὥστε τοὺς μαχο-
280 μένους ἀκωλύτως ἐκείθεν μάχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ μάγγανα εὐκόπως τίθεσθαι καὶ
ἐξεργάζεσθαι. καὶ παραπόρτια δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις πύργοις ἐκ πλαγίου στενὰ
ἀνοίγεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῶν προσαγομένων μαγγάνων ἐκ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν ἵνα πεζοὶ ἐξερχόμενοι ἐκ τῶν παραπυλῶν, καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα ἀρμοδίως τοῖς
σκουταρίοις σκεπόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν βοηθούμενοι δύνανται ἀποσοβεῖν
τὰ μάγγανα. ἔχειν δὲ ταῦτα πύλας δι' ὧν δέον ἀσφαλιζεσθαι ἐν καιρῷ καὶ μὴ
285 μένειν ἡνεωγμένα.

siege and if you are well supplied with a corresponding amount of provisions. Before the arrival of the enemy, be sure to evacuate from the fortified area those who will be useless, such as the women, the elderly, the infirm, and children, so that the provisions will be sufficient for the able fighting men found there and so that the general about to be besieged may get ready devices to defend against the stone-throwing engines of the enemy.

42. As protection against such missiles heavy mats can be hung along the battlements on the outside of the walls. Thick hides, coils of rope, boards, or planks can also be hung there. Brick facing can also be built onto the ramparts. Against battering rams cushions or sacks filled with grain husks and sand are effective.

43. Against the tortoises grappling irons or large pieces of wood with sharp points and covered with pitch so as to overturn the tortoise or uncover it and expose the men inside it to attack from above.

44. Pitch will set the uncovered tortoises on fire. Inflammable objects or heavy, sharpened stones held by ropes or chains can be suddenly dropped from machines and then hauled up again by other counterweights.

45. Against towers that they move up, <use> incendiary missiles or stone throwers. If this does not stop them, construct towers of wood or some other material inside the walls to oppose theirs. To put it simply, do whatever makes it possible for those inside to fight against the machines of those outside. In general, as you take your time in studying the situation, you will discover that you can find the means to confront every machine. The towers of the wall that are exposed to attack must be without roofs so that the fighting men on them can fight unobstructed, and artillery can easily be mounted there and operated. These towers should have small, narrow doorways opening to the side toward the right of the siege engines drawn up by the enemy. Foot soldiers can then go out by these side doorways and engage in hand-to-hand fighting while covered by their shields and supported by the men above, and in this way they will be able to take action against the siege engines. These doorways should have gates so they can be secured when necessary and not remain open.

258 εἰ...μὴ AVBE ἐπείτοιγε MW 258-259 ἐκβαλε ἐκ MW ἐκβαλλε AVBE 260 ἢ
εὕρισκομένοις MW om. AVBE 262 τὴν ἀποσοβὴν MW ἀποκώλυσιν AVBE
264 εἰλημένα AVBE εἰλημμένα MW 265 προμαχώσιν WAVBE προμαχοῦσιν M
266 ἄχυρα M ἄχυρον WAVBE 267 χελώνας MW χελώνης AVBE 275 ἄντις MW
κατέναντι AVBE | ἂν MW om. AVBE 278 ἐστὶ M ἐστὶν WAVBE 279 εὐκόπως MW
εὐκόλως AVBE 282 παραπυλῶν MW παραπορτίων AVBE

46. Ἀποκρεμᾶν δὲ κατὰ τῶν προμαχόνων ξύλα βαρέα πάνυ, κορμία, καὶ
 μύλους λιθίνους διὰ σχοινίων ἵνα, ἐὰν προσάψωσι σκάλας εἰς τὰ τείχη, κοπτο-
 μένων τῶν σχοινίων ἐπιπέσωσιν ἐπάνω τῶν ἀναβαινόντων καὶ διαφθεύωσιν |
 αὐτούς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους γενέσθαι κελεύομεν καὶ μηδένα λείπειν
 290 προμαχῶνα, εἰ δυνατόν, ὅστις οὐκ ἔχει ἢ λίθον βαρύτατον ἢτοι μύλον ἢ ξύλον
 μακρὸν καὶ βαρὺ πάνυ, δυνάμενον συντρίψαι καὶ σκάλαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῆς
 ἀναβαίνοντας.

47. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ καταμερίσαι τὴν βοήθειαν δι' ὅλου τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἔχειν
 ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐκ περισσοῦ ἵνα τῷ δεομένῳ μέρει, ἐὰν χρεῖα γένηται, βοηθῇ, καὶ
 295 μὴ ἀναγκάζωνται ἐν καιρῷ ἀνάγκης ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον διατρέχειν οἱ πρὸς
 παραφυλακὴν τοῦ τείχους τεταγμένοι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου γυμνοῦσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ
 τόπους, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπικίνδυνον.

48. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ διχοστασία ἐστὶ παρά τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῷ κάστρῳ, δεόν ἢ
 κάκείνους εἰρηνεύσαι καὶ συμμίζειν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τείχους πεδατοῦραις τοὺς στρατι-
 300 ώτας—ἐκ τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲ εὐκαιροῦσι στάσιν μελετῆσαι ἢ κατὰ τοῦ κοινού ἢ
 καθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δοκοῦντες φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως πιστευθῆναι ἐρυθριῶσιν
 νεωτερίσαι—ἢ ἐὰν μὴ τοῦτο, πάντως αὐτοὺς προεξαγαγεῖν ἀλλαχοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑφορᾶσθαι παθεῖν στάσεως ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς προδοσίας
 ὑφορᾶσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλίζεσθαι, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τίνα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ γράφειν
 305 ἢ συντυχεῖν ἐκτὸς βουλῆς τοῦ πεπιστευμένου τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὸ κάστρον.

49. Καὶ τὰς πύλας δὲ τῆς πόλεως πιστοῖς ἀνδράσι παραδοθῆναι καὶ μὴδ'
 ὅλως θαρρῆσαι τίνας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ πολιτῶν ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις μάλιστα τῆς
 πολιορκίας ἐξέρχεσθαι τοῦ τείχους καὶ μάχεσθαι, κἂν συμβῇ πολλοὺς καὶ γεν-
 ναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐγκεκλεισμένους, ἐὰν μήπου καιρὸς γένηται ἢ
 310 μάγγανον ἐνοχλοῦν ἐπικινδύνως τῷ τείχει ἀποσοβηθῆναι ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ τις ἐτέρα
 χρεῖα ἀναγκαῖα καὶ κατεπείγουσα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἄνωθεν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ
 μὴ ἔξωθεν πληγοῦσθαι ἢ κινδυνεύειν. εἰ γάρ τι τοιοῦτο γένηται, τῶν δυνατω-
 τέρων ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἀποθνησκόντων ἢ πληγουμένων, ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ

46. From the battlements be sure to hang heavy timbers, trunks, and mill-
 stones by ropes. If the ladders are set up against the walls, cut the ropes and they
 will fall upon the men climbing up and destroy them. We order that you do this
 along the whole circuit of the walls and, if possible, leave no battlement without
 either a very heavy stone, a millstone, or a large and very heavy timber, each one
 of which is able to demolish a ladder and the men climbing up it.

47. You must distribute support groups along the whole length of the walls
 and hold another force in reserve so they may come to the aid of a threatened
 sector when necessary. In an emergency the troops assigned to defend the walls
 will not be forced to dash from place to place, leaving certain spots wide open, a
 very dangerous thing to do.

48. If there should be dissension among some in the city or the walled town,
 it is necessary to establish peace among them and have them join the soldiers in
 the various sections of the wall. In this way they will not find time to plan an
 uprising either against the commonwealth or against themselves, but by
 realizing that they have been entrusted with the defense of the city, they will be
 ashamed to rebel. If this cannot be done, be sure to move them to another
 location ahead of time and keep an eye on them so you do not have to put up
 with any dissension during the siege. Also be on the lookout for treachery and
 guard against it. Nobody should be able to write to or meet with the enemy
 without permission of the official placed in charge of the city or walled town.

49. The gates of the city should be entrusted to reliable men. Especially in
 the early stages of the siege, no soldiers or civilians should be so bold as to go
 outside the walls and fight, even when there are many men of outstanding
 courage within the city. Make direct contact only if the situation requires that
 you put some siege engine, posing a serious threat to the walls, out of action or
 if some other compelling need should arise. Otherwise, everyone should take
 part in the defense from the top <of the walls> and not endanger themselves or
 be wounded outside. For when that sort of thing happens, the most capable men
 are killed or wounded and the rest of them become so discouraged that they are

286 βαρέα...κορμία M βαρεία πάνυ κορμία W κορμία βαρέα πάνυ AVBE 287 μύλους
 λιθίνους MW trsp. AVBE | προσάψωσι MW προσάξωσι ABE 288 διαφθεύωσιν MAVBE
 διαφθεύουσιν W 289 γενέσθαι κελεύομεν MAVBE trsp. W 291 βαρὺ WAVBE βαρὺν
 M | καὶ³ MW τὴν AVBE 298 ἐστὶ MAVBE ἐστιν W 299–300 τοὺς στρατιώτας M τοῖς
 στρατιώταις WAVBE 301–302 ἐρυθριῶσιν νεωτερίσαι MW αἰσχύνονται ἀταξίας ποιεῖν
 AVBE 303 πολιορκία MW πολιορκία γενομένης AVBE 305 συντυχεῖν MW
 συντυγχάνειν AVBE 307 τοῖς προοιμίοις MW τῇ ἀρχῇ AVBE 310 ἀποσοβηθῆναι MW
 ἀποκωλυθῆναι AVBE | τις ἐτέρα MW trsp. AVBE 311 ἀμύνεσθαι MW ἀμύνεσθαι AVBE
 312 τοιοῦτο M τοιοῦτον WAVBE

374 Constitution 15

γίνεται καὶ εὐχεῖρωτος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. φανερόν γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι ἕως ἂν οἱ ἄνδρες
 315 σῶζονται καὶ τὸ τεῖχος συνίσταται, ἐκείνων δὲ προδιδομένων τὸ λειπόμενον
 κινδυνεύει.

50. Ἐὰν δὲ προτείχισμα ἔχει ἕτερον ἢ ἡ πόλις ἢ τὸ ὀχύρωμα, οὐκ ἄτοπον |
 βίγλας ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι ἰσχυρὰς καὶ ἀκριβεῖς καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὰς νύκτας, ὅταν
 καὶ προσφεύγῃν τινὲς εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μελετώσι, καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ λαθραίως κατὰ
 320 τοῦ τεύχους δύνανται γίνεσθαι.

51. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀκοντίσματα ἢ διὰ τόξων ἢ διὰ λίθων ἢ διὰ τοξοβολιστρῶν
 μὴ ἀκαίρως καὶ μάτην ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους ποιεῖν καὶ ἐκ τούτου εἰς καταφρόνησιν
 γίνεσθαι αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὥς μὴ ἐνεργοῦντα.

52. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ κινιστέρνας ἔχῃσι τὸ πόσιμον ὕδωρ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ πηγῆς
 325 ἀδιάλειπτον ἢ ἀπὸ πλέθρου ὀλιγούμενον τὸ ὕδωρ, μέτρῳ τινὶ καὶ διοικήσει
 γίνεσθαι τὴν διανομὴν καὶ μὴ ἔχειν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας τὸν θέλοντα ὥς ἀρέσκει αὐτῷ
 δαπανᾶν. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης συμμέτρως ἅπαντα γίνεσθαι ἵνα
 καὶ ἀρκῇ καὶ εὐρώστους τοὺς πολιορκουμένους φυλάττῃ.

53. Τὰς δὲ βίγλας ἐπιμελῶς κατὰ διαδοχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς
 330 νυξίν. ἐν παραφυλακῇ δὲ τηρεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν δαπάνην εἰς τὸ μὴ εὐκόλως ὑπὸ τῶν
 τυχόντων διαρπάζεσθαι.

54. Παραινεῖν δὲ συνεχέστερον τὸν κρατοῦντα τοὺς ἐντὸς διὰ λόγων καὶ
 προθυμοποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἕως εἴτε διὰ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως εἴτε δι'
 ἐτέρας αἰτίας ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν ἐχθρῶν γένηται. ἐπιδρομὰς δὲ
 335 ποιεῖν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὅσον ἡ δύναμις ἀπαντᾷ κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων διὰ
 τινων διαφορῶν προσβολῶν καὶ φήμης, ὥς ἐτέρου πλείστου στρατοῦ
 ἐπερχομένου, καὶ ὅσα θροεῖν δύναται τοὺς πολεμίους.

55. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ πολιορκούμενος ποιήσει ὅσα μοι εἴρηται, καὶ ἕτερα δὲ
 τινα προσεπινοήσει τὰ ἐναντία πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν παρὰ τοῦ πολιορκούντος
 340 μηχανωμένων, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένων ἔμπροσθεν, ἀντιτιθεῖς ἐκείνοις τὰ ἴδια
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου. αὐτόθεν γὰρ ἐπινοήσει πῶς δεῖ ἕκαστῳ τῶν ἐπαγομένων
 ἀντιμάχεσθαι.

318 αὐτῷ MAVBE ἐαυτῷ W 319 μελετώσι MW μελετώσιν AVBE 320 δύνανται
 γίνεσθαι MW trsp. AVBE 323 γίνεσθαι αὐτὰ MW trsp. AVBE 324 ἔχῃσι MAVBE
 ἔχουσι W 325 ἀδιάλειπτον MW ἀδιαλείπτου AVBE | ἢ...ὕδωρ MW om. AVBE 326 ἐπ'
 ἐξουσίας AVBE ἐπεξουσίως MW 333 δι' De δ' codd. 334 γένηται MAVBE γίνεται W
 335-337 ὅσον...δύναται MW κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ὅσον ἡ δύναμις ἀπαντᾷ φημίζειν δὲ
 ὅτι καὶ ἕτερον πλῆθος στρατοῦ ἐπέρχεται εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἕτερα ὅσα ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ τάρασσιν
 δύνανται AVBE 340 παρ' ἡμῶν MAVBE παρὰ τῶν W 341 ἐπινοήσει MW ἐπινοήσεις
 AVBE

easily defeated by the enemy. It is obvious that, as long as the men are safe, the
 wall will also be secure but, when they give up, the rest will be endangered.

50. If the city or the fortified place has another outer wall, it is not a bad idea
 to post strong and alert sentries on it, especially at night, when some persons
 may be thinking of deserting to the enemy and attacks against the wall may be
 prepared in secret.

51. The firing of missiles from the walls, whether by bows, stones, or cata-
 pults, must not be ill-timed and ineffective, for the enemy will not take them
 seriously if they are ineffective.

52. If the drinking water comes from a cistern and does not flow constantly
 from a spring, or the water in it is less than <would fill a small> pond, it must be
 distributed by a certain measure and management.⁵ No one has the authority to
 consume as much as he wishes. In like manner all the other provisions are to be
 evenly distributed so that there will be enough to maintain the besieged in a
 healthy condition.

53. Be sure to have constant patrols on guard duty, especially at night, to
 protect the provisions so they cannot easily be stolen by anyone passing by.

54. The person in charge must continuously advise those within <the city>
 by his words and encourage them to be patient until the time when your
 forceful action or some other cause brings about the enemy's withdrawal. To the
 extent possible, the commander must launch attacks against the besiegers in a
 variety of ways. He should also <spread> rumors that another very large army is
 approaching or whatever else will terrify the enemy.

55. The man under siege, therefore, will act in the manner I have described
 and he should devise other means to oppose each stratagem employed by the
 besieger. Add this also to what we have said above: having set up his own
 <devices> to oppose them, by himself he will figure out how he must confront
 each situation he encounters.

5. "Small pond": literally, a space less than one hundred feet, πλέθρον. See Schilbach,
Metrologie, 81-83.

56. Οὐ παραλείψω δὲ καὶ ὅπερ μοι ἐρευνῶντι εὕρηται καὶ ἀνέγνωται, εἰ καὶ μὴ νῦν ἐστί περισπούδαστον, περὶ τοῦ πῶς δυνατόν λαθραίως διὰ τάχους κτίζειν
 345 φρούριον τὸν βουλόμενον στρατηγὸν ἐν μεθορίῳ πολεμίων ἀλλαχοῦ που λανθάνοντα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ δεῖ σε κατασκοπεῖσαι τόπον ὄχυρόν δυνάμενον διὰ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἡμερῶν διὰ ξηρᾶς ὕλης περιβληθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιφόβου προσβολῆς τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἂν εἰσιν ὕλαι πλησίον, λίθου ἢ ξύλου ἢ πλίνθου ἐτοίμης, καὶ ἐστὶν ὕδωρ ἢ ἐπινοηθῆναι δυνατόν.

350 57. Καὶ προπαρασκευάσαι τεχνίτας ἱκανοὺς καὶ πόρτας καὶ μάγγανα τείχους καὶ βοήθειαν ἀρκοῦσαν πεζῶν ἐνόπλων καὶ γενναίων μετὰ ἀρχόντων φρονίμων καὶ εὐψύχων, ἅμα καὶ ἁμαξῶν, ὥς εἰς φοσσάτου τάξιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῶν καὶ δαπάνην τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων μηνῶν. καὶ εἰ καιρὸς ἐστί θέρους ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς βοσκὰς τὰς πλησίον τοῦ τόπου· εἰ δὲ καῖναι δυσχερεῖς εἰσιν, καταδαπανῆσαι
 355 αὐτάς, καὶ διαφημίσαι ὥς ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ ποιήσεις κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπέλευσιν, καὶ πέμψεις βοήθειαν ἀσφαλῆ κατὰ τοῦ φημιζομένου τόπου ἵνα ἐκεῖ προσδοκῶντες περισπῶνται οἱ ἐχθροί, καὶ τότε πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας θαρρήσει τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ τινὰ μὲν δῶρα δοῦναι εἰς προτροπὴν αὐτῶν, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, καὶ αἰφνίδιον ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀσχολουμένων
 360 μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιστῆς τῷ ὠρισμένῳ σοι τόπῳ, καὶ στήσεις βίγλας ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπληκεύσουσι κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄχυρώματος καὶ τάφρον βαθυτάτην ποιήσεις, εἰ ἐπιδέχεται ὁ τόπος.

58. Καὶ εἰ μὲν λίθος ἢ πλίνθος εὐρίσκεται, οἰκοδομῆσαι ξηρὸν δεῖ, καὶ δῆσαι διὰ ξύλων ἀσφαλῶς καὶ συνεχῶς· εἰ δὲ ξύλα μόνον εἰσὶ, δι' αὐτῶν ἀποκλείσαι
 365 ὀλίγον καὶ ὄχυρόν τόπον καὶ μὴ μέγαν τέως. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀποκλεισθῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα τρόπον, εἰ μὲν ὀρμήσωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατὰ τοῦ τόπου, καὶ οἶδας ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι πρὸς μάχην ἀντέχειν, τότε ἀναχωρήσεις πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶν, καταλιπὼν ἔσωθεν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς, καὶ ἀπληκεύσεις πλησίον τοσοῦτον, ὥστε μῆτε ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκασθῆναι πολεμῆσαι, μῆτε μακρόθεν
 370 τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄχυρώματι ἵνα μὴ εὐκαιροῦντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπίκεινται τοῖς ἔσωθεν.

56. I will not leave out what I have discovered and read in my investigations even though it may not be of much concern at present. How it is possible for a general to fulfill his wish to build a fortress at some location on the border with the enemy quickly and without letting them find out? You must first thoroughly scout out a strong site capable of being walled about with dry materials in ten or twelve days, at a time when you fear an enemy attack. Are materials available in the vicinity, stone, wood, or prepared brick? Is there water or can you figure out ways to find it?

57. Get a sufficient force of artisans ready ahead of time, as well as gates and machines for the walls and a good-sized support force of brave and well-armed infantry under intelligent and courageous officers. At the same time, have the wagons form a fortified space for the safety of men and provisions for three or four months. If it is summer, set the pasturelands in the vicinity of the spot on fire. If it proves difficult to burn them, consume them. Spread the rumor that you are going to attack the enemy in some other place. Send a safe support force against the rumored place so that the enemy will expect you there and be diverted. Then, a day ahead, encourage the troops who have been ordered to march into that place, and offer them some gifts to motivate them and promise still others. While the enemy are occupied in that other place, all of a sudden move your whole army to the site you have designated, set up secure sentries, and have the infantry pitch camp in a circle around the fortification and dig a deep ditch, if the ground permits.

58. If stones or bricks are found there, you must construct a dry wall, braced securely along its length with logs. If wood is all there is, use it to enclose a small and strong space, not too large. If the enemy attacks the place, after you have enclosed the area in the prescribed manner, and you know that you are not able to resist them in battle, then withdraw before their approach. Leave a sufficient force inside and pitch camp nearby. Do not camp so close to the enemy that you will be forced to do battle or too far from those in the fortified site, so the enemy may not seize the opportunity to come down hard on those inside it.

343–344 οὐ...πῶς MW ῥητέον καὶ πῶς ἐστί AVBE 345 μεθορίῳ MW συνόρω AVBE 345–346 ἀλλαχοῦ...ἐχθροὺς MW om. AVBE 348 εἰσιν MAVBE εἰσι W 349 καὶ MW καὶ εἰ AVBE 354 εἰσιν MAVBE εἰσι W 357 θαρρήσει MW θαρρήσεις AVBE 359 ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι MW ὑποσχέσθαι AVBE 361 ἀπληκεύσουσι MVBE ἀπληκεύουσιν WA | τάφρον MW σοῦδαν AVBE 363 οἰκοδομῆσαι...δεῖ MW δεῖ οἰκοδομῆσαι ξηρὸν AVBE 364 εἰσὶ M εἰσιν WAVBE 366 τρόπον WAVBE τόπον M | ὀρμήσωσιν MW ὀρμήσουσιν AVBE

59. Δώσεις δὲ σημεῖον τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ· τί μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ; τί δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ὁφείλουσι ποιεῖν δι' οὗ φανερόν ἔσται σοι ἐν ποίᾳ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀποκλεισθέντες καταστάσει;

375 60. Εἰ δὲ δυνατόν διὰ πεζικῆς μάχης ἀποσοβηθῆναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἐὰν ἄρα περίστασις, ὡς εἰκός, συμβῇ τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ ὑπερτίθεσθαι ἵνα μὴ οἱ ἔσωθεν κινδυνεύωσιν.

61. Ὅταν δὲ ἄδεια γένηται, εὐθέως | κατ' ὀλίγον ἀποτεριχίζειν χρὴ τὸ προσ-
ποιητὸν οἰκοδόμημα καὶ ἐγχορήγῳ ἰσχυρῷ κτίζειν αὐτὸ καὶ ὀχυροποιεῖν, καὶ
380 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν αὐτῷ φροντίζειν.

62. Γίνονται δὲ αἱ τοιαῦται ἐγχειρήσεις ἀρμοδίως κατὰ καβαλλαρικοῦ ἔθνους, περὶ τὸν ἰούλιον ἢ αὐγουστον ἢ σεπτέμβριον μῆνα, ὅταν ἡ βοτάνη εὐκαίρως ξηρανομένη καίεται καὶ οἱ καβαλλάριοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν στενοῦνται παρακαθίσαι χρόνον ἱκανόν.

385 63. Εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ τόπος ἔχει, μηδὲ ῥυτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος, μηδ' ἐν ὀρύγματι εὐρισκομένου, δεῖ ἢ πίθους ὀστρακίνοους ἢ βουττία τέλεια προεντρεπίζειν, καὶ γεμίζειν ὕδατος καὶ κόχλακας ἐν αὐτῷ ποταμίους ῥίπτειν εἰς τὸ αὐταρκέσαι μέχρι τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥρας, καὶ φθάσει καὶ κινστέρνα οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ ὄμβριον ὑποδέξασθαι ὕδωρ. ἵνα δὲ μή, ὡς εἰκός, ὀξὴ ἀκίνητον
390 μένον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις, καὶ δοχεῖα μικρὰ δέον αὐτοῖς παρατίθεσθαι ἵνα κατ' ὀλίγον ἀποστάζον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτοῖς κίνησιν δέχεται· ἅμα δὲ τοῦ πληροῦσθαι τὰ δοχεῖα πάλιν ἀποκενοῦμεν τοῖς πίθοις ἢ τοῖς βουττίοις τοῦτο, ἵνα διὰ τῆς κινήσεως ταύτης διαπνέηται τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ μὴ ἀφανίζηται.

64. Χρήσιμον δέ ἐστι καὶ τὸ σανίδας προπαρασκευάσαι παχυτέρας καὶ ἐν
395 κατορύγματι συμπῆξαι αὐτάς ὡς ἐπὶ σαρκίου, καὶ διὰ πίσης καὶ στυπίου κατασφαιλίσασθαι τὰς ζεύξεις ἥτοι τοὺς ἄρμους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τάξει ξυλίνης κινστέρνης συμμετρου κατασκευάσαι, εἴτε μίαν εἴτε πλείους, ἐχούσας εἴκοσι ἐπὶ δέκα πόδας τὸ πλάτος, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα, μέχρις οὗ ἐγχόρηγοι αἱ κινστέρναι γένωνται. δηλὸν γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἐν τοῖς μειζτέροις ἀγγείοις πλέον τὸ ὕδωρ
400 διαμένει. κατόχια δὲ ξύλινα ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν κινστερνῶν οἷον συνδέσμους ὡς

59. Give a signal to the men inside. What ought they to use by day? What by night, which will enable the garrison inside to inform you of the situation in which they find themselves.

60. If the infantry is able to engage the enemy and drive them back and if it becomes likely that the situation of those within the fortress is critical, you must not allow any delay so as not to endanger the garrison.

61. When conditions become safe, you must immediately, bit by bit, reinforce the improvised construction, strengthen it with mortar and make it strong. Be concerned also about the necessary provisions for those within.

62. These undertakings are effectively employed against a people relying on horses, about July, August, or September, when the grass is dry and burns easily and the enemy cavalry are hard pressed to stay in one place for any length of time.

63. If the site has no water supply, no flowing source, nothing found by digging, it is necessary to arrange for large earthenware jars or well-built barrels. They should be filled with water and some clean pebbles from a river bed thrown in so the water will last until winter and until cisterns can be constructed to hold rainwater. To prevent the water stored in the casks from becoming stagnant, as is likely, small basins must be placed beside the casks so the water in them may flow drop by drop and be kept in motion. As soon as the small basins are full, we empty the water back into the jars or barrels. By this motion the water is aerated and does not become foul.

64. It is practical to prepare thick planks, put them in a trench and bind them together as a wooden box. Seal the joints and seams with pitch and tow and so prepare a regular, moderate-sized cistern. One or more may be built measuring ten to twenty feet wide and eight or ten feet high. <This will do> until cisterns made with mortar can be gotten ready. It is clear that water keeps better in larger containers. Wooden struts must be placed in the middle of the

375 ἀποσοβηθῆναι MW ἀποδιωχθῆναι AVBE 383 εὐκαίρως ξηρανομένη MW ξηρανομένη εὐκόλως AVBE | στενοῦνται MW στενοῦνται καὶ οὐ δύναται AVBE 386 μηδ' De μηδὲ codd. | τέλεια MW μεγάλα AVBE 388 τῆς MW om. AVBE | ὥρας... φθάσει MW ἕως οὗ φθάσῃ AVBE 389 ὑποδέξασθαι MAVBE ὑποδέχεται W 391 ἀποστάζον... ὕδωρ MW trsp. AVBE 392 ἀποκενοῦμεν MW ἀποκενοῦν ἐν AVBE | τοῦτο MW om. AVBE 393 ἀφανίζηται MAVBE ἀφανίζεται W 394 ἐστι MW ἐστιν AVBE 397 πλείους MW πλείονας AVBE 398 αἱ MW om. AVBE 399 μειζτέροις MW μειζοσιν AVBE

τραπεζέα δεῖ βάλλεσθαι καὶ σανίδας παχείας, ἵνα μὴ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ὕδατος
βιαζόμεναι αἱ σανίδες στρέφονται καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολλύουσιν.

65. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου εἰρήσθω, ἴσως ποτὲ καιροῦ καλοῦντος
ἔξεις δι' ἐτοίμου καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην διάταξιν. τοσαῦτα μὲν σοι καὶ περὶ τε πολιορ-
405 κίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰρήσθω.

cisterns, like the fastenings of a table, and the planks should be thick so they will
not give way because of the water pressure and cause the water to be lost.

65. Let this, therefore, cover these matters, so that, as the situation demands,
you may have this exposition in readiness. Let all these words about siege
warfare and the other matters be sufficient for you.

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΣ'

Περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον

1. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτων καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν πολέμου ἔκβασιν δέον γίνεσθαι
 ῥητέον. καὶ γὰρ ἔαν καλῶς ἐκτάξης τὸ στράτευμα, μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας,
 5 ἐλπίζομεν καὶ τὴν νίκην παρέσεσθαι.

2. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδώσεις κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τὴν εὐχα-
 ριστίαν καί, εἴ τι ἐπηγγείλῃ πρὸ τῆς νίκης τοῦ πολέμου ἀποδώσειν μετὰ τὴν
 νίκην χαριστήριον, μὴ ἀμελήσης ἀποδοῦναι.

3. Καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἀνερευνήσεις τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν τοῖς τῆς μάχης
 10 κινδύνοις, καὶ τούτους ἀνευρίσκων, τίμησον αὐτοὺς δωρεαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς ταῖς
 ἐκάστω πρεπούσαις· τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς φανέντας κόλαζε. τιμήσεις δὲ τοὺς ἀρι-
 στεύσαντας δωρεαῖς τοιαύταις, οἷον πανοπλίας ἐπιδώσεις τερπνάς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ πολέμου συνηγμένα σκύλα διανεμείς αὐτοῖς· τιμήσεις δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀξιώματα
 15 κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἀρμοδίως ἕκαστον, οἷον εἰς δροῦγγους, εἰς βάνδα, εἰς κενταρχί-
 ας καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας συνήθεις ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀρχοντικὰς προβολάς, τῶν
 μὲν λιτῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας εἰς μικροτέρας τιμάς, τῶν δὲ
 ἀρχόντων εἰς μείζονας ἀρχάς. οὕτως γὰρ μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ γενναῖοι ἔσονται οἱ
 ἀγωνιζόμενοι τυγχάνοντες μάλιστα καὶ ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

4. Ὅπου δὲ τιμαὶ μὲν καὶ κέρδη ἀποδίδονται τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, τιμωρίαι δὲ
 20 ἐπάγονται τοῖς κακοῖς, ἐνταῦθα καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κακοὶ φοβοῦνται ἀμαρτάνειν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ σπουδάζουσιν
 ἀνδραγαθεῖν. καὶ μὴ μόνον κατὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδίδου, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὅλον τάγμα ἢ δροῦγγον ἢ τούρμαν· ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ἐπίτρεπε διαρπάζειν τὰ
 τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἴτε ἀποσκευαὶ εἰσιν εἴτε τοῦλδον εἴτε πόλις ἢ

M W A V B E PG 107:908

3-86 Onas., 34-37. *Strat.*, 7.B.11-12.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν WAVBE om. M | διάταξις ις' WAVBE om. M 2 πόλεμον
 WAVBE πόλεμον διάταξις ις' M 3 ἐφεξῆς MW ἐξῆς AVBE 3-4 τούτων... ῥητέον MW
 ῥητέον καὶ ὅσα δέον (δεῖ B) γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου συμπλήρωσιν AVBE
 7 ἀποδώσειν VBE ἀποδώσει MWA 14 κατ'... ἕκαστον MW ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸ ἀνήκον τῆς
 ἀρετῆς AVBE | κατ' De κατὰ codd. | δροῦγγους MW δροῦγγαρίου AVBE 20 ἐξ ἀνάγκης
 MW ἀνάγκη AVBE 23 ὅλον MWVBE ὅλον τὸ A

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XVI

About Matters after the War

1. Next in order, we must speak of what has to be done after the conclusion
 of the war. For if you draw up your army correctly, we hope that, with the help
 of God, victory will be yours.¹

2. First, give thanks to the Lord our God, Jesus Christ. If you promised to
 make some sort of offering before victory in battle, do not neglect to give a
 thank-offering after the victory.

3. Then search out those who have distinguished themselves in the dangers
 of battle and, on finding them, honor each one with appropriate gifts and hon-
 ors. But punish those who performed poorly. Honor those who have distin-
 guished themselves by bestowing gifts upon them, such as a splendid suit of
 armor, and by giving them a portion of the spoils collected after the war. Also
 honor them with dignities in proportion to each man's standing, such as in
 droungoi, in banda, in kentarchiai, and in the other regular units headed by
 officers under your authority. Treat the ordinary soldiers who have given proof
 of their valor to lesser honors and the officers to higher commands. By so doing,
 the men engaged in combat will be brave and in high spirits, especially when
 they obtain what they have desired.

4. When honors and prizes are granted to the brave and punishments are
 handed out to those who performed poorly, the troops will certainly be full of
 good hopes. Those who did poorly are afraid of failing again, while the brave
 will strive to conduct themselves valiantly. Grant the rewards not only to each
 individual soldier but to the entire tagma or droungos or tourma. Allow the
 soldiers who have distinguished themselves to plunder the goods of the enemy,
 their equipment or their baggage train, or a city or fortified town or something

1. From here to §14 cf. Onasander 34-37; *Strat.* 7.B.11-12.

25 κάστρον ἢ τι ἕτερον. ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ βούλη χρηστότερόν τι περὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων βουλευσασθαι.

5. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκύλοις τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας στρατιώτας φιλοτιμείσθαι; ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς κυνηγετικούς κύνας οἱ κυνηγοὶ τοῦ θηρευομένου ζώου τῷ αἵματι, καὶ ποτε καὶ τοῖς
30 ἐντοσθίοις δελεάζειν ἀναγκαῖον ποιοῦνται, ἵνα προθυμότερους καὶ ἄλιν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῆς θήρας ποιήσωσιν· οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα, εἰ καὶ μήπω τέλος δέξηται ὁ πόλεμος, προθυμότερος ὁ στρατὸς πρὸς τὰς μάχας γενήσεται.

6. Διαφέρει γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος τῆς μάχης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τέλους καὶ καταπαύσεως τῶν μαχομένων λέγεται, πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῷ μάχας
35 περιέχων, ἡ δὲ μάχη μερικὸς λέγεται πόλεμος, πολλάκις γινομένη ἐν τῷ τοῦ καθ' ὅλου πολέμου καιρῷ καὶ ἀπογινόμενη, οὐ μὴν δὲ πάντοτε τέλος ἐπάγουσα πολέμου, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ δις καὶ τρίς καὶ πολλάκις ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ τοῦ πολέμου καιρῷ τὰς συμβολὰς ποιουμένη.

7. Τὰς δὲ ἀρπαγὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ πάσης μάχης λέγομεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν,
40 ποτὲ δὲ οὐ, καθὼς ἂν τὸ συμφέρον ἀπαιτήσῃ τοῦ καιροῦ.

8. Καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα σώματα πιπράσκειν τὸν στρατόν· εἰ δὲ χρημάτων ἐστὶ χρεῖα καὶ δαπάνης κοινῆς καὶ μεγάλης, πάντα πρὸς σε ἀναφέρεσθαι κήρυξον, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σε ἀρχόντων ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισωρευομένων χρημάτων χαλίνωσον, καὶ ἀναλογίζου τὴν χρεῖαν
45 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ οὕτως δύνασαι τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ δαπάνην κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀναλῶσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀγωνισαμένους παραμυθῆσασθαι, εἰ μὲν δύνασαι διὰ χρημάτων, εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ, διὰ τιμῶν καὶ ἀξιωματῶν.

9. Τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους πρὸ τοῦ τελείως καταπαῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον μὴ κτείνει, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐνδόξους καὶ μεγάλους παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντας·
50 ἐνθυμούμενος τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ παλίντροπον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νίκης, ἵν' ἔχῃς, εἴ γε συμβῇ ἢ τῶν ὑπὸ σέ τινας κρατηθῆναι ἢ κάστρου γενέσθαι

33–38 Aelian., praef.6.

25–26 ἐαλωκότων...αἰχμαλώτων MW κρατηθέντων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πραγμάτων AVBE
27 σκύλοις MAVBE σκύλων W (sed ois suprascr.) 29–30 τοῦ...ποιοῦνται MW τῷ αἵματι τοῦ θηρευομένου ζώου καὶ τοῖς ἐντοσθίοις δελεάζουσιν AVBE 31 τῆς θήρας MW τοὺς κύνας AVBE 32 γενήσεται MAVBE γένεται W (suprascr. ης) 33 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς AVBE ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς MW 36 πολέμου MW πολέμῳ AVBE 39 μὲν MW μὲν καὶ AVBE 42–43 κήρυξον MW διαλάλησον AVBE 44 τὴν MW καὶ AVBE 49 κτείνει PG κτείνει MW φόνευε AVBE 50–51 τὸ...νίκης MW τὰς ἐναντίας ἐκβάσεις τοῦ πολέμου AVBE 51 ἵν'...τινας MW ἵνα εἰ συμβῇ τινες τῶν ὑπὸ σε AVBE | ἔχῃς PG ἔχεις M ἔχοις W om. AVBE | γενέσθαι MW om. AVBE

else, that is, if you do not have more practical plans for the prisoners and the material goods that have been captured.

5. How is it not just to present the soldiers who have distinguished themselves with the spoils of the enemy, as we have mentioned? We observe that hunters deem it necessary to entice their hunting dogs with the blood, sometimes the intestines, of the animal being hunted so they will become more eager to continue the struggle of the chase. Likewise, especially if the war has not yet come to an end, the army will be more enthusiastic for combat.

6. War differs from battle.² War is defined as going from the beginning to the end, that is, the cessation of hostilities, and it includes many battles in its course. Battle is defined as a partial war that occurs frequently in the course of the entire war, and its cessation does not always bring about the end of the war but, as need requires, battles can take place two or three times or more often in the course of the entire war.

7. We can say that seizing of booty does not take place in every battle; sometimes it does, sometimes not. It depends on what the occasion calls for.

8. Let the army sell the captives it has taken. But if there is need of money and a large amount of common supplies, issue a proclamation that everything should be brought to you. Curb your own eagerness, and that of the officers under you, for the money that has piled up and calculate what you need for essentials. In this way, you will be able to spend as much as you can on common supplies and you will greatly raise the spirits of those who have struggled in battle. Do this with money, if you can; but if there is not enough, do it with honors and dignities.

9. Do not slay the prisoners before the war has finally come to an end, in particular the important and illustrious men among them. Keep in mind the uncertainty of fortune and the reversals that so often accompany victory. If it should happen that some of your men are taken prisoner or a walled town of

2. Aelian, praef.6.

ιδίου σου ἄλωσιν, δι' αὐτῶν ἀντικαταλλάττειν καὶ ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τά, ὡς εἰκός, συμβαίνοντα ἡττήματα, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμαλώτων ἀναλάβης τοὺς φίλους καὶ συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται τοῦτο ποιεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, τότε
55 δικαίως κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἀμύνου, διαχρώμενος ὡς βούλει ἐπὶ λύπῃ τῶν ἐναντίων.

10. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίας ἤγουν τραπέζας καὶ ἄριστα προτρέπου καθίστασθαι τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας, τὰ μὲν διὰ σου αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν κοντουβερνίων ιδίων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν κερδηθέντων ἀπὸ τῶν πολε-
60 μίων. καὶ οὕτως διὰ πολλῶν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας παρασκεύαζε, ἵνα εἰδότες οἶων ἀξιοῦνται μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγῶνας οἱ ἀριστεύοντες καὶ νικήσαντες, προθυμότεροι γένωνται πρὸς τὸ ὑπομένειν πάντα πρὸ τοῦ νικῆσαι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους μᾶλλον ἐτοιμότεροι.

11. Προνοοῦ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ταφῆς, μήτε καιρὸν μήτε ὥραν
65 μήτε τόπον μήτε φόβον προφασιζόμενος, κἄν τε νικῶν τύχης κἄν τε ἡττώμενος. πάντοτε μὲν γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ὅσιον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς τεθνηκότας εὐσέβεια, ἀναγκαῖα δὲ μάλιστα ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς πίπτουσιν ἐν μάχῃ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὸ ὅσιον δείκνυται, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας μεγάλης παραμυθίας ἀπόδειξις. ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁρῶν τὸ γινόμενον, οὕτως ἑαυτὸν νομίζει παθεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
70 ἀτάφους ἴδη κειμένους ἢ σπαρασσομένους τοὺς πίπτοντας, ἑαυτὸν λογιζόμενος, ἐπαχθῶς φέρει τὴν ὕβριν καὶ φεύγει τὸ παθεῖν τι τοιοῦτον, μαχόμενος καὶ ἀταφος καταλειφθῆναι. εἰ δὲ τιμῆς ἀξιοῖτο καὶ μετὰ τὸ πεσεῖν καὶ μνήμης ἀγαθῆς ὁμοίως, ταῦτα συνορῶν οὐ παραιτήσεται προθυμότερον ἀγωνίσασθαι.

12. Εἰ δὲ οὕτω συμβῇ ὥστε ἡττηθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἀνακτή-
75 σασθαι τοὺς ἀνασωθέντας διὰ λόγων καὶ προθυμοποιῆσαι αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ σπού-

yours suffers capture, then you are able to make use of those prisoners to change matters around again and to recover from the likely effects of a defeat. In exchange for the enemy captives you may receive back your friends and allies. If the enemy are not willing to do this, then, by the same token, you have the right to protect yourself, taking what action you wish to harm the enemy.

10. After your struggles and successes, O general, give the order to the officers and the soldiers under you to set up festive tables and banquets, some arranged by yourself, some by your officers, some by the individual squads, making use especially of what has been acquired from the enemy. In many ways, then, make ready for the soldiers to partake of the festive board and enjoy some relaxation. Knowing the rewards awaiting those who have displayed bravery and have been victorious, after the struggles of war have passed, they will become more enthusiastic to endure everything before victory and will be better prepared for the labors ahead.

11. Show particular concern for the burial of the dead. Whether you are victorious or defeated, do not put forth the time, the hour, the place, or fear as an excuse. Reverence for those who have died is always good and holy.³ It is especially necessary in the case of those who have fallen in battle, for it is with them that piety must manifest itself. It also provides great consolation for the living. On seeing what transpires, each soldier will think that he will receive the same treatment. If he should observe that the fallen lie unburied or scattered about, he will reflect on his own situation; he will be angry at such an insult and will avoid suffering anything of the sort, that is, fighting and then being left unburied. But if he is deemed worthy of honors and, likewise, after he has fallen, of grateful remembrance, then, considering these things, he will not refrain from engaging in the struggle more enthusiastically.

12. But if it should happen that the army has been defeated, do not neglect to revive the spirits of the survivors by your words and encouragement. But make

66–67 Cf. 2 Macc. 12:43–45.

52 ἄλωσιν MW πόρθησιν γενέσθαι AVBE 52–53 ἀντικαταλλάττειν... ἡττήματα MW ἀντικαταλλάξης καὶ ἀνακαλέσῃ τὰς συμβαινούσας ἡττας AVBE 53 ἀναλάβης MW λάβης AVBE 55 διαχρώμενος MW φονεύων αὐτοὺς AVBE 56 τὰ MAVBE om. W 57 εὐωχίας ἤγουν MW om. AVBE 58 συστρατιώτας MW στρατιώτας AVBE | σου αὐτοῦ MW σαυτοῦ AVBE 59 κοντουβερνίων AVBE κουτουβερνίων MW | ιδίων MW ιδίως AVBE 60 πολλῶν MW τελῶν AVBE 61–62 μετὰ...οἱ MW om. AVBE 62 ἀριστεύοντες MW ἀριστεύσαντες AVBE 67 ἐν μάχῃ WAVBE ἐμμάχῃ M 69 ἑαυτὸν MW καὶ αὐτοὶ AVBE 70–71 ἑαυτὸν λογιζόμενος MW ὡς αὐτὸς ταῦτα πάσχων AVBE 72 ἀξιοῖτο MW ἀξιοῦται AVBE 74 οὕτω MW om. AVBE | ὥστε MW om. AVBE | τοῦ MW τοῦ διὰ λόγων AVBE 75 ἀνασωθέντας... λόγων MW σωθέντας AVBE

3. Cf. 2 Maccabees 12:43–45.

δαζε καὶ ζήτει καιρὸν ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν ἐλάττωσιν διὰ κρυφαίων ἐφόδων ἢ ἐγκρυμμάτων.

13. Εἰώθασι γὰρ πολλάκις οἱ εὐπραγοῦντες ῥαθυμότεροι γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν τῶν ἡττηθέντων καταφρονήσωσι, τῶν ἰδίων
80 καταμελοῦσι. καὶ οὕτως πολλάκις τὰ εὐτυχήματα πλείω βλάπτει τοὺς εὐτυχοῦν-
τας παρ' ὃ μᾶλλον οἱ δυστυχίσαντες ἐβλάβησαν.

14. Σὺ μὲν γὰρ πταίσας ἐδιδάχθης ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐφύλαξας ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθες. ἐκείνος δὲ μηδέπω δυστυχίσας, ὡς ἄπειρος τῆς δυστυχί-
ας, οὐκ ἔχει πρόνοιαν τοῦ φυλάξασθαι μὴ παθεῖν ὅσα οὐκ ἔμαθεν. εἶρηκεν γάρ
85 τίς που παλαιὸς ὅτι φόβος εὐκαιρος μετ' ἐπιμελείας ἀσφάλεια, καταφρόνησις δὲ
ἄκαιρος εὐεπιβούλευτος τόλμα.

15. Ἐὰν δέ ποτε ἀνοχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσης διὰ τινος λόγου καὶ συνθηκῶν ὁμολογηθέντων, σὺ μὲν τὰς ἰδίας φυλάττων συνθήκας μὴ ἐπιτεθῆς τοῖς ἐναντί-
οις, ἀφύλακτος δὲ μὴ διαμένης ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ τὰς
90 σπονδὰς ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλὲς εἰς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν ἢ παθεῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν
ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμου οὕτως ἔχε καὶ προνοοῦ. πρέπον γὰρ μήτε ἀφύλακτον ἐν τοιοῦτῳ
καιρῷ σε εἶναι μήτε πάλιν τι ποιεῖν ἀσεβὲς παρὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Θεῷ μάρτυρι τεθειμέ-
νας σπονδὰς, ἀλλ' εἶναι ὑποπτον, ὥστε φυλάττεσθαι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δολερὸν
καὶ ὑπουλον. ἄδελφοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν σπεισμένων | ἡγουν τῶν εἰρηνευσάντων
95 ἐναντίων γινώμαι. καὶ σὺ μὲν ἔχε τὸ βέβαιον ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι διὰ τὸ εὐσεβές,
τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ ἄπιστον ὑπονοοῦ ὥστε μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἀσεβές. τὸ
γὰρ πάντα ἀναφέρειν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκδίκησιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκεραίου
γνώμης. οὐ γὰρ εὐθύς ἡ θεία δίκη ἐπάγεται, ἀλλ' ὅτε βούλεται ὁ πάντων προνο-
ητής. τίς γὰρ οἶδεν εἰ ἅμα τῷ ἀσεβῆσαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοὶ μὲν διολεσθῶσιν, σὺ
100 δὲ περιωθήσῃ;

84-86 Onas. 36.6.

76 ποτὲ...μᾶλλον MW τὸ σφάλμα AVBE 76-77 τὴν...διὰ MW om. AVBE
78 εὐπραγοῦντες MW εὐποροῦντες AVBE 79 καταφρονήσωσι M καταφρονήσωσιν
WAVBE 80 καταμελοῦσι MVBE καταμελοῦσιν WA | πλείω MW πλείον AVBE
81 μᾶλλον MW om. AVBE 82 ἀφ'...ἑαυτὸν MW ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ σαυτὸν AVBE
83 μέλλον MW μέλλον ἐφύλαξας AVBE 84 εἶρηκεν MW εἶρηκε AVBE 85 που MW
om. AVBE 88 ἰδίας MW οἰκείας AVBE 90-91 τὸ...προνοοῦ MW ἀσφαλίζου δὲ
σεαυτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμου ὥστε μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν τι παθεῖν AVBE 92 σε MW om. AVBE | τι
MW om. AVBE 99 διολεσθῶσιν MW ἀφανισθῶσι AVBE

an effort to find a time when you can make up for the defeat by covert attacks and ambushes.

13. Frequently enough, successful persons turn out to be rather lazy about protecting themselves. As they look down upon the defeated, they pay no heed to their own situation. Thus, success often causes more harm to those who have been successful compared to the harm that the unsuccessful have suffered.

14. You, now, have stumbled and have learned from your own experience. Because of what you have suffered, you have been put on guard against suffering the same thing in the future. But that person who has always been successful, since he has no experience of failure, does not have the foresight to defend himself against suffering what he has not come to know. One of the ancients once remarked: a well timed fear accompanied by careful attention makes one secure, but an untimely contempt, leaving one exposed to attack, is reckless.⁴

15. If, <in the course> of a war, you enter upon a truce for some reason and agree to certain conditions, you must observe your part of the treaty and not attack the enemy. But do not leave yourself unprotected in peace time. Act in a peaceful manner toward the enemy according to the treaty. To be on the safe side, though, and to avoid being ruined or suffering something from them, bear yourself as in time of war and think ahead. Be careful not to be unprotected at such a time and also not to do something irreverent, contrary to that treaty you have signed, with God as your witness. Keep an eye out, however, to guard against any treacherous or deceitful act of the enemy. The thoughts of the enemy who have signed a treaty or who have made peace are unclear. You, as a religious person, stick to what is firm and do not act unjustly. Be suspicious, though, of the faithlessness of the enemy so that you may not be treated unjustly because of their irreverence. It is not characteristic of a sincere mind to refer everything to the vengeance of God. The divine judgment is not brought into action immediately, but when the administrator of all things wishes. Who knows if at the same time as the enemy act irreligiously they are destroyed, whereas you are saved?

4. Onasander 36.6.

16. Ἐξεστὶν οὖν ἡμῖν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων πραγμάτων ασφαλείας, εἰ οὕτως τύχοι, πείραν λαμβάνειν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἀσεβείας. οὕτως γὰρ σὺ μὲν διὰ τὴν σὴν πρόνοιαν οὐδὲν κακὸν πάθῃς, οἱ δὲ κακῶσαι βουλευθέντες ἐχθροί, ἀσεβήσουσι μὲν, ὥς πράξαντές τι, εἰ ἐδυνήθησαν, σὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν πίστιν
105 τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων φυλάξαντος.

17. Πάντα δὲ τὸν βουλόμενόν τι ἀπαγγέλλειν σοι καὶ δοῦλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον, καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀπλήκτῳ, καὶ ἀναπαυόμενον καὶ ὑπνοῦντα, καὶ ἐπὶ λουτροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τροφῆς, καὶ παντὸς ἑτέρου καιροῦ καὶ τόπου, μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς, ἀλλὰ προσκαλοῦ αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ ἀναβαλλόμενοι καὶ
110 ἀπρόσιτοι, καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις αὐτῶν κελεύοντες ἀνακόπτειν τοὺς οὕτω προσερχομένους, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων εἰκότως διαμαρτάνουσι πραγμάτων. ταῦτά σοι καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι τούτοις παραπλήσιον ἐπινοηθῆναι ἰσχύσεις παραφυλάττειν διαταττόμεθα.

16. It could happen and it is quite possible for us, as well as the security of our affairs, to experience the impiety of the enemy. Your foresight will keep you from suffering any evil. But the enemy, intent on doing evil, may well act in an irreligious manner, getting away with whatever they can. But you have been protected by God because of your fidelity to the agreement you made.

17. Do not turn away anyone who wishes to speak to you about something, whether slave or free, at night or during the day, on the march or in camp, resting or sleeping, bathing or eating, at any other time and place. But summon him. For those who put people off and are not accessible and who order their servants to cut off those who approach them, are likely to miss out on many great matters. We command you to carefully observe these matters also after war as well as whatever else may occur to you along these lines.

101-102 εἰ...τύχοι MW om. AVBE 102 λαμβάνειν MW om. AVBE | ἀσεβείας MW ἀσεβείας εἰ οὕτως τύχη λαμβάνειν AVBE 104 ἀσεβήσουσι MW ἀσεβήσουσιν AVBE 108 ἐπὶ² MW om. AVBE 109 καὶ MW καὶ ὑπέρθεσιν (ὑπερθέσεις B) ποιούμενοι καὶ AVBE 110 οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΖ'

Περὶ ἐφόδων ἀδοκῆτων

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ ὅσα σοι δέον ἐν καιρῷ προσήκοντι γενέσθαι δι' ἐπελεύσεων ἀδοκῆτων κατὰ τῆς γῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸς κατὰ τῆς ἐπελεύσεως
5 τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιμηχανεύσῃ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὅτε μὴ καιρὸς εἰρήνης ἐπικρατεῖ—πρόδηλος δὲ οὐ συνίσταται πόλεμος—διὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου συμμετρίαν ἐν ὀλίγοις διεξέλθωμεν.

2. Ἀρχαῖός που διδάσκει λόγος ἡμᾶς, ὄνπερ καὶ οἱ μάλιστα συνετώτεροι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ πάλοι παρεφυλάξαντο, καὶ νῦν ὡς ἐπίπαν παραφυλάττοντες
10 εὐδοκμοῦσι καὶ ἀριστεύουσι, τὸ δίχα ἰδίας βλάβης τὰς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους ἥτοι ἐπιδρομὰς ποιεῖσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἐὰν μετὰ σοφίας καὶ στρατηγήματος φρονίμου ἀθρόως αἱ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γίνωνται ἐπελεύσεις, καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἰσομέτρους δυνάμεις ἐπωφελεῖς εὐρίσκονται αἱ τοιαῦται γινόμεναι καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολὺ τάχα ὑπερβαλλούσας.

15 3. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν αἰεὶ καὶ πάντοτε καλόν ἐστιν ἀρμοδίας προφάσεις καὶ καιροὺς συμβαλέσθαι δυναμένους τῷ πράγματι ἐπιτηρεῖν, καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν σε τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ὧ στρατηγέ, πρὶν ἢ ἐν ἐτοιμῇ τῆς ἀπαντήσεώς σου γένωνται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνους ὅσους νομίζεις καὶ πλείονάς σου εἶναι καὶ δυνατωτέρους.

20 4. Δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ τούτων αἰφνιδιασμοῖς μᾶλλον καὶ σοφίσμασι καὶ ἀπάταις, ὡς εἴρηται, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δημοσίας ἐγχειρήσεις, ὥστε ἐντεῦθεν εἰς κινδύνους δυσανακλήτους καὶ ἀφεύκτους ἐμπίπτειν. καὶ

M W A V B E PG 107:913

8–11 Cf. *Strat.*, 9.2. 8–570 *Strat.*, 9

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν WA λέοντος τοῦ ἐν χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως M om. VBE | διατάξις ιζ' WAVBE om. M 5 ἀντιμηχανεύσῃ W ἀντιμηχανεύσει M ἀντιμηχανήσῃ AVBE 6 διὰ...συμμετρίαν MW om. AVBE | λόγου M λόγου δὲ W om. AVBE 8 που...λόγος MW λόγος διδάσκει AVBE 9 ὡς ἐπίπαν MW om. AVBE 10 ἀριστεύουσι MVBE ἀριστεύουσιν WA 15–16 καὶ καιροὺς MW ἐν καιρῷ AVBE 17–18 ἐν...γένωνται MW ἐτοιμασθῶσι πρὸς ἀπάντησίν σου AVBE 21 ποιεῖσθαι MW χρῆσθαι AVBE 21–22 ἐγχειρήσεις MW ἐγχειρήσεις ποιεῖσθαι AVBE

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XVII

About Surprise Attacks

1. We will next <turn our attention to> what you must do, when the opportunity presents itself, in launching surprise attacks against the territory of the enemy, as well as how to take countermeasures against attacks by the enemy in your own land. This does not apply, of course, in time of peace and when it is clear that war is not going to be waged. The summary nature of this treatise calls for our exposition here to be brief.¹

2. An ancient maxim, carefully observed by the more intelligent generals of old and still invariably observed and given the highest priority by our own generals, teaches us to launch attacks and raids against the enemy without causing injury to ourselves.² We can achieve this if our assaults against the enemy are intelligently and carefully planned and swiftly carried out. Such assaults have been found to be effective not only against forces of equal strength but also against vastly superior ones.

3. For this reason it is a good idea always to be on the watch for convenient pretexts and opportunities that can prove advantageous. You should strike at the enemy, O general, before they get ready to come out against you, especially if you think that their forces are more numerous and stronger than yours.

4. In such cases it is necessary, as has been said, first to make use of surprise, stratagems, and deception as much as possible rather than engaging in a pitched battle. That may cause you to fall into dangers from which it will be difficult to

1. This entire constitution derives from *Strat.* 9.

2. *Strat.* 9.2 cites the action of the Roman general Lusius, in A.D. 116, probably near Nisibis or Edessa, as reported by Dio Cassius, 68.8.3, et al. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–1980), 2.13.1874–90.

τῶν τοιούτων σοφισμάτων διαφόρων ὄντων δέον σε τούτοις χρήσασθαι ἄρμο-
δίως καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς προσώποις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν.

25 5. Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποκρισιarίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸς σε ἀποσταλόντων ἀπαλά-
τε καὶ κολακευτικά ῥήματα ἀντιδηλώσας, καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς τοὺς ἀποκρισιarίους
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολύσας, εὐθέως ἐπακολουθήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀδοικῆτως ἐπέλθης.
ποτὲ δὲ ἰδίους πρέσβεις ἤτοι ἀποκρισιarίους ἀποστείλας μετὰ ῥημάτων ταπει-
νοτέρων, τὴν ἐπέλευσιν ἄφνω ποιήσεις. ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
30 ἀπλίκτοις, εἴτε ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σου εἰσιν γῇ εἴτε ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ συνηγμένοι, πολυπραγ-
μονήσεις τὸ πῶς ἀπλικεύουσι. καὶ ἐὰν εὐρίσκηται πρόφασις ἐν νυκτί, τῆς σελή-
νης λαμπύσης, πρὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν ὥρων τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγχεί-
ρησιν ποιήσεις, τοξότας χρησίμους μάλιστα ἔχων· τοιούτων γὰρ χρεία ἐστὶν ἐν
τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς. ποτὲ δὲ μαθὼν ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἀσυντάκτους καὶ ἐσκορ-
35 πισμένους περιπατεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπέλθεις καὶ βλάβεις,
κρύψας σεαυτὸν. ἄλλοτε δὲ ἐν τόποις τισὶ κρύψας ἑαυτὸν μετὰ λαοῦ στρατιω-
τῶν, ἄφνω τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπέλευσιν ἐργάσῃ. ποτὲ δὲ σχηματισάμενος
ἀναχώρησιν ἐξ ὧν διήγες τόπων ἄφνω ἐπαναστρέψας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιπεσεῖς.

6. Καὶ τινες δὲ προβαλλόμενοι ἀγέλας ζώων καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰς
40 τὴν τούτων διαρπαγὴν προτρεψάμενοι, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως κατ' αὐτῶν
διασκεδασθέντας, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς.

7. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ φανερώς ἔφοδοι, ὅταν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ διαστήματι τῶν
ἐχθρῶν ποταμὸς εὐρεθῇ δύσβατος, καὶ κάλλιστα τοῦτο ποιούσιν οἱ καβαλλά-
ριοι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ συμπηγνύουσι γέφυραν, ἢ διὰ ξύλων μεγάλων, ὡς ἐστὶν ἔθος
45 τὰς πολλὰς γεφύρας γίνεσθαι, ἢ διὰ μικρῶν πλοιαρίων, τῶν λεγομένων μονοξύ-
λων. πύργους τε ξυλίνους ἢ ἀπὸ οἰκοδομῆς ἐκ λίθων ξηρῶν ἢ χώματος ἐκατέρω-
θεν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γεφύρας ἐγείρουσιν ἵνα, ὅταν χρεία, δι' αὐτῆς ἀσφαλῶς τὴν
διάβασιν ποιήσωσι, καὶ πάλιν ἀναχωρήσωσιν ὅτε βούλονται, ὥστε ἐν τῇ τοῦ

42–63 Cf. Polyæn. 1.29.1; 3.9.61.

25 ἀποκρισιarίων MW ἀποκρισιarίους AVBE | ἀποσταλόντων MW ἀποστελλόντων AVBE
27 ἀπολύσας MAVBE ἀπολύσεις W 29–30 καὶ...εἴτε! MW πολυπραγμονήσεις τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ὅπως ἀπληκεύουσιν (ἀπληκεύουσι VBE) κἂν τε AVBE 30 εἴτε? MW κἂν τε AVBE
30–31 πολεμία...ἀπληκεύουσι MW ἑαυτῶν AVBE 30 συνηγμένοι PG συνειλεγμένοι MW
om. AVBE 31 ἀπληκεύουσι MVBE ἀπληκεύουσιν WA | εὐρίσκηται MAVBE εὐρίσκεται W
34 πορείαις MW ὁδοιπορίαις AVBE | ἀσυντάκτους MAVBE ἀσυντάκτως W 36 σεαυτὸν
WAVBE ἑαυτὸν M 37 σχηματισάμενος MWVBE σχηματισάμενοι A 43 κάλλιστα
MWA μάλιστα VBE 44 συμπηγνύουσι MWVBE συμπηγνύουσιν A 46–47 ἐκατέρωθεν
MW ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων AVBE 47 χρεία MW χρεία γέννηται AVBE 48 ποιήσωσι MVBE
ποιήσωσιν WA | ἀναχωρήσωσιν WAVBE ἀναχωρήσουσι M

recover or to extricate yourself. Since there are so many different kinds of stratagems, it is incumbent upon you to make use of those that fit the time, the place, the persons, and the actual situation.

5. When ambassadors from the enemy have been sent to you and you have replied to them in gentle and flattering terms and sent those enemy ambas-
sadors on their way with honors, you will immediately follow along and attack them unexpectedly. At other times you might send your own ambassadors or envoys with submissive words and then suddenly launch an attack. At times you might be conducted into the very camp of the enemy, either in your own country or in theirs. Find out then how they have set up camp. Then, if the opportunity presents itself, on a moonlit night two or three hours before daybreak, make your attack against them. Archers are particularly useful, essential in fact, at times like this. At another time, perhaps, you may learn that the enemy are marching along in disorder and scattered about; hide yourself and then attack them in the middle of their march and you will seriously injure them. At other times, conceal yourself in certain places with a body of soldiers and, suddenly, launch an attack against the enemy. At times, too, pretend to withdraw from the place in which you were spending time, then suddenly wheel around and fall upon the enemy.

6. Some have driven herds of animals ahead of them to lead the enemy to turn aside and round them up. Then, on observing the enemy disordered and scattered they would fall upon them.

7. Some attacks are made out in the open. If, in the area between <us and> the enemy we find a river difficult to cross, we can construct a bridge there—even cavalry are able to do this.³ It can be made of wooden crossbeams, which is the usual method for building bridges, or on small boats, the ones called monoxyla. At both ends of the bridge they erect towers of wood or of dry masonry or of earth. When necessary, then, they may safely cross over this bridge or again withdraw when they wish. It is left up to the general to decide

3. For §§7–9 cf. Polyænus 1.29.1; 3.9.61. The translation here is based on the better MSS, MWA, which have κάλλιστα, “very nicely.” VBE, however, as well as *Strat.* 9.1, have μάλιστα, “especially.”

στρατηγού ἀποκεῖσθαι γνώμη, ἢ προσμένειν ὅσον ἐμβαστάζει αὐτῷ χρόνον ἢ
 50 συμβάλλειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀσφαλῶς ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν ἀβλαβῶς τῆς γεφύρας παρ'
 αὐτοῦ καταλυομένης.

8. Ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐγχειρήσεσι καὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις κατὰ τῆς τῶν ἐχ-
 θρῶν χώρας, οὐ χρή σε καίειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν τὰς δαπάνας ἐκείνων τῶν χωρίων
 δι' ὧν μέλλεις ὑποστρέφειν, ἵνα μὴ ἐαυτὸν στενώσῃς.

9. Τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας γεφύρας γίνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον νομίζω καὶ ἐν καιρῷ |
 δημοσίας μάχης, καὶ τὰ ἀπλίκτα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ποταμοῖς γίνεσθαι. ἐὰν ἄρα
 δύσβατος εὔρεθῇ ἐν οἰωδῇποτε μέρει, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου ποταμοῦ ὄχθην
 κατεξαίρετον κατὰ τοῦ μέρους τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταλίπῃς, ὥστε ἀνεμποδίστως καὶ
 ἀστενοχωρήτως ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μάχης τὸν στρατὸν ἐξάγεσθαι. εἴτα καὶ ἐν
 60 καιρῷ τροπῆς ἐν τῷ ἀπλίκτῳ μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττομένους καὶ μὴ
 ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικειμένων, τὴν διάβασιν τῆς
 γεφύρας ποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ βουλομένους. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δέον εἰς τὴν ὄχθην τὴν
 ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας τὸ ἀπλίκτον γίνεσθαι.

10. Νυκτεριναὶ δὲ ἐπελεύσεις διάφοροι παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν στρατηγῶν
 65 ἐπετηδεύθησαν, ἐξ ὧν σοὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς ταύτας ὑποτιθέμεθα, ἵνα ποτὲ μὲν πλησίον
 τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπλικεύσας, ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἀπλίκτου πρεσβείαν τε μίαν καὶ δευτέ-
 ραν εἰρηνικὴν δηλώσας, καὶ ἐλπίδας πρὸς εἰρήνην δεδωκὼς τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ
 ἀμερίμνους ποιήσας ἀδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐπέλθῃς πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν ὁδοί-
 πορίαν ποιησάμενος.

11. Ποτὲ δέ, ἐὰν βούλῃ ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς νυκτός, ἡμέρας τινὰς παρατα-
 70 ξάμενος πλησίον τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπλίκτου ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ δημοσίᾳ, καὶ σχηματισάμενος
 φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ παρεξέρχεσθαι πλέον τοὺς
 τόπους τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπλίκτου, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς παραχαυνώσας ἐπέλθῃς ἐν
 νυκτί.

12. Τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκομεν πεπονηκότα τὸν Χαγάνον τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐπὶ τῶν
 75 χρόνων Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείαν τῆς Θράκης κατὰ τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων καβαλλαρίων μὴ βουλομένων ἐν φοσσάτῳ ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν
 ἀπλικεῦειν, ἀλλ' ἐξῶθεν ἀφυλάκτως.

64–69 *Strat.*, 9.2. 75–78 A.D. 592. Cf. Theoph. Simocatta *Historia*, 6.5.

52 ἐγχειρήσεσι MW ἐγχειρήσεσιν AVBE 53 χρή M δεῖ WAVBE 65 ἐπετηδεύθησαν
 MAVBE ἐπενοήθησαν W 67 πρὸς εἰρήνην MW εἰρήνης AVBE 70–71 ἡμέρας...
 ἀπλίκτου MW om. AVBE 73 ἐν MAVBE τῇ W 75–76 τῶν χρόνων MW τοὺς χρόνους
 AVBE 77 μετὰ... πεζῶν MW om. AVBE

how long to remain in that place, either to attack the enemy in safety or to re-
 treat without injury to himself and then destroy the bridge.

8. In operations of this sort, however, and in incursions into hostile territory,
 do not burn or destroy supplies in those regions through which you intend to
 return, so you may not suffer want.

9. I think that the bridges we spoke of may be essential at the time of a
 pitched battle, when the camps are set up by such rivers. If crossing is found to
 be difficult at any point, especially on the side where the enemy are, you should
 abandon that river bank. Then, on the day of battle, you may lead out the army
 without hindrance and without crowding. In case of a reverse the men may
 remain safely in the protection of the camp and not be forced against their will
 to cross over the bridge, at that time, when the enemy are on the offensive. For
 these reasons it is necessary to pitch camp on the opposite bank, the one on the
 side of the enemy.

10. The ancient strategists devised a variety of nocturnal attacks, some of
 which we will now bring to your attention.⁴ When you pitch camp close to the
 enemy, about a day's march away, send a deputation or two to treat of peace. You
 will have given the enemy hopes of a peaceful settlement and led them to be-
 come careless. Then have your army march at night and attack them unexpect-
 edly before daybreak.

11. Sometimes, if you want to attack the enemy at night, for several days
 draw up your troops close to your own camp as though for a pitched battle.
 Pretend to be frightened by your adversaries and for this reason do not wander
 out beyond the area of your own camp, and when you have thus caused them to
 relax their guard, attack them at night.

12. We recall that, during the reign of the emperor Herakleios, the Khan of
 the Avars did this at Herakleia in Thrace to the Roman cavalry. They had
 refused to set up camp safely within the fortified area together with the infantry
 but stayed outside unprotected.⁵

4. Cf. *Strat.* 9.2; AnonStrat, 39; Skirmishing, 24.

5. A.D. 592: Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, rev. P. Wirth (Stuttgart,
 1972), 6.5.

13. Σοφὸν δὲ ποιήσεις ὅταν εὐψύχους καὶ ἀνδρείους μετὰ σεαυτοῦ στρατιῶ
80 τας ἔχῃς, ἐὰν ὑποθήσῃς τινὶ ὥστε προσφυγεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι
δειλία ἐστὶν ὁ στρατός, εἴτα πρόφασιν ποιήσῃς ὅτι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ὑπαναχωρεῖς
καὶ ὀλίγον διάστημα τὸ φοσσάτον ἤγουν τὸ ἀπλικτον μεταστήσας, αἰφνίδιον ἐν
νυκτὶ ἐπέλθεις τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

14. Ποιήσεις δὲ νυκτερινὰς ἐπελεύσεις κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἀρμοδίως ὑπὸ τε πεζῶν
85 καὶ καβαλλαρίων καὶ τοξοτῶν μάλιστα καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν κατὰ ἐθνῶν πεζῶν καὶ
καβαλλαρίων τῶν μὴ ἐν φοσσάτῳ καὶ τάξει ἀπλικευόντων, ἀλλὰ ἀτάκτως | καὶ
ἀφυλάκτως καὶ διεσπαρμένως σκηνοῦντων.

15. Καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων τόξα ἢ ἀκόντια προχείρως, ἀλλὰ ἐκ χειρὸς
μᾶλλον τὴν μάχην ποιουμένων. οἱ γὰρ τοῖς τόξοις καὶ ρικταρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
90 ὅπλοις χρώμενοι, δυσεπιχείρητοι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπελεύσεις γίνονται, εἰ μὴ
ἄρα ἀφύλακτοι καὶ διεσπαρμένοι ἀπλικεύουσιν.

16. Νύκτας δὲ ἐπιλέξει πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀπροσδοκίτους ἐφόδους, τουτ'
ἐστίν, ἢ ὅταν ὀλόνυκτος φαίνη ἡ σελήνη ἢ ὅταν οἶδας ὅτι ἀρκεῖ τὸ φέγγος
αὐτῆς τῷ διαστήματι τῆς ὅλης σου ὁδοιπορίας ἢ ὅταν ἐστὶν ἀστερόφωτον, ἵνα
95 μὴ ὁ στρατός ἐν σκοτίᾳ περιπατῶν συντρίβεται καὶ πλανᾶται.

17. Ἄξι δὲ ἐξπληκτον καὶ παρεσκευασμένον τὸν στρατὸν κίνει, καὶ μηδὲν
περισσὸν ἐπιφερόμενον, καὶ οὕτω κανόνιζε καὶ στοχαζέου πρὸς τὰ διαστήματα,
τὰ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ὥστε συμμέτρως περιπατεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συντρίβεται ὁ στρατός· καὶ
πρὸ δύο ὥρων τῆς ἡμέρας φθάσεις πλησίον ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου σημείου
100 τοῦ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπλίκτου καὶ ἐκεῖσε λανθανόντως ἀναπαύσεις τὸν στρατόν, καὶ
πρὶν ἢ ἄρξῃται αὐγάειν ἢ ἡμέρα ἐπιτεθῇς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας
ὁδοιπορίας, ἵνα ἔχῃς ὁδηγοὺς τοὺς πάνυ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότας τοὺς τόπους εἰς τὸ μὴ
πλανᾶσθαι τὸν στρατόν. παντοῖαν δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἐχέτωσαν, καὶ μῆτε βούκινον
λαλείτω, μηδὲ οἰαδήποτε κραυγὴ γινέσθω. ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ἐστί δέον τοῦ μέναι τὸν
105 στρατόν, ὡς εἰκός, ἢ τοῦ κινήσαι ἢ διὰ συριγμοῦ ἢ διὰ κτύπου σκουταρίου ἢ διὰ
παραγγέλματος σημαίνειν τὸ κίνημα ἢ τὴν στάσιν.

79 εὐψύχους καὶ MW om. AVBE 82 ἤγουν MW ἤτοι AVBE 83 ἐναντίοις MW
πολεμίοις AVBE 84 κατ' MW κατὰ τῶν AVBE 85-86 καὶ! ...ἀτάκτως MW om. AVBE
89 καὶ! MW καὶ τοῖς AVBE 91 ἀπλικεύουσιν MAVBE ἀπλικεύουσιν W 92 νύκτας MW
οὕτως AVBE | ἀπροσδοκίτους MW ἀδοκῆτως AVBE 95 συντρίβεται MW συντρίβεται
AVBE 96 ἐξπληκτον MW ἔλαφρον AVBE 97 οὕτω M οὕτως WAVBE 98 συντρίβεται
MW συντρίβεται AVBE 99 σημείου MW μιλίου AVBE 103 παντοῖαν WAVBE ἐπαντοῖαν
M 104 μηδὲ MW μῆτε ἄλλη AVBE | ἀλλὰ MW ἀλλ' AVBE | ἐστί MAVBE ἐστὶν W |
μέναι M εἶναι W στήναι AVBE 105 ὡς...κινήσαι M ἢ τοῦ κινήσαι ὡς εἰκός W ὡς εἰκός εἴτε
κινήσαι AVBE 106 σημαίνειν WAVBE ἢ μένειν M

13. You will be wise, when you have good-spirited and brave soldiers with
you, if you have one of them pretend to desert to the enemy and inform them
that the morale of your army is low. Then make it look as though you are
withdrawing to the rear, but go only a short distance and set up your encamp-
ment, that is, your camp. Then, suddenly at night attack the enemy.

14. Night assaults against the enemy will be particularly effective if you make
use of archers and javelin throwers, both mounted and dismounted. <Employ
them> against peoples, whether on foot or on horseback, who do not fortify or
set up their camps in an orderly manner but pitch their tents in disorder, unpro-
tected, and scattered all over the place.

15. <They are also effective> against peoples who are not skilled in using the
bow and the javelin but prefer to engage in hand-to-hand combat. Those who
do make use of bows, throwing weapons, and the other weapons are harder to
overcome by such attacks unless they set up camp without protection and scat-
tered about.

16. For surprise attacks of this sort, choose nights when the moon is shining
all night or when you know that its light will last as long as the distance of your
entire march or when there is enough light from the stars. Otherwise, the army
marching along in the darkness may stumble about and get lost.

17. In moving your army, always keep it lightly equipped and ready for
action, carrying no unnecessary baggage. Estimate and regulate <your march>
proportionate to the distance between the <two camps> in order to arrive two
hours before daybreak, someplace about one or two miles from the enemy's
camp, marching at a steady pace so the army will not be exhausted. There, the
army should stay in hiding and rest and then, before daylight begins, attack the
enemy. For expeditions of this sort you should have guides who possess a
detailed knowledge of the country, so the army will not be led astray. Absolute
silence must be observed, not blowing the bugle and no shouting of any kind.
But if it should become necessary, as is likely, for the army to halt or to advance,
give the signal for marching or for halting by a whistle, by striking a shield, or
by a command.

18. ἵνα δὲ μὴ θόρυβος τῶν κτύπων γένηται, μηδ' ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκτεινομένη ἡ
παράταξις πλάνην καὶ ἀνισότητα ποιῇ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνάγκης κραυγὰς καὶ
110 ἐσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ μὴ ἐπὶ μέτωπον ἤγουν ἐπὶ ἕκταμα πολὺ εἰς πλάτος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
κέρας, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ ὀρθίαν παράταξιν, ὥς ἐπὶ ἀκίας καὶ στίχου κατὰ οὐρὰν
ἀλλήλων περιπατεῖν, δηλονότι τοῦ βάθους ἦτοι τοῦ πάχους τῆς τάξεως φυλατ-
τομένου.

19. Καὶ ὅταν πλησίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν φθάσῃ ὁ στρατός, τότε λεληθότως καὶ
115 κρυφαίως ἀνάπαυε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀρθωσον τὴν τάξιν καί, ὥς ὁ τόπος ἐπιδέχεται,
εἴτε διὰ δύο εἴτε διὰ τριῶν μερῶν τὴν ἐπέλευσιν ποιήσων. | οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ τῶν
τεσσάρων μερῶν χρεῖα, ἵνα μὴ περιλαμβανόμενοι πανταχόθεν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐκ
περιστάσεως συμφράζωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἄδειαν δι' ἐνὸς μέρους οἱ θέλοντες
φεύγειν.

120 20. Καὶ τότε ἐὰν πλῆθος ἔχῃς στρατοῦ τὸ ἐπερχόμενον, ἐν ᾗ καὶ δευτέρων
βούκινον παρασκεύαζε λαλεῖν, ἵνα πρὸς ὀλίγον στρατὸν δοκοῦντες ἔχειν
λανθάνωνται οἱ πολέμιοι. εἰ δὲ ὀλίγον στρατὸν ἔχῃς, πλείονα βούκινα λαλείτω-
σαν, ἵνα πλῆθος νομίζεται τὸ ἐπερχόμενον.

21. Χρὴ δέ σε πάντως δυνάμιν τινα συνιστᾶν στρατοῦ, <μη> τὴν μινύου-
125 σαν χείρας κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐκαίρως ἰσταμένην, καὶ ὀφείλου-
σαν τοὺς, ὥς εἰκός, προστρέχοντας ἐκ τῶν ιδίων προσδέχεσθαι.

22. Τὰς δὲ κατὰ καβαλλαρίων ἐχθρῶν ἐφόδους μάλιστα ἀσφαλῶς ποιοῦ καὶ
ὥς ἐπὶ δημοσίας μάχης ἵνα ἐὰν τὰ τῆς ἐφόδου μὴ κατὰ σκοπὸν προέλθῃ, ἀλλ' οἱ
πολέμιοι προαισθόμενοι ἀντιπαρατάζωνται, μὴ ἐλαττωθῇς ἐν τῇ κινουμένῃ
130 μάχῃ ὥς ἀπαρασκευος καὶ ἀνέτοιμος.

23. Ἐὰν γὰρ πεζοὶ ὦσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι, καβαλλάριοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ σου ἐπερχομέ-
νοι, πρόδηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἡ βλάβεις τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ ἀβλαβῆς ἀναχωρήσεις, τῶν
πεζῶν διώκειν τοὺς καβαλλαρίους οὐ δυναμένων.

24. Εἰ δὲ καβαλλάριοι εἰσιν καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι, χρὴ σε πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα
135 πολλάκις ἐναντία ἔτοιμον εἶναι καὶ παρεσκευασμένον.

18. To avoid any noisy confusion or stretching the formation out too much,
making for a straggling and uneven line and the consequent necessity of shout-
ing commands, all of which clearly betray the approach of the army to the
enemy, it must march not by the front, that is, to a large extent in width, but by
the flank, that is, formed in a straight line, marching by files one after the other,
maintaining, of course, the depth or thickness of the formation.

19. When the army gets close to the enemy, they should hide and rest under
cover, straighten out their line and, depending on the terrain, launch their attack
from two or three sides. They must not attack from all four sides, for then, the
enemy finding themselves completely surrounded, will be forced to close ranks
out of desperation, but one side should be left open for those who wish to flee.

20. If you have a large army moving up to attack, then prepare to sound one
or two trumpets so that the enemy will be deceived into thinking they are facing
a small army. But if you do have a small army, let more trumpets be sounded so
they may believe the approaching army is a large one.

21. You must always hold some units of the army in reserve, taking no part
in the action at that time, but opportunely standing by in order to provide cover
for their own men who might be charging forth.

22. In particular, make your attacks against enemy cavalry very carefully, as
though in a pitched battle, so that, in case the enemy may have been forewarned
and lined up in formation to face us, and the attack does not proceed according
to plan, you may not suffer defeat in the ensuing battle because you were not
ready or prepared.

23. If our opponents consist of infantry and you have your cavalry advance
against them, it is obvious that our forces will inflict harm on the enemy or they
will themselves withdraw without injury, for infantry are not capable of pursu-
ing cavalry.

24. But if our adversaries are on horseback as well, then you must be ready
and prepared for the adverse outcome that frequently occurs.

107 γένηται M γίνεται W γίνηται AVBE | μηδ' PG μηδὲ MAVBE μὴ W 109 μανδάτα MW
μανδάτα γίνεσθαι AVBE | καὶ MAVBE om. W 109-110 γενέσθαι MW συμβαίνειν AVBE
110 ἀλλ' MAVBE ἀλλὰ W 111 ὀρθίαν παράταξιν M ὀρθία παρατάξει WAVBE
115 αὐτοὺς WAVBE ἑαυτοὺς M 121 παρασκεύαζε λαλεῖν MW trsp. AVBE 122 λανθά-
νωνται...πολέμιοι MW trsp. AVBE 123 νομίζεται MAVBE νομίζεται W 124 μὴ ci. De
om. codd. 125 καὶ! MW καὶ ἐτέραν AVBE 127 ἐχθρῶν MW om. AVBE 128 σκοπὸν
MW βούλησιν AVBE 130 μάχη MW τάξει AVBE 134 εἰσιν MW εἰσι AVBE

25. Εἰ δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἔφοδος γένηται κατὰ φοσσάτου, εἴτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ κατὰ ὁδουόντων ἢ κατὰ τούλδου, δεῖ ἀφορισμένα τάγματα ἔχειν σε πρὸς διαρπαγῆς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τοῦτο πάντων ἀσχολουμένων, ἐπέλευσις ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν γένηται καὶ κινδυνεύσῃ ὁ στρατός.

140 26. Τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας ἐφόδους τὰς μείζονας μὲν καὶ τελείας διὰ σεαυτοῦ ποιήσης· δυνατὸν δέ σοι μᾶλλον καὶ διὰ τουρμάρχων τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις πράγμασι χρησίμων αὐτὰς γίνεσθαι. οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ εἰσι τὸν σὸν τόπον ἀναπληρῶσαι διὰ τὴν ἀποδεικνυμένην ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἀγχίνοναν.

27. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων χώρα εἰσβάλλων ὁδοιπορεῖν μέλλῃς ἐκεῖσε 145 καὶ πραιδεῦν βλάβης ἰδίας χωρὶς, πρῶτον μὲν ἴδιον καὶ ἀρμόδιον καιρὸν ἐπιλεύσου, οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀσφαλὴς τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως καιρός, ὅτε ἢ συμβαλὼν ἤδη τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μάχῃ ἐκράτησας αὐτῶν ἢ νομίσεις ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ | πρὸς τὴν σὴν δύναμιν ἢ ὅταν ἀνετοιμοὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπαρασκευοῖς οὖσιν, αἰφνιδίως ἐπιτεθῆναι μελετήσης, ὥς ἤδη προείπομεν.

150 28. Δέον σε πρὸ πάντων, ὦ στρατηγέ, εἰσβάλλοντα εἰς τὴν πολεμίων γῆν, τῆς ἀποτροφῆς φροντίσαι τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ἢ διὰ βασταγῆς δημοσίας ἢ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἄλλως πῶς ἐπινοῆσαι βαστάσαι ἀποτροφὴν καὶ ἀλόγων καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μὴ περὶ μέσσην τὴν χώραν ἄφνω τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὥς εἰκός, ἀφανιζόντων τὰ ἔτοιμα εἶδη στενοχωρηθῇ ὁ στρατός.

155 29. Μὴ ἐπιτηδεύσης δὲ νυκτερινὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἐν πολεμίᾳ χώρᾳ ποιεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἅπαξ, ἥγουν μίαν καὶ μόνην, καὶ τοῦτο λεληθότως ἴσως χρείας ἀναγκαίας καλούσης εἰς τὸ λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τόπον δυσχερῆ προκαταλαβεῖν χάριν ὀχυρώματος ἢ παρελθεῖν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὴ γινωσκόντων.

30. Πρότερον δὲ περιεργάσασθαι σε δεῖ καὶ ἐρευνᾶν τὰς ὁδοὺς, καὶ οὕτως 160 τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ποιεῖσθαι.

31. Πᾶσαν δὲ πάντως ποιεῖσθαι σπουδὴν ἵνα τινὰς τῶν τῆς χώρας ζωγρήσης, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάθης δύναμιν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων. τί ἄρα σπουδάζουσι ποιῆσαι; τὰς ἐρωτήσεις δὲ τῶν κρατουμένων διὰ σεαυτοῦ ποιεῖ, καὶ μὴ δι' ἐτέρου τινός. καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις ἀναγκαῖά τινα καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν 165 ὑπόνοιαν διὰ τῶν ἐρωτωμένων ἐφανερώθησαν.

25. If the attack is made at night against a fortified camp or in the daytime against marching troops or against the baggage train, you must have certain units assigned to gather plunder. Otherwise, if all the soldiers get involved in this, the enemy might attack and endanger the army.

26. You should personally lead the larger attacks, those made in full force, but they can also be led by the tourmarchs, who have some expertise in these matters. Because of their manifest bravery and shrewdness, they are capable of acting in your place.

27. If, on making an incursion into enemy territory, you intend to march about there and plunder it without any injury to yourself, you must first plan ahead for a proper and suitable time. The safe time for such an undertaking is when you have already attacked and overcome the enemy in battle or when, in comparison with your force, you think they are not so strong, or they are not ready or prepared when you intend to fall upon them suddenly, as we have already explained.

28. Above all, O general, as you enter enemy territory, you must be concerned about supplies for the army. You must arrange for these supplies, both for horses and for men, to be transported in public wagons or by the individual soldiers or in some other way. Otherwise, the enemy are likely to destroy the available supplies and the army may suddenly find itself in critical straits in the middle of a <hostile> country.

29. You should not attempt to undertake marches at night in hostile territory except just once, that is, one time only and secretly. Perhaps such a march might become absolutely necessary to avoid detection by the enemy, or to seize difficult ground ahead of time for the purpose of defense or to pass through to another location without the enemy finding out.

30. But before setting out on any such march, you must take great care to reconnoiter the roads.

31. Be sure to make every effort to take some inhabitants of the country as prisoners in order to obtain information from them about the strength and the plans of the enemy. What is it that they are intent on doing? You should interrogate the prisoners yourself and not have someone else do it. Frequently, extremely important and completely unexpected information has been revealed by such questioning.

140 διὰ σεαυτοῦ A δι' ἑαυτοῦ MWVBE 142 εἰσι MAVBE εἰσιν W 146 ἐπιλεύσου MW ἐκλέγου AVBE 146-147 συμβαλὼν M συμβάλλων WAVBE 147 εἰσι MAVBE εἰσιν W 152 ἐπινοῆσαι MW ἐπινοῆσαι ὥστε AVBE | καὶ MW om. AVBE 155 ἐπιτηδεύσης MW ἐπιτηδεύης AVBE 156 ἥγουν...χρείας MW καὶ τοῦτο κρύφα χρείας ἴσως AVBE 159 σε MAVBE om. W 160 ποιεῖσθαι MW ποιήσασθαι AVBE 161 ζωγρήσης MW κρατήσης AVBE 163 σπουδάζουσι MAVBE σπουδάζουσιν W

32. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς προσφεύγουσί σοι προχείρως πίστευε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αἰφνιδίου ἐπιδρομῆς κρατουμένοις, ἐπειδὴ συμβαίνει πεπλασμένα καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσφευγόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν κρατουμένων λέγεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ ἑνὸς μόνου λεγομένοις πίστευε ἢ πρόσεχε, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκ τῶν πλείονων συμφωνίᾳ
 170 πείθου, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀθρόας ἀλικομένων, ὡς εἵπομεν, ἥπερ τῶν προσφευγόντων σοι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς προσφεύγοντάς σοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τινα μηνύειν ἐπαγγελλομένους μυστήρια, ἢ ἐν δεσμοῖς φύλαττε τέως ἢ ἄλλως, πῶς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἔχε, καὶ πρόλεγε αὐτοῖς δωρεὰς δώσκειν. ἐὰν δὲ ψεύδωνται, ἀπείλει θάνατον.

175 33. Ἐὰν δὲ συνέστηκεν στρατὸς ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἔξωθεν ὀχυρωμάτων διάγη, μὴ ἐπαφίης τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινὰς ἐπὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἢ πραιδαν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πρό-
 180 τερον ἐπέρχου κατ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς ἐξέλθῃ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, μὴ ἀναβάλλου τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄσφ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ταραχῇ εἰσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐπιτί-
 180 συμφέροντά σοι γένωνται ἀσφαλῶς.

34. Ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ σύστασιν μὲν ποιήσωσιν, ἀναβάλλωνται δὲ συμμαχεῖν μάχην, τότε σπούδαζε ἡνωμένως καὶ ἀδιασπᾶστος περιπατεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀφανίζειν. εἰ δὲ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁδοῦ ἢ ὑποστροφή σου ἐλπίζεται γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄλλαι ἀποτροφαὶ ἢ βοσκαί, τότε φείδου τὰς ἐν ποσίν, ἥγουν τὸ ἀφανί-
 185 ζειν τὰς διαπάνας· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑποστρέφειν σε, τότε μᾶλλον ἀφάνιζε ταύτας.

35. Ὡστε δὲ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ πλανᾶσθαι σε εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, δεόν σημεῖα
 190 τινα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀμφιβόλοις τίθεσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν ὕλαι εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς δένδροις, εἰ δὲ γυμνοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ τόποι, διὰ σωρῶν λίθων ἢ ὑπορυγμάτων μικρῶν διὰ τὸ ἐπιγινώσκοντας δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς ὑστερίζοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσ-
 190 θαι τὴν ὁδόν.

36. Ὅσους δὲ εἰς πραιδαν ἀφορίσεις καὶ | ἀποστείλεις παράγγελλε μὴ πάν-
 190 τας εἰς τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ διηρημένους εἶναι ἵνα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν

167 ad ἐκ τῶν des. M

169 ἢ πρόσεχε W om. AVBE 170 ἀλικομένων W συλλαμβανομένων AVBE 171 πρὸς δὲ W om. AVBE | τοὺς W τοὺς δὲ AVBE 172 ἐπαγγελλομένους W ὑπισχνουμένους AVBE 175 συνέστηκεν W συνέστηκε AVBE 176 ἀρπαγὴν...πραιδαν W ἀρπαγὴ ἢ πραιδα AVBE 179 καταλυθῶσι AVBE καταλυθῶσιν W 182 ἐν ποσίν W ἔμπροσθεν εὐρισκόμενα AVBE 184 ἢ βοσκαί W om. AVBE 184-185 τὰς...τὰς W ἀφανίζειν τὰς εὐρισκόμενας AVBE 184 τὰς AVBE τὰ W 185 δὲ AVBE om. W 186 δὲ AVBE om. W 186-187 εἰς...ὁδοῖς AVBE δεῖ ἐν ταῖς διόδοις W 187 ἀμφιβόλοις AVBE ἀμφιβάλοις W 189 ὑστερίζοντας W παραπομένοντας AVBE 191-192 πάντας AVBE πάντως W

12. Do not, however, be too ready to trust defectors, although you can be-
 13. men captured in surprise attacks. It is not uncommon for defectors and
 14. prisoners to give false information. Do not believe or pay attention to
 15. statements made by one person alone but be convinced only by the agreement
 16. of several, especially, as mentioned, persons taken in sudden attacks, rather than
 17. defectors. You should place enemy deserters who claim to have some secret
 18. information in confinement for a while, or hold them securely in some other
 19. way, promising them rewards, but if they are lying threaten them with death.

33. If the enemy army has concentrated its forces and is staying outside
 14. fortifications, do not send any of your soldiers to plunder or engage in looting,
 15. but they should first advance against the enemy. If the result of the battle is
 16. favorable, they should not put off the opportunity but, while the enemy are still
 17. very frightened and confused, they should keep after them until they are
 18. completely broken up and scattered, or an agreement favorable to you, and with
 19. certain safeguards, has been made.

34. But if the enemy has indeed concentrated his forces but avoids getting
 15. into action, then make sure that our troops march about, united and without
 16. breaking ranks, and lay waste the area around them. But if you hope to return
 17. by the same route and there is no other source of food or forage, then spare the
 18. supplies in the area rather than destroy them, and only on your return journey
 19. should you destroy them.

35. To avoid getting lost while marching in foreign territory, you must set up
 16. certain signs on the roads and places where the way is not clear. If the area is
 17. wooded, put them on the trees, if barren, piles of rocks or <small pits> dug in
 18. the ground will do. These will be recognized by the troops marching along later
 19. so they will not lose their way.

36. Order the troops you assign and send out to pillage that not all of them
 19. should busy themselves with plundering, but divide them into two groups: the

πραιδεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ πλείους αὐτῶν συντεταγμένοι ἴστανται εἰς φυλακὴν ἢ παρακολουθοῦσιν, εἴτε κατὰ χωρίου εἴτε κατὰ φοσσάτου ἐχθρῶν εἴτε κατὰ ἀγέλης εἴτε κατὰ τούλδου ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς ἢ ἐπέλευσις γίνεται. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ ὅταν ἡνωμένου ὄντος τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ τῆς πραιδᾶς ἐγχειρήσης, εἰς τὸ μὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρπαγῇ ἀσχολεῖσθαι.

37. Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συλλογῆς δαπάνης καιρὸς γένηται, δεῖ τοὺς μὲν συλλέγειν, τοὺς δὲ συντεταγμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους ἀκολουθεῖν, ὥστε πάντων εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἢ συλλογὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χρειῶν ἀσχολουμένων, μὴ αἰφνιδιασμένον τινα ἢ ἐγκρυμμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων συμβῇ γενέσθαι. εἰ γὰρ συμβῇ τοῦτο, μὴ ὄντων αὐτῶν συντεταγμένων, οὐ δυνήσονται ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακαλέσασθαι.

38. Ὅταν δὲ χρή ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις κατὰ τινων Σκυθικῶν ἢ τινων ὁμοίων ἐθνῶν ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ τὸ μάλιστα ἀνύποπτον, χρή μετὰ σκοποῦ τὰ τε δάση καὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας προσέχειν καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι. καὶ οὕτως προορδινεῖν χρή τὰ βάνδα εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι αὐτά, ποῖον πρῶτον καὶ ποῖον δεῦτερον καὶ ποῖον τρίτον καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὀφείλουσι περιπατεῖν· καὶ μάλιστα ἂν διὰ στενῶν τόπων ἔφοδος γίνεται, καὶ ἵνα μὴ συγχέωνται καὶ βραδέως ἐν τῷ διαμερισμῷ συνέρχωνται.

39. Ἄφνω γὰρ τῆς ἐπελεύσεως γινομένης, εἰ μὲν διὰ δύο τόπων ἐπιτηδείον ἐστι τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι, δεῖ τὸν στρατὸν εἰς δύο μερίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν μέρος λαμβάνειν ἢ τὸν μεράρχην, ὃν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὑποστράτηγον ἔλεγον, ἢ τὸν τουρμάρχην ἢ ὁποῖοι ἂν ἄρχοντες τὴν ἔφοδον ποιοῦνται. δύο πάντως ἄρχοντας πρῶτον καὶ δεῦτερον εἰς τὰ δύο μέρη ἵνα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιστῇ|σαι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν μέρος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸν ἕνα ἄρχοντα ἐξπληκτον ἔχειν, καὶ χωρὶς τούλδου, καὶ προκόπτοντα ὡς δεκαπέντε ἢ εἴκοσι μιλίων διάστημα διὰ τόπων ἀγνώστων ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἐγγίζοντα τοῖς χωρίοις, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς πραιδᾶς ὥστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔρχεσθαι· τὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἄλλο μέρος διὰ τῆς ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς τῶν χωρίων εἰσβάλλειν καὶ πραιδεύειν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρους εἰς ἀπαντὴν ἀλλήλων ἐρχομένους, καὶ πραιδεύοντας τὰ ἐν μέσῳ χωρία, ἐν ᾧ

193 πραιδεύουσιν W πραιδεύουσιν AVBE | πλείους W πλείονες AVBE 199 καὶ παρατεταγμένους W om. AVBE | ὥστε W ὥστε μὴ AVBE 200 μὴ W om. AVBE 201–202 εἰ...συντεταγμένων W τοῦτο γένηται μὴ ὄντες συντεταγμένοι AVBE 202 ἑαυτοὺς AVBE ἑαυτοῖς W 203 χρή W χρεία γένηται AVBE | τινων W καὶ τῶν AVBE 205 δυσχωρίας...καὶ² W δυσκολίας AVBE 206 ποῖον¹ W om. AVBE 208 γίνεται W γίνηται AVBE | καὶ² AVBE om. W 211 ἐστι AVBE ἐστίν W 214 ἵνα W ἕνα AVBE | ἐπιστῇσαι W ἐπιστῆναι AVBE 215 ἐξπληκτον ἔχειν W ἔχειν ἐλαφρὸν AVBE 216 δεκαπέντε...εἴκοσι AVBE δεκακαπέντε καὶ εἴκοσι W 217 ὥστε W καὶ ὡς AVBE 220 ἐν ᾧ AVBE ἂν W

first to do the pillaging and the other, larger group to stand by or follow along in formation to protect them. Observe this whether the attack is directed against a region, a fortified camp of the enemy, a herd of cattle, a baggage train, or anything else. Follow the same procedure when you have the entire army join together in pillaging, although not every individual has to be occupied in the actual plundering.

37. However, if the opportunity for gathering supplies presents itself, some should gather them while others follow in close formation and drawn up for battle. If all the men are busy with plundering and collecting necessary provisions and the enemy happens to catch them unawares or sets up an ambush at a time when they are not lined up for battle, they will not be able to get back into formation.

38. When it is necessary to launch surprise attacks against some Scythians or similar nations, you will avoid any suspicion, if you very carefully study and reconnoiter the wooded and difficult terrain. Make certain ahead of time that the banda know the order in which they are supposed to march, which is first, which second, which third, and so forth, especially if they are to make their attack through narrow places. As they proceed slowly in their separate units, they will not be confused.

39. When it comes to making a sudden attack, if it seems more effective to attack in two places, you must divide your army in two. The merarch, whom the ancient authorities called the lieutenant general, should assume command of one section, or it could be the tourmarch or whatever officers are leading the assault. By all means there must be two officers, a first and a second, for the two divisions, one in command of each of them. The first division, as noted, has one lightly equipped officer and is without a baggage train. It goes ahead to a distance of about fifteen or twenty miles through unknown places, approaching those regions from the side, and begins the pillaging so as to join up with the division led by the general. The general, leading the other division, is to invade through the other entrance to those regions and plunder them. Both divisions then proceed to meet with each other and they pillage the area between them.

συμφθάσωσιν εἰς ἐσπέραν, ἐκεῖσε ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἀπλικοῦν. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἐγχείρησις γίνεται, καὶ οἱ διαφεύγοντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸν ἕνα αὐτῶν τῷ ἄλλῳ περιπίπτουσιν ἀδοκήτως, μὴδ' ἐπισυναχθῆναι δυνάμενοι.

40. Εἰ δὲ μία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιτηδεῖα ὁδὸς δι' ἧς τὴν εἰσβολὴν κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυνατόν γενέσθαι, χρὴ καὶ οὕτως τὸν στρατὸν διανεμηθῆναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δίμοιρον αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ τὸ πλεόν τούτου ἐξπληκτον καὶ | ἐνδύναμον τὸν ὑποστράτηγον λαμβάνειν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς τάσσεται βάνδου ἔμπροσθεν πάντων προηγῆσθαι, ἔχοντα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντας τοὺς τῶν ταγμάτων αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὅταν τῷ πρώτῳ χωρίῳ ἐπιστῇ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, 230 ἀφορίζειν εἴτε ἐν εἴτε δύο βάνδα, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πραιδεῦναι, τοὺς δὲ φυλάττειν τοὺς πραιδεύοντας.

41. Καλὸν δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις χωρίοις μὴ πολλὰ βάνδα ἀφορίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ μεγάλα συμβαίῃ τὰ χωρία εἶναι. ἐπιφθάζοντος γὰρ ὀπισθεν τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐ δίδονται καιρὸς ἀντικαταστάσεως τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρισκομένοις. συντόμως δὲ 235 τὸν ὑποστράτηγον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω τὴν πάροδον ποιούμενον ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία ἐφεξῆς, τοῦτο ποιεῖν μέχρις ἂν ἐπαρκέσωσιν τὰ παραδιδόμενα αὐτῷ τάγματα. αὐτὸν δὲ ὑποστράτηγον ἐξωτέρῳ πάντων εὕρισκόμενον δεῖ τρία ἢ τέσσαρα βάνδα ἄχρι χιλίων ἀνδρῶν χρησίμων περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἕως τελείας τοῦ πράγματος ἐκβάσεως, ἥγουν τῆς ἐφόδου, ἵνα βίγλα ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἀσφάλεια 240 τοῖς λοιποῖς γένηται.

42. Τούτων οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποστρατήγου γινομένων δέον σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἢ εἴ τις ἕτερος ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπελεύσεως τὴν διοίκησιν πεπιστευμένος, ἵνα ἐπακολουθῇ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος πραιδεύουσιν, καὶ ἐπισυνάγῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προκόπτῃς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον ἢ τὸν τουρμάρχην. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνον 245 τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπισυνάγειν παρερχόμενον τοὺς πραιδεύοντας, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόπῳ ὑπαντήσετε ἀλλήλοις ἀπλικοῦτε ἅμα καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν. διὸ οὐδὲ χρὴ πλεόν τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἢ εἴκοσι μιλίων χωρισμένους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας

they should arrive there by evening and, at the same time, set up camp in that place. As a result, the attack will be carried out safely and in their flight the enemy will unexpectedly fall over one another, unable to reassemble.

40. If there is one suitable road along which it is possible to enter into hostile territory, it is necessary to divide the army as follows. Half of it, even the larger part, should consist of light-armed, but powerful, troops under the command of the lieutenant general. With his own bandon, the one in which he is stationed, he should march in front of all the others, accompanied by all the officers of his units. At his first stop, he should, depending on the strength of his force, assign one or two banda, with some troops to pillage and others to protect them.

41. In the first region <you enter> it is a good idea not to detail many banda, even if that region happens to extend for some distance. With the army coming up behind them, they will have no time to get into formation to oppose the local forces. The lieutenant general up in front quickly moves along and, in like manner, passes through to the other parts of the region in succession. He should do this until the units entrusted to him are sufficient. The lieutenant general himself is located apart from everyone else and must have three or four banda, up to a thousand capable men, with him until the final outcome of the affair, that is, the attack, so that the rest may have alert patrols and security.

42. While these things are being done by the lieutenant general, it is necessary for you, O general, or whoever else you may have entrusted with the conduct of such an assault, to follow the troops taking their turn in pillaging, gather them together, and lead their advance toward the lieutenant general or the tourmarch. That one is to do the same, come up and assemble the pillaging parties. In whatever place you encounter one another, set up camp together that same day. You must not be more than fifteen or twenty miles apart when you

223 μὴδ' W μὴδὲ AVBE | δυνάμενοι W δυνάμενον AVBE 224 κατὰ W διὰ AVBE
225 διανεμηθῆναι W διαμερισθῆναι AVBE 226 ἐξπληκτον W ἐλαφρόν AVBE 227 καὶ
AVBE om. W | αὐτοῦ W αὐτοῦ βάνδου AVBE | βάνδου W om. AVBE 228 προηγῆσθαι
W προηγείσθαι AVBE 233 εἰ W om. AVBE | ἐπιφθάζοντος W ἐπιφθάζοντες AVBE
235 πρόσω W ἔμπροσθεν AVBE 236 ἐπαρκέσωσιν W ἐπαρκέσωσι AVBE
241 γινομένων AVBE γινομένου W 243 ἐπισυνάγῃ AVBE συνάγῃ W (ἐπὶ superscr.)
244 προκόπτῃς W πραιδεύῃς AVBE 245 τὸ...ποιεῖν W om. AVBE 246 ὑπαντήσετε W
ὑπαντήσῃται AVBE 247 πεντεκαίδεκα W δεκαπέντε AVBE | ποιεῖσθαι τὰς W εἰς AVBE

αἰφνιδίους ἐπελεύσεις, ἵνα φθάσετε ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὴν πραιδαν ποιεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἅμα ἀπλικοῦν.

250 43. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις | ἐπιδρομαῖς οὐ χρὴ τοὺς δυναμένους ἀντικα-
 ἰστασθαι ἐχθροὺς ζωγεῖν ἥτοι συλλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ
 χάνοντας τοιοῦτους διαχρῆσθαι καὶ παρέρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐμβραδύνειν
 τοὺς τὴν πάροδον μάλιστα ποιουμένους καὶ τὸν καιρὸν δαπανᾶσθαι.

255 44. Ἐὰν δὲ ποτε βουλευθῇς φρούριον ἥτοι κάστρον ἢ ἄκραν τινὰ παραλαβεῖν
 ἢ ἕτερον τόπον, μὴ πρόλεγε τῷ πλήθει ἄχρις ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος,
 ἐγχειρήσης τὸ ἔργον.

45. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη ποτὲ γένηται ὥστε ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν στρατιὰν
 πλησίον ὀχυρώματος πολεμίων ἢ ἀπλικοῦσαι ἢ πάροδον ποιῆσθαι, δεῖ σε ἕνα
 τῶν ἀρχόντων μετὰ ἐξπλήκτων ἀνδρῶν συστήσαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ ὀχυρώ-
 260 ματος ἵνα τὰς, ὡς εἰκός, αἰφνιδίας ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν ἐναντίων κωλύσῃ. τοῦτο δὲ
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς τόποις γίνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον.

46. Πλησίον δὲ ὀχυρώματος | ἐχθρῶν ἢ ὕλης μὴ ἐπιτηδεύης ἀπλικοῦν τὸν
 στρατόν. εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐκεῖσε ἀπλικοῦν, ἀκριβῶς τὰς παραφυλακάς ποιοῦ
 διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις. καὶ μᾶλλον σπούδαζε ἵνα ἡλωμένῃ καὶ ὑψηλο-
 265 τέρῳ τόπῳ καὶ ὀχυρωτέρῳ ἀπλικοῦσης.

47. Ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν γῆν εἰσέρχῃ, τὴν ἀποσκευὴν πᾶσαν ἥτοι τὸν
 τοῦλδον ὀπισθεν ἀκολουθεῖν ποιήσῃ. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ
 τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν τοῦλδον εἶναι παρασκευάσον.

48. Κεχωρισμένην δὲ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἀποσκευὴν
 270 καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐάν εἰσιν, μήποτε πολεμίων ἀθρόως ἐπιγινομένων τοῖς
 ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐμπόδισμα γένηται· μὴ μόνον δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τοῦτο φύλαττε,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἀπλικοῦης.

49. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πολεμίας γῆς τοὺς μινσουράτωρας ἀπροόπτως μὴ ἀποστέλ-
 λης προλαμβάνειν ἄνευ βοηθείας ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνον διὰ τῶν αἰχμα-
 275 λῶτων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἀσφαλῶς ἀνερεύνα τὴν τῶν τόπων ποιότητα.

50. Ὅταν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἀπλικοῦν μέλλῃ, μὴ ἀναμεμιγμένως καὶ ἀτάκτως
 ἐπερχέσθωσαν ἐν τῷ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀπλίκτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐχθροὶ ἐγγίξωσι καὶ
 συμπάρισιν πεζοὶ τῷ στρατῷ πρότερον τὰς ἀμάξας τιθέτωσαν, καὶ ἐν τάξει τὰ

248 αἰφνιδίους W om. AVBE | φθάσετε W φθάζητε AVBE 252 διαχρῆσθαι W φονεύειν
 AVBE 255 τοῦ τόπου De τοῦτό που codd. 259 ἐξπλήκτων W ἐλαφρῶν AVBE
 260 αἰφνιδίας PG αἰφνιδίους codd. | τῶν AVBE om. W | κωλύσῃ W κωλύωσιν AVBE
 266 τὸν De τὸ codd. 274 μόνον W πρῶτον AVBE 275 αὐτομόλων W προσφυγῶν
 AVBE 277 ἀλλ' AVBE ἀλλὰ W | ἐγγίξωσι PG ἐγγίξωσιν codd. 278 συμπάρισιν AVBE
 συμπάρισιν W

make these surprise attacks, so that both of you may arrive at the same time on
 the same day to engage in the pillaging and to set up camp.

43. In incursions of this sort it is not necessary to take prisoners from the
 units of the enemy able to stand up to you, or to capture them, but get rid of all
 those you happen to encounter, or pass by them, so you will not slow down for
 them and waste your time, especially when you are in transit.

44. If you want to occupy a fortress, a walled town, some height, or some
 other place, do not announce it to the troops until you have arrived at the site
 and then set about your task.

45. If, at some time, it should become absolutely necessary for your army to
 set up camp or to continue marching along close to a fortification of the enemy,
 then you must station one of your officers together with some light-armed
 troops by the gateways of their fortification to forestall any likely, sudden sallies
 of the enemy. You must follow the same procedure in narrow places.

46. Do not attempt to have your army camp near an enemy fortification or
 near a wooded area. If it is absolutely necessary to camp there, devote special
 attention to the guard posts to defend against enemy attacks. It is better to look
 for unobstructed, high, and defensible ground for a campsite.

47. When you enter hostile territory, have the equipment, that is, the bag-
 gage train, follow behind, but, as the enemy get closer, move it up into the
 middle of the army.

48. The baggage and the prisoners, if there are any, should be kept separated
 from the weapon-bearing soldiers so that, in case of a sudden enemy attack,
 they will not get in the way of the fighting men. Observe this not only on the
 march but also when you are in camp.

49. In hostile territory do not send out surveyors to go on ahead without due
 precautions and sufficient support. But from prisoners and deserters alone you
 may safely get information about the nature of the territory.

50. When the army is about to set up camp, it should not march into the
 fortified enclosure in disorder with its ranks mixed up. If the enemy are drawing
 near, however, and there are infantry in the army, first park the wagons, then

ὀρύγματα ποιείτωσαν πρεπόντως τοῦ τάφρου. οἱ δὲ ἑξπληκτοὶ ἤγουν οἱ εὐπλή-
 280 κτως ἄνευ βάρους, περιπατοῦντες πάντες ἀπὸ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἔτοιμοι
 στηκέτωσαν, καὶ τότε τὴν ἀποσκευὴν κατὰ τάξιν εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ ἀπλκεύειν. καὶ
 ὅταν ἀπολύσης καὶ τὰς βίγλας, τότε εἰσερχέσθωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ὀπλίται κατὰ
 τάξιν καὶ ἀπλκευέτωσαν, καθὼς σοι καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀπλίκτων λόγῳ διαταξά-
 μεθα. ἐὰν δὲ πλησίον μὴ εἰσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, ἀρκεῖ καὶ δι' ἐνὸς δροῦγγου τοῦτο
 285 γίνεσθαι τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνων ἱσταμέ[νων] τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπλκεύειν.

51. Ἐχθρῶν δὲ ἐγγιζόντων καὶ σύστασιν ποιούντων, ἢ ὀχυρωμάτων πλησίον
 ἢ ὕλης ἢ τόπου δυσχεροῦς, μὴ ἀφίης ὡς ἔτυχεν τινὰς βόσκειν τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὰς βίγλας ἀσφαλῶς πέμπε, καὶ ἔχε μὲν τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τῷ χάρακι. σπουδά-
 εἰν δὲ ὥστε ἀπὸ χειρῶν συνάγειν ἐκ τῶν εὐρίσκομένων καρπῶν ἐν τοῖς πλησίον
 290 χωρίοις, τοῦ τε χόρτου καὶ τῶν κριθῶν τὴν συλλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως, ὥστε
 μετὰ τῶν παλλικαρίων τοῦ τούλδου εὐπληκτοὶ ἀπὸ ἐκάστου μέρους συνέρχον-
 ται ὀπλισμένοι στρατιῶται ἐν τάξει περιπατοῦντες διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν ἐπελεύσεις.

52. Ἐὰν δὲ χρόνισης τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ τόπος
 295 ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀποτροφάς, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡ δύναμις ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, τότε
 δυνατόν ἐστι βόσκεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους βίγλας διπλῆς καὶ τριπλῆς πολλακίς |
 πεμπομένης | ἀπὸ πολλῶν διαστημάτων καὶ ταύτης συχνῶς ἀλλασσομένης.

53. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπὶ πραιδαν τάξης, οὗτοι μόνοι ἐξερχέσθωσαν. εἰ δέ τινες
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιμιχθῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ αὐθεντία ποιήσεις γενέσθαι διαλαλίαν,
 300 ὥστε μηδένα ἕτερον πλὴν τῶν ὀρισμένων ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πραιδαν. καὶ τότε
 μετὰ τὸ μανδάτον τοὺς παρακούοντας συνέχεσθαι καὶ παραπέμπεσθαι τοῖς
 ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ἄρχουσιν εἰς τὸ σωφρονίζεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ οἱ λοιποὶ λαμβάνοντες
 ἄδειαν, καὶ εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐκτρέχοντες, γυμνώσωσί σε ἀπὸ στρατοῦ καὶ κινδυνεύ-
 σῃ ὅλος ὁ λαός.

297 ad ἀπὸ de novo inc. M

279 τοῦ τάφρου W τῆς σούδας AVBE | ἑξπληκτοὶ ἤγουν W ἐλαφροὶ AVBE
 279-280 εὐπλήκτως W om. AVBE 282 βίγλας De βουλὰς codd. 284 οἱ AVBE om. W
 286 ὀχυρωμάτων W ὀχυρωμάτων ὄντων AVBE 291 παλλικαρίων W ὑπηρετῶν AVBE
 291-292 εὐπληκτοὶ (-ως)...στρατιῶται W στρατιῶται ἐλαφροὶ ὀπλισμένοι ἀπὸ ἐκάστου
 μέρους συνέρχονται AVBE 291 εὐπληκτοὶ De εὐπλήκτως codd. 294 ἐστι AVBE ἐστὶν W
 295 ἔστι AVBE ἐστὶν W 297 ταύτης MW ταύταις AVBE | ἀλλασσομένης MW
 ἀλλασσομέναις AVBE 299 ἰδίᾳ...διαλαλίαν MW διαλαλήσεις AVBE 301 τὸ μανδάτον
 MW τὴν παραγγελίαν AVBE | συνέχεσθαι MW συλλαμβάνεσθαι AVBE 303 γυμνώσωσι
 MAVBE γυμνώσωσιν W

have the men dig the trench in the prescribed manner. All the light-armed
 troops, that is, those marching quickly without heavy weapons, are to be
 stationed in readiness a short distance away. The baggage train then enters in
 good order and takes its place in camp. When you send out the patrols, the
 hoplites can then enter in formation and set up camp, as we have explained to
 you in the chapter about camps. But if the enemy are not in the vicinity, it is
 enough to follow this procedure with a single droungos, so that, while they
 stand in position, the rest can pitch camp.

51. But if the enemy are approaching, in close formation, or <we> are near a
 fortified spot or a wooded area or difficult terrain, do not send anyone out to
 graze the horses but keep them inside the camp. But it is safe to send out
 scouting parties. Make sure to gather whatever is at hand from the produce
 found in nearby villages and gather hay and barley as well. In case of sudden
 attacks by the enemy, though, the boys in the baggage train should be
 accompanied by light-armed troops from each meros, marching in formation.

52. But if you spend some time in the place, and the time as well as the
 location seem suitable for foraging, assuming that the enemy forces are a good
 distance away, then the horses may be allowed to graze. Double, even triple,
 patrols should be sent frequently to a considerable distance and relieved at
 regular intervals.

53. If you detail certain men to pillage, only they are to go out. But to pre-
 vent other soldiers from mixing in with them on their own authority, issue
 orders that nobody, other than those assigned, should go out to pillage. After
 that order has been given, any transgressors should be detained and sent off to
 their own commanding officers for punishment. This is to prevent the rest from
 taking leave to go out pillaging and leaving you without an army, and placing all
 the troops in danger.

305 54. Ἀκρίβειαν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἔχε, ἵνα ἐὰν τύχη καὶ εὐρεθῇ ἡ οἶνος ἢ ἄρτος, μὴ τρώγειν αὐτὸν καὶ πίνειν προχείρως πείρας, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον διὰ τοῦ αἰχμαλώτων δοκιμάσης αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτως εὐρίσκων ἀπαθὴ καὶ ὑγιή, τότε ποιήσεις χρῆσασθαι αὐτὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς φρέασιν ὕδωρ ἢ κινστέρναις ἢ λάκκοις ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις. πολλάκις γὰρ διὰ φαρμάκων ἀφανίζονται καὶ θανατηφόρα γίνεται. εὐρέθησαν γάρ ποτε καὶ κριθαὶ οὕτως φαρμακευθεῖσαι καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἀποτροφήν, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς παραλαβεῖν τροφήν, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι διὰ τοῦτο ἵπποι ἀπώλοντο.

315 55. Παραγγείλης δὲ τῷ στρατῷ, καθὼς ἐν τῷ περὶ ὁδοιπορίας ἡμῖν εἴρηται λόγῳ, ἵνα ἐὰν ὡς πολλάκις γένηται ταραχὴ εἰς τὸν λαόν, μὴ ἀλλαχοῦ ὦδε καὶ ἐκεῖσε τρέχειν αὐτοὺς καὶ περιφύρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ ὁρμᾶν πάντας ὅπου ἡ ταραχὴ γέγονεν· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτοιμοι γίνονται καί, ἐὰν τι τοιοῦτον συμβῇ, καὶ οὐ συμφύρονται εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐ συγχέονται.

320 56. Τὰς δὲ βίγλας ἡνίκα εἰσβάλλεις εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν γῆν, μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μέρος ἀποστέλλης πάντοτε, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀσφαλίζης, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ὀπισθεν εὐπλήκτους καὶ εὐόπλους στρατιώτας ἡγουν ἱκανὴν δύναμιν μετὰ χρησίμου ἄρχοντος παράτασσε, τοὺς λεγομένους νωτοφύλακας, ὡς ἀπὸ ἑ' μυλίων ἢ ἑ', ἢ ὅσον οἶδας διάστημα, μετὰ βίγλας ἀκριβοῦς διὰ τούτου, ὡς εἰκός, ὑστερίζοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἢ δι' ἀρρωστίαν ἢ κατὰ ἑτέραν τινὰ

325 57. χρεῖαν, ὅπως μὴ αἰφνιδίως οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐπιπεσόντες συλλάβωνται αὐτούς. Εἰώθασι γὰρ τότε μάλιστα ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὅτε καὶ ἀμε|ρίμνως ὁδεύουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τοῖς ὀπισθεν εὐκόλως βοηθεῖν οὐ δύνανται. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ ἐὰν ποιήσης, οὐκ ἀπρεπές ἐστι διὰ τούτου, ὡς εἰκός, ῥεμβομένους ὦδε κάκεισε στρατιώτας, καὶ μὴ καλῶς

309–313 Ioan. de Nikiou Chron., 96.

308 χρῆσασθαι MW ἐσθίειν AVBE | ἢ MW ἢ ἐν ταῖς AVBE 309 ἢ¹ MW ἢ ἐν AVBE 309–310 ἀφανίζονται καὶ MW om. AVBE 310 γίνεται MW γίνονται AVBE 310–311 φαρμακευθεῖσαι MAVBE φαρκευθεῖσαι W 312 παραλαβεῖν PG παραβαλεῖν codd. 316 ἐκεῖσε MW ἐκεῖ AVBE 317 πολεμίους MW πολέμους AVBE 318 οὐ¹ MW om. AVBE 320 πάντοτε MW πάντοθεν AVBE 321 κατὰ...νώτου MW om. AVBE | εὐπλήκτους MW ἐλαφροὺς AVBE 321–322 ἡγουν...δύναμιν MW ἱκανοὺς AVBE 322 παράτασσε MW om. AVBE 323 ἑ' M δέκα WAVBE | ἑ' M δεκαπέντε WAVBE 324 ὑστερίζοντας De ὑποστηρίζοντας M ὑποσκάζοντας W παραπομένοντας AVBE 325 μὴ AVBE om. MW | συλλάβωνται MW κρατήσωσιν AVBE 326 ποιεῖσθαι... ἐγχειρήσεις MAVBE trsp. W 329 ἐστι M ἐστίν WAVBE

54. Be very exacting and cautious. If any wine or bread happens to be found there, do not readily attempt to drink or eat it unless you first test it by giving it to prisoners. If it is found to be uncontaminated and healthy, then you will permit the soldiers to consume it, but water from wells or cisterns or ponds or in any other containers will often have been ruined and rendered lethal by poison. On one occasion even the barley was found to be poisoned and, since the soldiers did not have other access to fodder for their horses, they were forced to provide them with the local fodder and, because of this not a few of the horses perished.⁶

55. Announce to the army, as we have prescribed in the treatise on marches, that if, as often happens, there is a disturbance among the troops, they should not race about here and there and wander around, but all should hurry to that section in which the disturbance occurred. As a result, if something of that sort actually happens, they will be prepared for the enemy and will not get confused and all mixed up with one another.

56. When you enter into hostile territory, you should always send out patrols not only to the front as if protecting that sector alone, but also station lightly but well armed soldiers, that is, a fairly strong force under a competent officer, behind, to the rear. This is called a rear guard and should be about ten or fifteen miles away, or as far as you want. It should send out alert patrols on account of stragglers from the army, who fall behind because of illness or some other need, lest the enemy suddenly fall upon them and take them captive.

57. The enemy are accustomed to launch such attacks particularly when the soldiers are marching along carelessly and the men in front cannot easily come to the support of those behind them. Keep in mind that, if you march along like this, even in our own country, it is quite likely that your soldiers will be wander-

6. *Chronique de Jean de Nikiou*, ed. and trans. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1883), c. 96, p. 408.

330 διαγινομένους παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ γινώσκεις τίς ἀμελεῖ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταστάσεως.

58. Περὶ δὲ στενῶν τόπων καὶ δυσβάτων διαβάσεων ἐν γῇ πολεμίων μεμνήμεθα παρακελευσάμενοι τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι, ὃ στρατηγέ, ὅτε τὴν περὶ τῆς ὁδοπορίας διάταξιν ἐποιούμεθα. διὸ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν διεξελθεῖν ἀπειρόκαλον
335 ἡγούμεθα, ὡς ἐκείθεν ἔχοντός σου ἤδη τὴν περὶ τούτων διάγνωσιν, ὥστε μὴ ἀπερискέπτως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀνάγκης χωρὶς ἐπιτηδεύειν εἰς δασεῖς καὶ δυσβάτους καὶ δυσχερεῖς τόπους διαβαίνειν. εἰ δέ τις ἀνάγκη τοῦτο γενέσθαι κατεπείγει μετὰ τῆς εἰρημένης, ὡς εἶπομεν ἐν τῇ περὶ ὁδοπορίας διατάξει, παρατηρήσας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν τοιούτων τόπων πάροδον, μάλιστα ἐν γῇ πολεμία καὶ
340 πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων.

59. Ἐὰν δὲ πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν εἰσβάλλωσιν, σκοπός σοι ἔστω, ὢ στρατηγέ, μὴ φανερώς καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ αὐτῶν, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ ἧ καὶ ἰσόμοιρός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐνεδρεύειν μᾶλλον δι' ἐγκρυμμάτων καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεύσεων ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἐν
345 νυκτὶ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐμφράσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ὄχυράματα ἢ διὰ πεζῶν ἢ διὰ καβαλλαρίων ἢ δι' ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ ἀφανίζειν δαπάνας προκειμένας τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

60. Εἰ δὲ βουληθῇς συμβαλεῖν τῷ πολεμίῳ ὅταν μᾶλλον ἐπανέρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς πραιίδας ἢ ἐξέρχεται τῆς χώρας—τότε γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὴν πραιίδα περισπᾶται
350 καὶ κοπωμένος ἐστίν, μάλιστα ἐὰν καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγγίξῃ—τότε οὖν σύμβαλλε αὐτῷ, εἰ ἄρα βούλει συμβάλλειν.

61. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ διάγων, ἀμελέστερον διάκειται περὶ τὴν μάχην, πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχων τοῦ σώζεσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν οὐ βουλόμενος. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς ἐπιβαίνων καὶ κατατρέχων, ὅταν ἐν τοιαύτῃ γένηται ἀνάγκῃ, εἰς
355 ἀπόνοιαν τρέπεται, πάντως λογιζόμενος ὅτι ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ εἰς κίνδυνον καὶ ἀπώλειαν γίνεται.

348–351 Niceph. *De velit. belli*, 4.

330 αὐτῶν MW αὐτοῦ AVBE 332 διαβάσεων M διαβάσεως WAVBE 333 ὅτε τὴν MW ὅταν AVBE 333–334 ὁδοπορίας MW ὁδοπορίας τὴν AVBE 334 ἀπειρόκαλον MW ἄκαιρον AVBE 337 καὶ δυσχερεῖς MW om. AVBE 338 ὡς... διατάζει MW om. AVBE 339 τόπων WAVBE τρόπων M 343 ἰσόμοιρός M ἰσόμετρος WAVBE 346–347 δαπάνας προκειμένας MW τὰς προκειμένας δαπάνας AVBE 347 τῶν ἐχθρῶν M τῷ ἐχθρῷ WAVBE 348 ὅταν MW ὅτε AVBE | ἐπανέρχεται M ἐπανέρχεται W ὑποστρέφει AVBE 349 ἐξέρχεται M ἐξέρχεται WAVBE | καὶ MW om. AVBE 350 κοπωμένος M κεκοπωμένος WAVBE 351 συμβάλλειν MAVBE συμβαλεῖν W

ing about here and there, acting in a disorderly fashion and ignoring their commanding officers. And so, you will be able to identify anyone who disregards military regulations.

58. We recall that we have already issued orders to Your Excellency, O general, regarding the passage of narrow and difficult places while in hostile territory, when we compiled the constitution on marching.⁷ Since that work has already made you cognizant of those matters, we believe it would be foolish to go over the same ground once again. Apart from an emergency, then, do not embark on the passage of thickly wooded, rugged, and difficult areas in a casual manner and without due investigation. But if some emergency forces you to do this, then, as we said in the chapter on marches, observe the precautions we noted and make your way through those places. This is of particular importance in hostile territory with the enemy on the offensive.

59. If the enemy should make an incursion into our country, then, O general, do not plan to fight them out in the open or in battle formation, especially as they enter the country. If the enemy force is superior to ours or even equal, it is better to ambush them by ambuscades and other stratagems safely by day or by night, or fortify the roads, or have infantry or cavalry or both occupy fortified places ahead of time. Also destroy provisions available to the enemy.

60. If you wish to fall upon the enemy when they are returning from a pillaging expedition or making their way out of the country, fall upon them at that time, if indeed you do wish to attack. For it is then that the enemy is scattered about pillaging and is weary from exertion, especially when getting close to their own country.⁸

61. A person spending time in his own country is not concerned about battle, since he has many opportunities to assure his safety and does not want to put himself in danger. But when a person entering and marching through a foreign land finds himself facing an emergency, he gives in to despair for he feels certain that flight will only end in danger and destruction.

7. Const. 9.

8. Skirmishing, 4.

62. Χρεὼν δέ σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, πάντοτε φυλάττειν ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀπλή-
 γωτον ἐν | παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ, μάλιστα ἐχθρῶν παρακειμένων. σοῦ γὰρ
 φυλαττομένου οὔτε πλατύνονται οἱ ἐχθροὶ εἰς βλάβην τῆς χώρας οὔτε πολιορ-
 360 κίας εὐχερῶς τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐπάγειν δύνανται. ὑφορῶνται γὰρ καὶ ὑποπτεύ-
 ονσι τὸν στρατὸν συνεστάναι.

63. Καὶ γὰρ εἴγε μὴ δοκεῖ σοι συμβάλλειν δημοσίως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὅμως
 οὕτως εὐτρεπίεσθαι σε δεῖ, καὶ φαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπόνοιαν πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ
 παρέχειν, ὥς πάντως συμβάλλειν τοῖς πολεμίοις. τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ ἐναντίοι μαν-
 365 θάνοντες καὶ λυποῦνται καὶ συστέλλονται.

64. Ἐὰν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰσβαλλόντων, ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ
 θέσις τῆς χώρας ἐπιτηδεῖα ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἔφοδον, δι' ἑτέρου τόπου
 μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδευε πέμπειν στρατὸν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦτου περισπάσῃ τοὺς
 ἐχθρούς.

65. Πάντως δὲ καὶ τὴν θέσιν, ὥς εἴρηται, κατανοήσεις, καὶ τὰ διαστήματα,
 ἵνα εἴπῃ γνωσθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦτο, καὶ ὀρμήσωσι κατὰ τῶν πεμπομένων εἰς
 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατὸς δι' ἑτέρου τόπου ἐξέλθῃ ἀπαθῆς, ὅπως
 μὴ ὀρμώντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῶν περιπέσωσιν. τοιοῦτον
 πεποίηκε Νικηφόρος ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγός, Ἀπουλφῆρου γὰρ τοῦ τῶν Σαρα-
 375 κηνῶν ἀμηρᾶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καταδραμόντος, αὐτὸς τὴν Ταρσὸν καὶ πᾶσαν
 τὴν Κιλικίαν κατεληΐσατο, πολλὴν Σαρακηνοῖς ἐργασάμενος τὴν βλάβην.

66. Ἐχθρῶν τοίνυν τὴν ὑπὸ σε χώραν, εἰ οὕτω συμβῇ, κατατρεχόντων, δέον
 ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαιότερα πράγματα ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρωτέροις κάστροις ἢ τόποις
 ἀναλώτοις συλλέγειν, φυγαδεύειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα τῆς χώρας ἵνα μὴ μᾶλλον
 380 συλλαμβανόμενα ἰσχυροτέρους τοὺς ἐχθρούς ποιήσωσιν.

67. Ἐὰν δὲ ἡ λαὸς ἢ πράγματα εἰς δοκοῦντα μὲν ὀχυρὸν τόπον, μὴ ὄντα δὲ
 ἀληθῶς, συνέλθωσιν, πάντως δεῖ αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας μεθίστασθαι, καὶ

370-376 Cf. α'. 152-154; Niceph. *De velit. belli*, 20.

360-361 ὑποπτεύουσι M ὑποπτεύουσιν WAVBE 361 τὸν... συνεστάναι MW συνίστασθαι
 τὸν στρατὸν AVBE 362 εἴγε MW εἰ AVBE | δημοσίως WAVBE δημοσίω M
 364 συμβάλλειν M συμβαλεῖς WAVBE | πολεμίοις MW ἐχθροῖς AVBE 367 ἐστὶ MAVBE
 ἐστὶν W | ἐκείνων AVBE om. MW 370 θέσιν MW θέσιν τοῦ τόπου AVBE
 371 ὀρμήσωσι M ὀρμήσωσιν W ὀρμήσουσι AVBE 372 αὐτῶν MW om. AVBE 373 ὄψιν
 MW πρόσωπον AVBE | περιπέσωσιν MW περιπέσης AVBE 374 ἀπουλφῆρου M ἀπουλφῆρ
 W ἀπελφῆρου AVBE 376 κατεληΐσατο M κατεληΐζετο W ἠφάνισεν AVBE 377 εἰ...
 συμβῇ MW om. AVBE 378 ἐστὶ MW ἐστὶν AVBE 379 συλλέγειν MW συνάγειν AVBE
 381 δοκοῦντα...τόπον MW τόπον συνέλθωσιν δοκοῦντα μὲν εἶναι ὀχυρὰ AVBE
 382 συνέλθωσιν MW om. AVBE

62. It is necessary for you, O general, to preserve yourself unharmed and
 unwounded in every time and place, especially when the enemy are in the
 vicinity. As long as you keep yourself protected, the enemy will not spread out to
 damage the country; neither will they be able to conduct a siege of a fortified
 space easily. For they will be suspicious and inclined to believe that your army is
 standing by.

63. If you do not intend to engage the enemy in the open field, you must
 nonetheless make preparations for doing so and give all the men in your army
 the impression and expectation that you are definitely going to attack the enemy.
 When our adversaries learn about this, they will be gloomy and depressed.

64. If the enemy are invading our country and the location and lay of the
 land are suitable for them to attack, then, prepare to send your army through
 another place in the country in order to split up the enemy.

65. You should always, as noted, pay heed to the lay of the land and the
 distances so that, if these are known to the enemy, they will direct their attack
 against the forces being sent into their country. Then, our army should exit
 unharmed by another route so that, while the enemy are advancing, we may not
 run into them head on in that place. Our general, Nikephoros, once did this sort
 of thing. While Abulfer, the emir of the Saracens, was raiding throughout
 Cappadocia, he set about pillaging Tarsus and all of Cilicia, causing a great deal
 of damage to the Saracens.⁹

66. If it should happen that the enemy are raiding through the land under
 your authority, you must gather all essential materials in the stronger walled
 towns or in places difficult to capture and send away the local horses to prevent
 the enemy from seizing them and increasing in strength.

67. If the troops or materials are gathered in what seems to be a fortified
 location, but is not actually so, then you absolutely must have the foresight to

9. Skirmishing, 20. Nikephoros Phokas the Elder, grandfather of emperor Nikephoros II,
 led this campaign in Calabria, in 900. The identity of the Saracen emir is less certain; it may
 have been Abu Gafar. See J. C. Cheynet, "Les Phocas," in *La traité sur la guérilla (De
 velitatione) de l'Empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963-969)* (Paris, 1986), 293-296. See above,
 Const. 11 §21.

εἰς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀπελθεῖν τόπους, ἔνθα καὶ ἄφοβος αὐτοῖς ἡ φυλακὴ γενήσεται.
 385 ὅσα δὲ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ὀχυρά εἰσιν ἢ κάστρα ἢ τόποι ἕτεροι, προασφαλίζου αὐτά.
 καὶ εἴ ποτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ βουλευθῶσι παρακαθίσαι αὐτοῖς, μέρος τῆς στρατιάς
 ἀφανῶς καὶ εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἔκπεμπε, καὶ μὴ ἔας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 ἀδεῶς τὰς ἔξωθεν δαπάνας συλλέγειν, ἀλλὰ περισκόπει καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ συλλογῇ
 τῶν δαπανημάτων πεμπομένους ἐνέδρευε | καὶ συλλάμβανε, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν
 στενοχῶρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς.

390 68. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐφόδων σοῦ τε πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων
 πρὸς τὴν σὴν γινομένων εἴρηται ἡμῖν. χρεῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα
 χρήσιμα πρὸς στρατηγίαν δοκοῦσι καὶ ἀσφάλειαν διεξελθεῖν καὶ μάλιστα περὶ
 τοῦ πῶς δεῖν κατασκοπεῖν ἐχθροὺς, καὶ ὅπως πάλιν τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνων πεμπο-
 μένους κατασκόπους κρατεῖν λανθάνειν θέλοντας ἐν τῷ στρατῷ.

395 69. Δεῖ οὖν σε σκοπεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ὦ στρατηγέ, τὴν ποιότητα τῆς τῶν ἐναντί-
 ων δυνάμεως πάντως, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο κανονίζειν καὶ διοικεῖν σε τὰ κατ' αὐτῆς.
 τὰ γὰρ σχήματα τῶν καβαλλαρικῶν τε καὶ πεζικῶν τάξεων, καὶ αἱ τῶν τόπων
 θέσεις πολλὴν τῆς ποσότητος τοῦ λαοῦ διαφορὰν ποιοῦνται, καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον
 εἰσάγουσιν πλάνην τοῖς ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀπειρώς κατανοοῦσιν αὐτά. καὶ ὅτι ὁ λέγων
 400 ἀληθὲς ἐστίν, μαρτυρήσει τάχα τῇ θεωρίᾳ ὁ μέλλων λεχθῆναι τρόπος.

70. Ὑπόθου γὰρ ἑξακοσίους καβαλλάριους εἰς μῆκος ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις εἰς
 πλάτος τάσσεσθαι, ὃ γίνεται τριάκοντα μυριάδες ἤγουν τριακόσiai χιλιάδες
 καβαλλαρίων. ἐκάστου δὲ ἵππου εἰς τόπον τασσομένου κρατοῦντος πόδας τρεῖς
 κατὰ πλάτος, γίνονται πόδες χίλιοι ὀκτακόσιοι· καὶ ἐκάστου ἵππου ἐν τῷ βάθει
 405 τασσομένου κρατοῦντος πόδας ὀκτώ, γίνονται πόδες τετρακισχίλιοι, ὥστε
 γίνεσθαι ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ σχήματι ὑπὸ τοῦ μήκους τῶν χιλίων ὀκτακοσίων, καὶ
 τοῦ βάθους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων ποδῶν, ἑπτακοσίας εἴκοσι μυριάδας πόδας
 στερεοῦς. ἡ δὲ περίμετρος μόνης ἐπιφανείας ἔξωθεν διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων πλευρῶν
 γίνονται πόδες μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἕξ πόδες ποιοῦσιν

transfer them and send them off to a stronger place, where they may be protect-
 ed and without fear. You must see to the security of the walled towns or other
 places that are not naturally strong. If, at some time, the enemy should wish to
 besiege them, send a part of the army covertly to support and protect them. Do
 not allow the enemy license to gather provisions outside, but carefully observe
 and ambush those who are sent to collect provisions and seize them. This will
 reduce the enemy to narrow straits.

68. This is what we have to say about your incursions into hostile territory
 and those of the enemy into yours. We must now center our discussion on other
 matters that seem useful for strategy and security, in particular, about how one
 should spy upon the enemy and, in turn, how to catch the spies sent by them
 who attempt to hide in our army.

69. You must always investigate in detail, O general, the quality of the force
 of our adversaries. You are to take appropriate steps and organize measures to
 counter it. The arrangement of cavalry and infantry formations and the lay of
 the land cause great differences in the strength of an army. An inexperienced
 person casually looking at them may be very far off in his estimates. To show the
 truth of my remarks, the examples to be given here will readily bear witness to
 the theory.

70. Assume a cavalry formation of six hundred across and five hundred
 deep. That comes to thirty myriads, that is, three hundred thousand cavalrymen.
 Each horse in the formation occupies a space three feet wide so the total width
 is eighteen hundred feet. In depth of formation each horse occupies a space of
 eight feet, so the total depth is four thousand feet. The rectangular formation
 thus formed is eighteen hundred feet in width and four thousand feet in depth,
 that is, seven thousand and twenty myriads of standard feet. The perimeter of
 what can be seen externally on the four sides amounts to eleven thousand, six
 hundred feet. Since six feet come to one orguia and a hundred orguias come to

385 βουλευθῶσι MAVBE βουλευθῶσιν W | αὐτοῖς MW αὐτὰ AVBE 386 καὶ...βοήθειαν
 MW εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῶν AVBE | αὐτῶν MW om. AVBE 387 ἀδεῶς MW ἀφόβως AVBE |
 συλλέγειν MW συνάγειν AVBE | περισκόπει MAVBE σκόπει W 390 titulum ins. περὶ
 κατασκόπων WVBE 391 idem ins. A | χρεῶν M χρεὼν W χρῆ AVBE | ἄλλων MW ἄλλων
 διεξελθεῖν AVBE 392 δοκοῦσι...διεξελθεῖν MW καὶ ἀσφάλειαν δοκοῦσιν AVBE
 393 κατασκοπεῖν MW κατασκοπεῖν τοὺς AVBE 398 ποιοῦνται MW ποιεῖται AVBE
 399 εἰσάγουσιν πλάνην M προσάγουσι πλάνην W καὶ πολλὴν πλάνην ἐμποιοῦσιν AVBE
 408 στερεοῦς MW om. AVBE | μόνης ἐπιφανείας M τῆς ἐπιφανείας μόνης W μόνης τῆς
 ἐπιφανείας AVBE 409 καὶ MW om. AVBE | δὲ MW om. AVBE

410 ὀργυιὰν μίαν, αἱ δὲ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαί ποιοῦσι στάδιον ἓν, τὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἡμισυ
στάδια ποιοῦσι μίλιον ἓν, συνάγεται ἡ περίμετρος πᾶσα, ἥτοι οἱ μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι
καὶ ἑξακόσιοι πόδες εἰς μίλια δύο ἡμισυ δέκατον ἔγγιστα. ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ
διαστήματι καὶ σχήματι χωροῦνται αἱ τριάκοντα μυριάδες τῶν καβαλλαρίων
κατὰ τελείαν πύκνωσιν. εἰ δὲ ἀραιότεροι ἴστανται, ἐκ τῆς πυκνώσεως ἐπιλογί-
415 εσθαι δεῖ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἀραιότητα, καὶ οὕτω συμβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ
τόπου τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ λαοῦ.

71. Τάξομεν δὲ τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἡγουν τὰς τριακοσίας | χιλιάδας ἐπὶ
ἀπλῆς ἀκίας καὶ ἐκτεταμένης. ἐκάστου δὲ ἵππου εἰς μῆκος τασσομένου τῆς
παρατάξεως κρατοῦντος, ὡς εἴρηται, πόδας τρεῖς, γίνονται πόδες μυριάδες
420 ἐνενήκοντα, οἱ ποιοῦσι διάστημα ἐπ' εὐθείας μίλια διακόσια ἔγγιστα. ταῦτα μὲν,
ὡς εἴρηται, κατὰ τελείαν πύκνωσιν. εἰ δὲ διεσκεδασμένοι καὶ ἐσκορπισμένοι
κινουῦνται, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν ὅτι πολλαπλασίονα τοῦ μέτρου τούτου κατ-
έχουσι τόπον καὶ πλείονες τῶν ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐσώτων τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ὑποπίπτουσιν,
εἰ δὲ ἐν πλαγίῳ τόπῳ καὶ ὑψηλοτέρῳ περιπατοῦσιν, ἔτι πλέον.

425 72. Διὸ καὶ οἱ βουλούμενοι στρατὸν διὰ κόμπον τινὰ ὑποδείξει, ἢ ἐπὶ λεπτο-
τέρου βάθους τάσσουσιν αὐτὸν ἢ κεχυμένον μηκόθεν ἢ διεσκεδασμένον καὶ
δισπαρμένον. οἱ δὲ παλαιότεροι τῶν τακτικῶν τὴν πεζικὴν τάξιν, ὅταν μὲν ἐστὶ
τεταγμένη, τέσσαρας πῆχεις ἰστώσι τὸν ἓνα ἄνδρα κατέχειν. ὅταν δὲ ἐστὶ
πεπυκνωμένη, εἰς δύο πῆχεις· ὅταν δὲ κατὰ συνασπισμὸν ἐν παρατάξει πῆχυν
430 ἓνα κατέχειν τὸν στρατιώτην, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ μέτρου τὸν ἀκριβῆ σκουλ-
κάτορα ἀναλογίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μήκους τοῦ τόπου οὐ μόνον τῶν καβαλλαρίων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζῶν τὸ πλῆθος.

73. Τοσαύτης τοίνυν διαφορᾶς οὔσης εἰς τε τὰ τάξεις καὶ εἰς τὰ σχήματα,
οὐ δέον σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, εἰς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπους τὰς σκούκας
435 ἦτοι τὰς διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν σῶν διακρίσεις καταπιστεύειν ἢ τὰς περὶ
τούτων βίγλας, μηδὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔτυχεν, λεγομένοις πιστεύειν. ἀνείκα-
στον γάρ ἐστιν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀκατανόητον, εἶγε ὑπὲρ τὰς εἴκοσι ἢ τριάκοντα

419 ad κρατοῦντος des. W

410 ὀργυιὰν A ὀργυὰν MWVBE | ὀργυιαί AVBE ὀργυαὶ MW 412 καὶ MW om. AVBE
414 τελείαν πύκνωσιν MW trsp. AVBE 415 οὕτω MW οὕτως AVBE 426 κεχυμένον M
συγκεχυμένον AVBE | διεσκεδασμένον M διεσκορπισμένον AVBE 430-431 σκουλκάτορα
M βιγλάτωρα AVBE 431 τοῦ¹ M τοῦ αὐτοῦ AVBE 432 καὶ M καὶ τῶν AVBE
434 ἀπείρους M ἀπείροις AVBE | ἀνθρώπους M ἀνθρώποις AVBE 434-436 σκούκας...
βίγλας M βίγλας καταπιστεύειν AVBE 436 ἔτυχεν M ἔτυχε AVBE | πιστεύειν M om.
AVBE 437 εἶγε M εἶτε AVBE

one stadion and seven and a half stadia come to one mile, the entire perimeter,
that is, eleven thousand, six hundred feet, equals, in miles, two and a half and
very close to a tenth. Within this distance and formation thirty myriads of
cavalrymen are accommodated in very close order. If they are spaced further
apart, you must reckon the extent of their open order from their close order
formation, and so from the extent of the location you estimate the number of
troops.

71. We shall draw up the thirty myriads, that is, the three hundred thousand,
in a simple, extended file, with each horse taking its position in the battle line to
a width, as was noted, of three feet. This comes to ninety myriads of feet, which
amounts to a distance in a straight line of close to two hundred miles. This is
valid, as noted, when they are in very close order. But if they march in open
order and spread about, we must admit that they will occupy a much greater
space than this and, to the observer, will appear more numerous than if they
were standing in regular formation. All the more so if they are marching on
sloping or hilly ground.

72. As a result, if you want to make your army appear more impressive,
either have it drawn up in a very thin line or stay at a distance in loose order or
scattered or spread about. The ancient tactical authorities position the infantry
army, when it is in formation, with each man occupying four pecheis, but in
close order two pecheis and, when it is drawn up shield to shield, a soldier takes
up only one pechys. Using this measure, an alert scout can estimate from the
width of the place not only the number of cavalrymen but also that of the
infantry.

73. Since, therefore, there are such great differences in formations and
organization, you must not, O general, entrust the scouting to men inexperi-
enced in these matters. Neither should you place confidence in the judgments
formed by your spies or the patrols about these matters or have confidence in
casual reports from them. Most people are incapable of forming a good estimate
if an army numbers more than twenty or thirty thousand men, especially if they

χιλιάδας ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἔθνων, οἵτινες πολλοὺς ἵππους ἐπισύρονται διόπερ ἐμπείροις ἀνδράσι τὰ τοιαῦτα χρή καταπιστεῦναι.

440 74. Μηδὲ προχείρως ἀγωνιᾶν ἐπὶ ταῖς λεπταῖς καὶ μακραῖς παρατάξεσι διὰ πλήθους ὑπόνοιαν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ εἰσιν ἀναλόγως ἔχουσαι τὸ βάθος μέγα, ποσὸν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. τὰς δὲ βαθείας πολυπραγμονεῖτωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, εἰ τὸν τοῦλ δὸν συντέτακται τῇ παρατάξει ὀπισθεν ἢ μόνοι ὀπλιταὶ εἰσιν.

75. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ποσοῦ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀκριβέστερον γινώσκεσθαι διὰ 445 τε τῶν προσφευγόντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ διὰ τῶν κρατουμένων ἐχθρῶν, εἰ βούληται δέ τις καὶ διὰ παρόδου στενωτέρων τόπων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀπλήκτων, ἐν συμβῇ αὐτοὺς ἡνωμένως ἀπλικεύειν.

76. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐστὶν φοσσάτον ἐχθρῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς στενωτέροις τόποις δι' 450 ὀλίγων κατὰ τὰς τῶν τόπων θέσεις ποιεῖ τὰς σκούκας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὁμαλοὺς καὶ γυμνοὺς τόπους ἐν διαφόροις μέρεσι διὰ πλειόνας ποιοῦ τὰς σκούκας, καὶ κατὰ συνέχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ διαστήματος, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὰς νύκτας, ὅταν εὐχέρειαν ἔχη ὁ ἐχθρὸς διὰ τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἂν βούληται λαθεῖν καὶ αἰφνιδιάσαι, προκα- νονίζων τὰς βίγλας, ἐὰν ὀλίγαι εἰσὶ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ διαστήματος τὰς βίγλας δεῖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλους ἐν διαφόροις τόποις τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν καὶ συχνῶς 455 ἀλλάσσεσθαι.

77. Γινώθι δὲ ὅτι ἴδιον ἀρμοδίων κατασκόπων ἐστὶ τὸ φρονήσει καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τόπους τε καὶ κινήσεις πολεμίων κατασκοπεῖν. τοὺς δὲ τοιοῦτους ἐλαφρᾷ ὀπλί- 460 σαι χρῆσθαι δέον, καὶ ἵππους ἔχειν ταχεῖς εἰς τὸ ἀνεμποδίστως ὁδεύειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐξπλωράτωρας ἦτοι κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἀφοβώτερον συνδιάγειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε ὁμογενεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι νομίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ βιγλάτορας πιστοὺς εἶναι καὶ εἶδει σώματος ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ψυχῇ εὐτόλμῳ καὶ ὀπλίσει λαμπροῦς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφέρειν, ὥστε ἢ ποιήσαντάς τι γενναῖον ἔργον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπανελεθεῖν ἢ ζωγρηθέντας παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις θαυμάζεσθαι.

438 χιλιάδας ἐστί M χιλιάδας ἐστὶν τὸ μέτρον AVBE 440 προχείρως M ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν AVBE | ἀγωνιᾶν De ἀγωνία codd. | λεπταῖς... μακραῖς M trsp. AVBE 441 ἔχουσαι M ἔχουσαι καὶ AVBE | μέγα ποσὸν M πολὺ πλῆθος AVBE 442 τὸν De τὸ codd. 444 τὰ M τὸ AVBE | γινώσκεσθαι M ἐπιγινώσκεσθαι AVBE 445 προσφευγόντων... ἡμᾶς M trsp. AVBE 448 ἐστὶν M ἐστι AVBE 449 κατὰ M ποιεῖν τὰς βίγλας πρὸς AVBE | ποιεῖ... σκούκας M om. AVBE 450 μέρεσι M μέρεσιν AVBE 450-451 ποιοῦ... συνέχειαν M ποιεῖν τὰς βίγλας καὶ πυκνάς AVBE 451-452 εὐχέρειαν M εὐκολίαν AVBE 452 βούληται M βούλεται AVBE 452-453 προκανονίζων M προκανονίζων καὶ προσκοπῶν AVBE 453 εἰσὶ M εἰσιν AVBE | τὰς βίγλας² M ταύτας AVBE 456 ἀρμοδίων... ἐστί M ἐστι κατασκόπων AVBE 457-458 ἐλαφρᾷ... δέον M δέον ἐλαφρᾷ ὀπλίσει χρῆσθαι AVBE 459 ἐξπλωράτωρας ἦτοι M om. AVBE | δῆθεν M om. AVBE 461 εἶδει M μεγέθει AVBE | ἀνδρείῳ M om. AVBE | εὐτόλμῳ M τολμηρῷ AVBE

belong to a nation that brings along large herds of horses. Hence it is necessary to entrust such matters to experienced men.

74. You ought not to be easily troubled by a thin, long line of troops, suspecting perhaps that it is a large army. Unless its depth is proportionate, its actual strength will not be great. Have your spies investigate its depth. Is the baggage train drawn up behind the main force or does it consist only of fighting men?

75. More accurate information about the numerical strength may be obtained from defectors to us, from enemy prisoners and, if one wishes, from the passage of narrow defiles and from the camps, if they happen to make camp all together.

76. If there is not a fortified enemy camp, set up patrols in the more narrow locations with a few men, depending on the nature of the ground. In unobstructed and open country set up the patrols with more men, in different places, in touch with one another and further out. This particularly applies at night, when the enemy has the opportunity, in a place of their choosing, to avoid detection and launch a surprise attack, evading the pickets if they are few in number. For this reason, the patrols should be changed frequently and at intervals, one after another, in various suitable locations.

77. Be well aware that it is the specific task of competent scouts, intelligent and alert men, to observe closely the positions and movements of the enemy. These men must make use of light weaponry and possess fast horses to move about without hindrance. Explorers or spies must be truly without fear and move right in with the enemy, so as to pass for belonging to the same people. Men making up the patrols must be reliable and they should be a cut above the other soldiers in projecting a manly, physical appearance, in boldness of spirit, and in brilliance of armament. Thus they will come back to us after having performed a noble, manly task or, if taken captive, they will be admired by the enemy.

78. Τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα τῆς σκούκας ἄγρυπνον καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἔμπειρον
465 ἐπιλέγου, καὶ μὴ τὸν τυχόντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀνδρείας ὅσον φρονήσεως
καὶ ἀγρυπνίας δεῖται ἢ τῶν σκουλκατόρων χρεία.

79. Μόνους δὲ τοὺς κατασκόπους ἀπόσπελλε μακρόθεν ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων
ἀπαγγελλομένων, ἥνίκα μάλιστα βούλη μαθεῖν ἢ κίνησιν ἐχθρῶν ἢ θέσιν ὁδῶν ἢ
τόπων ὀχύρων.

470 80. Ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κατασχεῖν τινος ἢ ἐπιδρομῇ ἔσται, τότε ἀναμεμιγμένους
τούτους μετὰ τῶν σκουλκατόρων πρόστασε εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν προεκτρέ-
χειν καὶ ἐξ ἀόπτων ἡγούν ὑψηλῶν χωρίων κατασκοπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ σκουλκάτορας
ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁδηγεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν.

81. Τὰς δὲ σκούκας ἢ βίγλας ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς μὴ ποιοῦ ἀπλᾶς
475 ἀπὸ ἐνὸς μέρους, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλους, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου
θέσιν, καὶ ἀπὸ διαστήματος ἱκανοῦ ἵνα, εἰ συμβῇ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὴν μίαν διαλαθ-
εῖν, εἰς | τοὺς ἄλλους περιπίπτοντες μὴ διαλάθωσι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
βίγλᾳ ὄντας ὀλιγωτέρους ποιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πλείους,
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἔτι πλείους.

480 82. Μηδὲ καθίζειν μήτε ἀνακλίνεσθαι τοὺς βιγλεύοντας παράγγελλε,
καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις περὶ τούτου σοὶ παρηγγεῖλαμεν ἵνα μὴ, ῥαθυμότερον
τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῶν γινομένου, ἀπόλωνται. καὶ γὰρ ἡ καθέδρα καὶ ἡ ἀνάκλισις
ὑπνον μάλιστα φέρει. καὶ οἱ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἀγρυπνεῖν οὐ δύνανται. ἀλλὰ
μηδέ, ἐὰν ἐπαγγέλλωνται τινες δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κρατεῖν, πιστεύσης αὐτοῖς· ἢ
485 γὰρ φύσις τὸ ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖ. καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν διὰ τῆς τῶν βιγλῶν διαδοχῆς
ποιεῖσθαι μὴ ἀμελῆς, ἵστασθαι δὲ τοὺς βιγλεύοντας πάντως.

83. Ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς στάσις μαραίνει τὸν ὑπνον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐργηγόρους
τοὺς ἱσταμένους ποιεῖ. ὅταν δὲ χρεία, τότε κοπωθέντας ἀλλάσσεσθαι κατὰ τὰς
δεούσας τῆς νυκτὸς διαμερισθείσας αὐτοῖς ὥρας. εἰ γὰρ μὴ φροντίσωσιν ἐπι-

78. For leader of the patrol select an alert, intelligent, and experienced man,
all above average. The work of the men assigned to patrol does not call for
bravery as much as it does for intelligence and alertness.

79. While the enemy are still reported to be far off, send out the spies only
when you wish to learn particulars about the movements of the enemy, the
condition of the roads, or how well fortified are the places.

80. When a raid takes place for the purpose of taking prisoners, then order
the spies to mix in with the men on patrol. But they should go on ahead of them
to make their observations from concealed positions on heights. The patrols
should follow along and be guided by them.

81. In hazardous circumstances do not send out single patrols or scouting
parties in only one direction, but in different ones and constantly changing in
accord with the nature of the terrain. They should be far enough apart so that, if
the enemy happens to elude one, they will run into the others and not be able to
hide. Assign only a few men to the first patrol, more to those following them in
the second patrol, and still more to the third patrol.

82. Order the men on patrol not to sit or lie down, as we have decreed in
other discussions of this topic. If they grow more slack in their duties, they will
perish. Sitting and reclining are particularly conducive to sleep and those who
do so are unable to stay awake. Even if some of them promise to remain on duty
through the entire night, do not rely on them, for nature reclaims what is its
own. To assure your security, do not neglect the assigning of patrols, one after
the other. But the men on patrol are always to stand.

83. For standing up on the ground quenches sleep and renders those who
are standing more alert. But, when necessary, relieve those who are worn out,
dividing the night into specific hours of duty for them. If they do not give

489 ad <ἐπιμε>λώς de novo inc. W

464 σκούκας M βίγλας AVBE 466 σκουλκατόρων M βιγλατόρων AVBE 468 θέσιν M
θέσεις AVBE 470 ἔσται M ἔστιν AVBE 471 σκουλκατόρων M βιγλατόρων AVBE
472 ἀόπτων... χωρίων M τόπων ὑψηλοτέρων AVBE | σκουλκάτορας M βιγλάτορας AVBE
474 σκούκας ἢ M om. AVBE 475 ἀλλεπαλλήλους M ἐπαλλήλους AVBE
476-477 διαλαθεῖν... ἄλλους M τὴν μίαν βίγλαν διαλαθεῖν ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ AVBE
477 διαλάθωσι M διαλάθωσιν AVBE 478 πλείους M πλείονας AVBE 480 μηδὲ
καθίζειν M μήτε δὲ καθίζεσθαι AVBE 482 ἢ¹ M om. AVBE 484 νυκτὸς M νυκτὸς τὴν
βίγλαν AVBE | πιστεύσης M πιστεύης AVBE 487 ἐπὶ... στάσις M τῶν ποδῶν τάσις AVBE
489 δεούσας... νυκτὸς M ἀρμοζούσας τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρας καὶ AVBE | ὥρας M om. AVBE |
φροντίσωσιν M φροντίσουσιν AVBE

490 μελῶς ὅπως ἀγρυπνήσωσι τὴν φύσιν τέως τοῦ ὕπνου χαλινώσαντες, ραδίως ἂν
παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολοῦνται.

84. Διὸ χρή σε καταζητεῖν τὰς βίγλας καὶ ὅπως γίνονται καὶ πέμπειν τοὺς
πιστοτέρους τῶν ἀρχόντων τοὺς ὀφείλοντας αἰφνιδιάσαι, καὶ ἐπιδεῖν πῶς αὐταὶ
γίνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀμελοῦντας τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς αἰτίους μεγάλου κινδύνου τῇ
495 στρατῷ γινομένους.

85. Ὑπολαμβάνω δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἔμπειρος σκουλκάτωρ δύναται ἀπὸ τινων σημείων,
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους, κατανοῆσαι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ πλήθους
αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν συστάσεως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπλίκτων αὐτῶν. δύναται
δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον στοχάσασθαι ποτε διὰ τοῦ τόπου παρελθῶν ἐκ τῆς τῶν
500 ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κόπρου.

86. Ἐὰν δὲ φοσσάτον ποιήσης ἥγουν χάρακα καὶ ἡ τάφρῃ ἡ οἰκοδομήματι
ὀχυρώσης αὐτὸ ἢ τινι ἐτέρῃ ὕλῃ, δόξῃ σοι δὲ ἔσωθεν εἰσάγειν τοὺς καβαλλαρί-
ους, μὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ διαστημάτων ποιήσης τὰς βίγλας, ἵνα μὴ συντρίβωνται ἀκαί-
ρως οἱ ἵπποι.

87. Πάντως δὲ τοὺς πεμπομένους ἐπὶ σκούλκαν παραγγέλλης ὥστε ζωγρῆ-
σαι τινὰς καί, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν κυνηγίων, οὕτως σχολάζειν καὶ σπουδάζειν ὥστε
προσκούλκευειν, καὶ ἀσυμφανῶς καὶ ἀγνώστως τοὺς μὲν δι' ὄψεως φαίνεσθαι
ὀλίγους | ὄντας καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ κεκρυμμένους καὶ ἀφανῶς κατακυ-
κλοῦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐπιτηδειότητα· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν δεικνύειν ὅψιν
510 ἐπιμόνως, ἐτέρωθεν δὲ ἐπέρχεσθαι μετὰ πλειόνων λεληθότως καὶ διανυκτερεῖ-
ειν, μάλιστα ὅταν μακρόθεν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οἱ πολέμοι, ὅταν οὐδὲ ὑπόνοιαν
ἔχωσι τούτου τοῦ δράματος.

88. Τὰς δὲ γινομένας βίγλας μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐναντίους μὴ εἰδέναι καλόν,
ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς ἰδίους, λανθάνειν δὲ καὶ τὸν σὸν στρατὸν ἵνα, ἐάν τινες, ὡς
515 εἰκός, προσφυγεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βουληθῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀδοκήτως ταῦταις
περιπέσωσιν.

careful thought to how they are to stay awake and hold sleep in check, they will
easily be finished off by the enemy.

84. You must inspect the patrols to evaluate their performance. Also assign
very reliable officers to make surprise visits to observe how they are doing. They
are to punish the negligent for seriously endangering the army.

85. I assume that an experienced scout, even before the enemy comes into
view, is able to estimate the size of the army from certain indications, such as
their campsite and the place where the horses were standing. He should also be
able to estimate the time when they passed through the area from the excrement
of men and horses.

86. If you set up an encampment, that is, a camp, and fortify it by a ditch or a
stone wall or with some other material, and you think it a good idea to have the
cavalry enter in, do not send the patrols too far off, to avoid unnecessarily wear-
ing out the horses.

87. By all means, you should order the men sent out on patrol to take some
prisoners. They are to go about this just as in hunting and strive to spy on them
ahead of time, unseen and undetected. A few men should show themselves and
then draw back, while others circle around unseen and concealed, as much as
the terrain allows, so that while some are constantly showing themselves in one
place, from another the main concealed body attacks, even spending the night
«to achieve this», especially when the enemy are reported to be far off and
would not suspect any such activity.

88. It is wise not only to keep the enemy ignorant of the posting of patrols
but also our own troops. Keep it secret from your army so that, in the eventual-
ity that some of your troops intend to defect to the enemy, they will unexpected-
ly run right into the patrols.

490 ἀγρυπνήσωσι MVB E ἀγρυπνήσωσιν WA 493 ἐπιδεῖν MW ἰδεῖν AVB E 495 στρατῷ
AVB E στρατηγῷ MW 496 σκουλκάτωρ MW βιγλάτωρ AVB E | τινων σημείων MW trsp.
AVB E 497 αὐτὸν MW om. AVB E 498 συστάσεως MW στάσεως AVB E
499 παρελθῶν MW παρήλθον AVB E 501 ἥγουν χάρακα MW om. AVB E | ἡ¹ AVB E om.
MW 502 τινι ἐτέρῃ MW trsp. AVB E 503 πολὺ...διαστημάτων MW ἀπὸ πολλοῦ
διαστήματος AVB E 505 σκούλκαν MW βίγλαν AVB E 505-506 ζωγρῆσαι MW ζῶντα
κρατῆσαι AVB E 506 σχολάζειν καὶ MW om. AVB E 507 προσκούλκευειν MW
προβιγλεύειν AVB E | ἀσυμφανῶς MW ἀφανῶς AVB E 508 κεκρυμμένους MW
κεκρυμμένως AVB E 510 ἐπιμόνως De καὶ μόνως codd. 511 μακρόθεν δοκοῦσιν MW
δοκῶσιν AVB E

89. Ἐὰν δὲ βουλευθῇς κατασκόπους κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, δέον σε θαρρῆσαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα ἕκαστος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς παραγγέλλῃ ὅτι τυχὸν τῇ ἐξῆς περὶ δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας
 520 κατὰ τὴν πρώτην φωνὴν τοῦ βουκίνου, εἴτε στρατιώτης εἴτε παῖς ἐστίν, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τένταν ἵνα εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ μηδεὶς τολμήσῃ ἔξωθεν τῆς τέντας εὐρεθῆναι ἐπεὶ σωφρονίζεται. καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας εἰσελθεῖν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μένειν ἔξωθεν τῶν τεντῶν καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἵνα ὅσους ἔξωθεν τῶν τεντῶν εὕρωσιν αὐτοί, κρατήσωσιν αὐτούς. τοὺς δέ, ὡς εἰκός, εἰσερχομένους εἰς τὰς τέντας, οἱ
 525 τῶν κοντουβερνίων συλλαμβάνονται καὶ κρατήσουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι. Ἐν γὰρ γίνεται τῶν δύο εἰς τὸν κατάσκοπον· ἢ γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἰστάμενος συνέχεται ὡς μὴ εἰδὼς ποῦ ἀπελθεῖν ἢ καί, ὡς εἰκός, ἐὰν θαρρήσῃ εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τινὶ τῶν κοντουβερνίων, ὡς ξένος ἐπιγινώσκεται καὶ παραδίδοται τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ κοντουβερνίου. πάντας οὖν τοὺς ὅπως οὖν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εὕρι-
 530 σκομένους δεῖ κρατεῖσθαι, εἴτε Ῥωμαῖοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι εἴτε ἀλλογενεῖς, καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι ὥστε ἐκεῖθεν εὐρίσκεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐν φορσάτῳ συνηγμένου στρατοῦ ἢ πεζικοῦ ἢ καβαλλαρικοῦ ἐπιτηδείως, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέρος μεμερισμένως ἢ πάλιν κατὰ τάγμα ἀπλικευόντων.

90. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ δι' ἐτέρων τοιούτων καὶ ὁμοίων σημείων διαφόρων ἢ
 535 ἐπίγνωσις τῶν εἰρημένων κατασκόπων, ἅτινα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἐπιτηδεύειν ὥστε διάφορα | σημεῖα ἦτοι παραγγέλματα ποιεῖν. ἅμα γὰρ καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκ τούτων φανεροῦνται, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθίζονται πειθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς τὰ μανδάτα, ἐὰν μάλιστα μετρίως πως σωφρονίζονται οἱ ἀμελοῦντες περὶ αὐτά. ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ παράγγελμα
 540 δοθῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῖς στρατιώταις μυστικώτερον, καὶ τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖ ἐρωτώμενος ὁ κατάσκοπος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ταχέως εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλότριος ὢν τοῦ συνθήματος, καὶ οὐκ ἔχων τὸ σύσσημον τοῦ φιλίου στρατοῦ. οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ

517–544 Cf. Polyæn. 3.13.1.

521 τένταν MW τένταν AVBE | τέντας MW τέντας AVBE 523 τεντῶν¹ MW τεντῶν AVBE | τεντῶν² MW τεντῶν AVBE 524 τέντας MW τέντας AVBE 525 κοντουβερνίων AVBE κοντουβερνίων MW | συλλαμβάνονται καὶ MW om. AVBE | κρατήσουσι MW κρατήσουσιν WA | καὶ παραδώσουσι M καὶ παραδώσουσιν W om. AVBE 526 ἄρχοντι MW ἄρχοντι παραδώσουσιν AVBE | γίνεται... δύο MW ἐκ τῶν δύο γίνεται AVBE 527 συνέχεται MW κρατεῖται AVBE 528 κοντουβερνίων AVBE κοντουβερνίων MW 529 κοντουβερνίου AVBE κοντουβερνίου MW 533 τὸ MW om. AVBE | μεμερισμένως MW μεμερισμένου AVBE | ἀπλικευόντων MW ἀπλικεύοντος AVBE 534 δι' MW ἐπὶ AVBE 537 τούτων MW τούτου AVBE 541 ἐρωτώμενος MW om. AVBE

89. If you wish to capture enemy spies, entrust this responsibility to your officers. Have each one announce to the soldiers under his command, and to the rest, that on the next day, probably about the second or third hour of the day, at the first blast of the trumpet, each individual, soldier or serving boy, is to enter his own tent.¹⁰ Anybody who dares to be discovered outside his tent will be punished. After everyone has gone inside, the officers themselves remain outside the tents to observe, so they can arrest anyone found outside the tents. The squad members should seize and hold those who may have entered the tents and hand them over to their own officer. One of two things will happen to the spy. If he stands around outside, he will be caught, since he does not know where to go or, in the likelihood that he is bold enough to enter the tent of one of the squads, he will be recognized as a stranger and handed over to the squad's commander. Every person caught in this manner must be detained, whether they appear to be Romans or foreigners. They should be interrogated to determine their true identity. This may be done in an expeditious manner when the army, either foot or horse, is concentrated in camp or it may also be done separately in camps of a single meros or tagma.

90. The spies we have been discussing may also be detected by other means and, likewise, by a variety of signs, which you must be ready to employ, so as to use different signals or commands. At the same time that the enemy spies are detected by these means, our soldiers also become accustomed to obey their officers and to follow orders carefully, particularly if a reasonable punishment is meted out to those who are careless about such matters. If the command is given secretly by the officer to the soldiers and the enemy spy does not know the password when asked, he is quickly found out, since he is ignorant of it and does not know the sign of the friendly army. It is not a bad idea to give other signs

10. For §§89–90 cf. Polyænus 3.13.1; *Sylloge tacticorum*, 83.2

ἄλλα καὶ σχήματα καὶ μανδάτα διδόναι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅταν μάλιστα εὐκαί
 ρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ δοκιμασθῶσιν καὶ ἐν ἔθει γένωνται τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτά.

545 91. Ἐὰν δέ ποτε συλλάβης κατασκόπους, μὴ κέχρησαι εἰς αὐτοὺς μιᾶ καὶ τῇ
 αὐτῇ γνώμῃ πάντοτε, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀσθενέστερα μᾶλλον τὰ σὰ εἶναι παρὰ τῶν
 πολεμίων νομίξης, τότε κτείνειν τούτους ἢ συνέχειν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ φρουρᾷ. ἐὰν δὲ
 καθοπλισμὸν ἔχῃς ἰσχυρὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν καὶ δύναμιν
 πολλὴν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἥτοι μέγεθος καὶ ῥῶσιν σωμάτων καὶ πειθήνιον στράτευμα
 550 καὶ ἄρχοντας ἀρίστους καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ ἐμπειρίαν μεμελετημένους, στήσων
 μὲν τὴν στρατείαν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ καταστάσει πρὸς κόμπον· παράλαβε δὲ τοὺς
 κατασκόπους καὶ ταύτην ἐπίδειξον αὐτοῖς. τάχα δέ, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀθῶους
 αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψεις εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτήσης. καὶ γὰρ ἀπελθόντες
 ἅπερ εἶδον ἀναγγελοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεονεκτήματα τῶν ἀντιπάλων
 555 ἀπαγγελλόμενα πολλάκις ἀναγκάζει φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐλαττώ-
 ματα αὐτῶν θαρρεῖν τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους παρεσκεύασεν. ὥστε εἰ μὲν ἐλαττώ-
 ματα ἔχεις, ἀπολέσθωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι· εἰ δὲ πλεονεκτήματα, μᾶλλον ἀπολυ-
 θέντες καὶ διηγούμενοι τοῖς ὁμοεθνήσιν εἰς δειλίαν αὐτοὺς περιστήσουσιν.

92. Ἐὰν δὲ πρόσφυγες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸς σε παραγένωνται, καὶ ἡ ὥραν
 560 τινὰ ἐπιθέσεως ἢ ὁδὸν ἐπαγγέλλονται ὑποδείξιν, καὶ προπορεύεσθαι, καὶ διὰ
 σκοπῶν ἀοράτων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσαγαγεῖν, μὴ ἀπλῶς πίστευε, ἀλλὰ
 δήσας αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἄγε, παραγγέλλων αὐτοῖς ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν ἀληθεύσωσιν, καὶ
 ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ νίκῃ πάντα ποιήσωσι τοῦ στρατεύματος, | ὠφελείας καὶ δωρεᾶς
 καταξιωθήσονται. εἰ δὲ ἐξαπατήσωσι καὶ ψεύσωσιν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπιρρίψαι
 565 βουλόμενοι τὸ στράτευμα, γινωσκέτωσαν ὅτι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν
 ὄντες ἐν δεσμοῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν κινδυνευόντων κατασφαγήσονται. καὶ γὰρ προσφύ-

and commands to the soldiers, especially when they are at leisure, to test them
 and get them used to following orders.

91. Do not always deal in one and the same manner with the spies you may
 happen to seize. If you believe that your forces are very weak compared to those
 of the enemy, then kill the spies or hold them in a secure fortress. If, however,
 you have a strong and impressive armament, fine equipment, great force, all in
 good condition, large, physically robust, an obedient army, outstanding and
 brave officers, as well as very experienced, then display your army in its orderly
 and impressive condition. Invite the spies out to observe it. If you do this and
 send them back unharmed to their own people, you will surely not make a
 mistake. After leaving you, they will announce what they have seen to their own
 people. For when the superiority of one's adversaries is made known, it fre-
 quently compels those who hear it to become frightened, whereas their inferior-
 ity causes those lined up against them to be bold. And so, if you are inferior, let
 the spies be done away with, but if you are superior, let them go so they can so
 inform their compatriots, who will then succumb to cowardice.

92. If fugitives from the enemy present themselves to you and promise to
 disclose what hour has been fixed for their attack or to show you the road, even
 to go ahead of you and by unseen signposts to guide you to the enemy, do not
 blindly trust them. Instead, bind them and deal with them in this way: advise
 them that if they are telling the truth and they contribute fully to the security
 and victory of your army, then they will be generously rewarded with benefits
 and gifts. But if they prove deceitful and lie with the intention of having their
 own forces fall upon our army, let them know that at that very moment, while
 still in chains, they will be slaughtered by those whom they tried to endanger.

543 ἄλλα MW om. AVBE 545 συλλάβης MW κρατήσης AVBE 545-546 μὴ...τὴν
 MW om. AVBE 546 μᾶλλον MW om. AVBE 546-547 παρὰ...νομίξης MW νομίξης
 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων AVBE 547 κτείνειν MW φονεύειν AVBE | συνέχειν...ἀσφαλεῖ MW
 φυλάττειν ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῃ AVBE 548-550 καθοπλισμὸν...μεμελετημένους MW
 καθοπλισμένος ἐστὶν ὁ σὸς στρατὸς καὶ ἱκανὸς καὶ πειθόμενός σοι ἔχῃς δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας
 ἀνδρείους καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν κεκτημένους AVBE 550 μεμελετημένους MW
 μεμελετημένην MW 551 κόσμῳ...κόμπον MW τάξει AVBE 552-553 ἀθῶους...
 ἀπελθόντες MW εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπολύσεις αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεις ἀπελθόντες γὰρ AVBE
 554 ἀναγγελοῦσι...ἰδίοις MW ἀναγγελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς AVBE 557-558 ἀπολυθέντες καὶ
 MW ἀπολυθέσθωσιν AVBE 560 ἐπαγγέλλονται ὑποδείξιν MW ὑπισχνῶνται ὑποδείξιν
 AVBE 562 οὕτως MW om. AVBE | ἀληθεύσωσιν MA ἀληθεύσωσι WVBE 563 πάντα...
 στρατεύματος MW τοῦ στρατεύματος πάντα ποιήσωσιν AVBE 564 ἐξαπατήσωσι MW
 ἐξαπατήσουσι codd. 566-567 πρόσφυγος MW πρόσφυγος AVBE

γου πίστις βεβαιωτάτη, εἴτε πολεμίου πρὸς σε εἴτε ἀπὸ σου πρὸς τοὺς πολεμί-
 ους, τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν κύριον τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτοῦς, ἢ
 ἐν οἷς προσέφυγεν ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἀπέφυγεν. τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 570 των.

For the faith to be placed in a fugitive, whether from the enemy to you or from
 you to the enemy, is most firm when he is not lord of his own soul but is subject
 to those who have power over him, either among those to whom he has fled or
 those from whom he has fled. This, therefore, is enough about these matters.

567–568 εἴτε¹...πολεμίους MW om. AVBE 568 αὐτοῦς MW αὐτοῦ AVBE
 568–569 ἢ...ἀπέφυγεν MW om. AVBE

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΗ'

Περὶ μελέτης διαφορῶν ἐθνικῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῶν παρατάξεων

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ διαφορῶν παρατάξεων μελέτας σοι ὑπαγορεύσω τῶν τε
ἄλλων ἐθνικῶν καὶ ὅσαις ἐχρήσαντο κατὰ διαφορῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν
5 στρατευμάτων κατάρξαντες πάλαι στρατηγοί, ἵνα ταύτας κατανοήσας οὐ μόνον
αὐτὸς τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσῃ στρατηγήμασιν ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα
πλείω τούτων προεπινοήσῃς. ἀγχίνοια γὰρ στρατηγοῦ ὅτ' ἂν καὶ ἀφορμῆς τινος
δράξῃται πραγμάτων στρατηγικῶν, οὐ μέχρις ἐκείνων ἴσταται μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πλείω τούτων προσεφευρίσκειν δύναται.

10 2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν συνεχὴς γυμνασία τῶν τακτικῶν κινήσεων ὠφέλειαν μὲν
πολλὴν τῷ στρατιώτῃ ποιεῖ. κατάδηλος δὲ αὐτῇ εὐχερῶς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γίνεται
διὰ τε κατασκόπων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῶν, ὡς εἰκός, προσφευγόντων εἰς
αὐτούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις μεθοδευομένη καὶ κατανοουμένη ἀπρακτος
εὐρίσκεται.

15 3. Ἀρκεῖ οὖν ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν ὀρισθεῖσα γυμνασία ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ἡμῖν εἰρη-
μένη διατάξει, ἀπλῇ οὖσα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πάσῃ τάξει ἀρμοζομένη καὶ μηδὲ πουβλι-
κίζεσθαι ποιοῦσα τὴν πᾶσαν παράταξιν.

4. Ἐὰν δὲ τύχῃ καὶ εὐκαιρία πολλὴ πρὸς μείζονα γυμνασίαν καὶ μετεωρι-
σμόν, δεῖ τότε διαφορὰς μὲν τάξεις καὶ γυμνασίας τὰ μέρη, ἥτοι τὰς τούρμας ἢ
20 δροῦγγους ἢ τὰ βάνδα τῶν κομήτων καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν, τοῦτ' ἔστι, καὶ τὴν
λεχθεῖσαν πρὸς τὸ χρειώδες καὶ ἄλλας ἐκ περισσοῦ, εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίαις αἰεὶ,
ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν τινι καιρῷ ποτε χρησίμους.

M W A V B E Va, Hung. PG 107:946

10-93 *Strat.*, 6.praef.

1 πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν MWA om. VBE | ιη' AVBE ιζ' MW 3 μελέτας σοι MW trsp.
AVBE 7 πλείω MW πλείονα AVBE | προεπινοήσῃς MW προσεπινοήσῃς AVBE | ὅτ' ἂν
De οἱ ἂν M ὅταν WAVBE 8 μόνων MW μόνον AVBE 9 πλείω MW πλείονα AVBE
11 εὐχερῶς... γίνεται MWV τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εὐκόλως γίνεται A τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γίνεται εὐκόλως BE
12 ἀπὸ MWAV ὑπὸ BE 15 ἡμῶν MWV ἡμῖν ABE 16-17 πουβλικίζεσθαι MW
φauλίζεσθαι AVBE 17 ποιοῦσα MWAV ποιουμένη BE 18 καὶ¹ MW om. AVBE
20 ἔστι MBE ἔστιν WAV 22 χρησίμους MW χρησίμως AVBE

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XVIII

About the Practices of Various Peoples and of the Romans in Their
Battle Formations

1. Next, I will teach you about the various battle formations employed by
other nations, as well as those that the commanders of Roman armies, going
back to ancient times, made use of against different peoples. After getting to
know these, not only will you make use of the same stratagems at the proper
time but you will be able to devise many more in addition. For the shrewd
commander, when he seizes an opportunity for military strategies, will not stop
only at those but will be able to invent many more.

2. Constant drilling in tactical movements is of great benefit to the soldier.¹
It is easy, however, for the enemy to learn what is going on through the spies
they send out or, as is likely, from our men deserting to them. The result is that,
although well observed and correctly done, drills are often found to be without
effect.

3. Actually, the drill described by us in the constitution devoted to it is suf-
ficient. Its simplicity by itself makes it adaptable to any formation without dis-
closing our entire plan of battle.

4. If a good opportunity for more extended drilling and exercises presents
itself, then it is necessary for each division, that is, each tourma or droungos or
count's bandon, to practice various formations and drills by themselves. There is
the one prescribed for actual use and those additional ones which, although not
always necessary, may be useful on certain occasions.

1. Sections 2-15 derive from *Strat.* 6.praef.

5. ἵνα τῇ ἐκάστη τάξει καὶ γυμνασίᾳ γνῶρισμα ἴδιον ἐπιτεθῇ, καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται τὴν διαφορὰν ἐκάστης παρατάξεως γνωρίζουσιν ἐν συνηθείᾳ τῶν
25 κινήσεων γινόμενοι, καὶ μὴ ξενοφωνοῦσιν ὥς οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτ' ἂν ἀθρόως αὐτοῖς ἀγγελθῇ τις παράταξις, μὴ οἶδασι δὲ τὴν μέλλουσαν τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρόν.

6. Εἰσὶν οὖν διαφοραὶ τῶν τάξεων τῶν κατὰ σχῆμα γινομένων τρεῖς· ὧν μία ἡ χρεώδης, ἣτινι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις χρῆσθαι σύνηθες. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ἥτις ἀδιακρί-
30 τως ἔχουσα τὰ τάγματα, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ εἰς κούρσορας ἦτοι προκλάστας, καὶ διφένσορας ἦτοι ἐκδίκους διηρημένη, ἅτινα χρῆ ἐπὶ μιᾷ παρατάξεως τάττειν, καὶ οὐκέτι εἰς τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ εἰς δύο μοῖρας διαιρεῖν, ἐφ' ᾧ κινούντων τῶν δύο κεράτων ὥς πρὸς κύκλωσιν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἐπικλινόμενων καὶ ἐμπεριλαμβανόντων εὐκαιρον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρα ἐξώτερον, τὸ δὲ ἀριστερὸν
35 ἐσώτερον παρερχόμενον κυκλοειδῶς, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀλλήλων ἐλαύνωσιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐν τῷ μαρτίῳ μὴνί ποτε οἱ καβαλλάριοι ἔπαιζον.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἄλλη ἐστὶ παράταξις, ὅτ' ἂν ἐπὶ μιᾷ τάξεως τάσσονται ὑπὸ κούρσο-
ρας καὶ διφένσορας, διηρημένας δὲ τὰς μοῖρας ἀπὸ σ' ἢ υ' ποδῶν ἀλλήλων ἀποδιεστώτας, καὶ ἐν τῇ κινήσει σὺν ἐλασίᾳ τῶν κουρσόρων ἐξερχομένων εἰς
40 καταδίωξιν, εἴτα ὑποστρεφόντων, ὅτε μὲν εἰς τὰ διαλείμματα, ἦτοι εἰς τὰ εὐκαι-
ρα χωρία αὐτῆς ἐξελίσσεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα τῶν διφενσόρων χωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθ-
ρῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ὑποστρέφοντας δι' αὐτῶν τῶν διαστημάτων ἀπέρχεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ μέρους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δύο μερῶν κούρσορας, ἕκαστον ὥς ἐτάχθη.

8. Ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα παράταξις ἐστὶν ὅτ' ἂν ἐπὶ μιᾷ παρατάξεως τάσσονται, καὶ ἡ
μὲν μέση μοῖρα εἰς διφένσορας γίνεται, αἱ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς μοῖραι εἰς
κούρσορας, εἴτα τῆς ἐλασίας ὥς εἰς ἐπιδίωξιν γινομένης, ἡ μὲν μέση μοῖρα ἐν

36 ad μαρτίῳ des. W

28-29 *Strat.*, 6.1. 37-39 *Strat.*, 6.2. 45-47 *Strat.*, 6.3.

24 γνωρίζουσιν MW γνωρίζωσιν AVBE 25 ξενοφωνοῦσιν...εἰδότες MW ξενίζονται AVBE 25-26 ἀθρόως...παράταξις MW αἰφνιδίως αὐτοῖς παράταξις τις ἀγγελθῇ AVBE 26 οἶδασι MAVBE οἶδασιν W 28 τρεῖς ὧν AVBE τρισσῶν MW 29 ἥτις MW ἡ AVBE 30 ἦτοι MW ἡγουν AVBE 32 ἀλλὰ MWV ἀλλ' ABE | ἐφ' ᾧ MW ὥστε AVBE 34 χωρίον MW τόπον AVBE 35 ἐλαύνωσιν MW ἐλαύνειν AVBE 37 τάξεως MW om. AVBE 38 σ'...υ' MW διακοσίων ἢ τετρακοσίων AVBE 38-39 ἀλλήλων ἀποδιεστώτας M ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστώτας AVBE 40-41 διαλείμματα...αὐτῆς M διαχωρίσματα αὐτῆς AVBE 41 τῶν διφενσόρων M τοῖς διφένσορσι AVBE | κατὰ τῶν M κατ' αὐτῶν AVBE 46 αὐτῆς M αὐτοῖς AVBE

5. Each formation and drill should be identified in a special way so the soldiers who are trained in these movements may recognize the difference between each battle formation. Thus the words will not be strange to them because of ignorance. Whenever a certain battle formation is suddenly announced to them, they will know the plan which the commander intends to implement when the time comes for battle.

6. Now then, there is a threefold division of simulated formations. The first is a useful one that even the Romans were accustomed to use.² In this one the units are not split up, that is, not divided into assault troops, also called proklas-tai, and defenders, also called ekdikoi. They are formed in one battle line, not divided into three moirai as heretofore but into two. The two flanks move out in an encircling maneuver, heading toward each other, and surrounding an open space. They continue along as in a circle, the right wing on the outside and the left on the inside, and thus ride into the opposite section of each other's line. The cavalry used to play at this sort of thing in March.

7. Another formation has them drawn up into a single battle line, some as assault troops and some as defenders.³ This is divided into moirai separated from each other by about two hundred or four hundred feet. The assault troops charge out in pursuit, riding at a gallop, and then turn back. Sometimes they filter into the intervals, that is, the clear spaces in the line, join together with the defenders, and then charge out against the enemy. At other times, they turn around and march out through those same intervals; the assault troops from both divisions then show up on the flanks of the meros, each man in his original position.

8. Still another battle formation has the troops drawn up in one battle line, with the middle moira composed of defenders and the moirai on both sides composed of assault troops.⁴ Maintaining their pace, as though in pursuit, the

2. *Strat.* 6.1.

3. *Strat.* 6.2.

4. *Strat.* 6.3.

τάξει ἐπακολουθεῖ ὡς διφένσορας, αἱ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν μοῖραι ὡς κούρσορας ἐξέρχονται. εἴτα ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν ἡ μὲν μία μοῖρα μένει, ἥτοι ἐμβραδύνει ἑλὼν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη σὺν ἐλασίᾳ ὑποστρέφει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς διφένσορας, καὶ πάλιν κινουμένη τῆς ἀπομεινάσης ὡς πρὸς τοὺς διφένσορας, ἡ ἄλλη ὡς εἰς ἀπάντησιν τρέχουσα δι' ἐνὸς μέρους ἐπέρχεται, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μία παρὰ μίαν αἱ μοῖραι ἀντιπρόσωποι ἀλλήλων εὐρίσκονται, μὴ συγκρούουσαι ἑαυταῖς.

9. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ὁμοίотροπος αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τασσομένη, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὴν μὲν μέσσην μοῖραν κούρσορας ἔχουσα, τὰς δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν δύο μοῖρας διφένσορας, ἐν ταῖς εἰρημέναις κινήσεσιν.

10. Ἡ μὲντοι συνήθης Ῥωμαίοις τάξις καὶ γυμνασία αὕτη πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπιτηδεῖα ἡμῖν φαίνεται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς δύο τάξεις, εἰς προμάχους καὶ βοηθοὺς τάσσεται ὑπὸ κούρσορας καὶ διφένσορας, καὶ πλαγιοφύλακάς τε καὶ ὑπερκεραστάς, καὶ ἐνέδρους καὶ νωτοφύλακας, κατὰ τὸν πρώην λεχθέντα ἡμῖν τρόπον.

11. Χρὴ οὖν ἡ τὰς εἰρημένας διαφορὰς τῶν παρατάξεων ἐθίζειν τὸν στρατὸν ἵνα μὴ πουβλικίζηται ἢ ἀναγκαιοτέρα, ἢ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως γυμναζομένης τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν μὴ φέρειν μετ' αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν πρώτην ἄνευ πλαγιοφυλάκων καὶ ὑπερκεραστῶν δηλονότι καὶ ἐνέδρων καὶ νωτοφυλάκων, ὅπερ πλέον ἡμῖν ἀπλούστερον καὶ ἀναγκαιότερον φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ τότε ἀντὶ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως ὀλίγους καβαλλαρίους σχηματικῶς ὀπισθεν ἰστᾶν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ διάστημα ἐκεῖνο ἐθίζωνται προσφεύγειν οἱ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως. ὁμοίως δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν γυμνάζης, καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει τῆς πρώτης τάξεως ποιῆς, ἥτοι προτάσεως ἵνα ἐθίζηται ἢ δευτέρα ὡσαύτως τοὺς τῆς πρώτης τάξεως καταφεύγοντας εἰς αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι.

12. Δυνατὸν δὲ ἰδίως καὶ τοὺς πλαγιοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκεραστάς τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖν ἵνα καὶ ἐθίζηται ὁ στρατός.

58 ad <προ>μάχους de novo inc. W

48 διφένσορας M διφένσωρ AVBE | ἐκατέρωθεν...κούρσορας M ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὡς κούρσωρας AV ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν BE 52 ἐπέρχεται ME ἐπέρχονται AVB | παρὰ...μοῖραι De παραμία μοῖρα codd. 53 συγκρούουσαι ἑαυταῖς AV ἐγκρούουσαι ἑαυτοῖς M συγκρούουσαι BE 54 καὶ M om. AVBE 55 ἔστι MVB ἔστιν A | ἔχουσα M ἔχουσιν AVBE 59 τάσσεται ὑπὸ MW τάσσεται πρὸ AVBE | καὶ³ MW om. AVBE 63 πουβλικίζηται MW φαυλίζηται AVBE 65 δηλονότι MW om. AVBE 67 σχηματικῶς MW ἐν σχήματι AVBE 68 ἰδίᾳ MW om. AVBE 69 γυμνάζης MW ἰδίᾳ γυμνάσεις AVBE 70 ποιῆς MW ποιήσεις AVBE | προτάσεως MW προτάξεις AVBE | δευτέρα MVB δευτέρα τοῦ WA 71 αὐτοὺς MW αὐτὴν AVBE 72 ἰδίως MW ἡμῖν AVBE 73 τάξιν MW τάξιν τε AVBE

middle moira follows along in formation as defenders, the moirai of assault troops on both flanks move out. Then, in turning back the one moira stays in position or slows down on the outside while the other turns and races back as though to the defenders. The wing that had halted begins moving again as though toward the defenders. The other quickly moves out as if to meet it, riding off to one side and, in this way, one moira at a time, they end up facing each other but without colliding.

9. There is another one similar to this in which the troops are drawn up in the opposite manner, that is, the middle moira consists of assault troops and the two wings of defenders, but it follows the same movements.

10. Finally, the formation and drill customary for the Romans is, in our opinion, suitable for use against any people.⁵ It is formed of two lines, a front battle line and a support line, with assault troops and defenders, flank guards and outflankers, ambushers and rear guards, according to the manner described by us earlier.

11. It is, therefore, necessary to accustom the army to the above-mentioned different types of battle lines, so that the truly essential one may not become known <to outsiders>. If the front line is being drilled, do not bring the second line with it, but just the first line and that without flank guards and outflankers, without ambushers and rear guards. This strikes us as the simplest and most basic plan. Moreover, in place of the second line, station a few cavalrymen to the rear to represent it, so that the troops in the first line may get used to that distance in seeking safety. Likewise, you may drill the second line by itself if you station or put in front a few troops on the site of the first line, so that the second may get used to receiving the men of the first line if they seek refuge among them.

12. It is possible for the flank guards and outflankers to practice their own formations and drills separately before the time of combat, so that the army may

5. Cf. *Strat.* 6.4; *Const.* 7.

πρὸς τὰς κινήσεις, καὶ μὴ πουβλικίζονται εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αἱ χρειώδεις παρὰ
 75 τάξεις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἵνα οἱ ὑπερκερασταί, ἤγουν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους παρὰ
 τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐστῶτες, εἴτε ὑποτάσσωνται λανθανόντως τῷ
 δεξιῷ κέρατι, εἴτε ἐκ πλαγίου παρατάσσωνται ἰσομετώπως, ὅτ' ἂν καιρὸς γίνη-
 ται τῆς ὑπερκεράσεως, ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίναντας αὐτούς, εἴτα ὅσον ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ χρῆσις
 διάστημα περιπατοῦντας, οὕτως εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀποκαθισταμένους κινεῖν ἐν τάξει
 80 καὶ σπουδάζειν, ὥσανεὶ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τάξιν περιλαμβάνειν.

13. Πάλιν δὲ τοὺς πλαγιοφύλακας τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τασσο-
 μένους, ὁμοίως ἐπὶ σκουτάρην κλίναντας, εἴτα ὅσον ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ χρῆσις διάστημα
 περιπατοῦντας, οὕτως εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀποκαθίστασθαι, καὶ σπευδεῖν, ὥσανεὶ τὴν
 ἐναντίῳ κέρατι τῶν ὑπερκεραστῶν ἐξισοῦσθαι.

85 14. Ταύτας δὲ σοὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν παρατάξεων ὑπέσημίναμεν, ὦ στρατη-
 γέ, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ εὐκαιρίας ἐθίξης καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς γυμνάζεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ
 ἔχειν πλείονα ἐμπειρίαν τῆς τῶν πολέμων τακτικῆς, ὥστε καὶ ἔν τισι πολλάκις
 περιστάσεσι χρειώδεις σοὶ εὐρίσκεσθαι, ὅτ' ἂν οὕτως ἡ χρῆσις καλῇ.

15. Καὶ ἐτέρας δὲ διαφόρους παρατάξεις, καὶ ὅσα δέον πράσσειν σε ὑπὲρ τῆς
 90 τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἐν ἐκθέσει διατάζομεν, ὅσας
 ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν ἐκ τῆς πείρας Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν γνώσει παρέλαβον, ἵνα γινώ-
 σκης ταύτας ἐν τῷ δέοντι μὲν καιρῷ χρῆσθαι ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ, ἐνίοτε δὲ τῶν
 πολεμίων αὐταῖς χρωμένων ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν, ἀντιμυχεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν.

16. Ἴσθι οὖν, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὅτι οὐ μόνον σὺ αὐτὸς ὀφείλεις εἶναι σπουδαῖος
 95 καὶ φιλῶν τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως ἔτοιμος, εἰ
 οὕτως τύχει, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν τιθέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ σε πάντας ἄρχον-
 τας καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν γενέσθαι,
 ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καλοῦ τοιοῦτοι μένωσιν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ὄντας, ὅσον
 ἔχεις δυνάμεως, διὰ τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ σπουδῆς γυμναζομένους μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν

74 πουβλικίζονται...ἐχθροὺς MW φαυλίζονται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς AVBE 77 ἐκ MW ἐκ τοῦ
 AVBE 79 ἀποκαθισταμένους...τάξει MWVBE ἀποκαθίστασθαι A 80-83 τὴν...
 σπευδεῖν MW om. AVBE 85 ὑπέσημίναμεν MW ὑπηγορεύσαμεν AVBE 86 ἐν...
 εὐκαιρίας MW εὐκαιρία AVBE | αὐταῖς MW ταύταις τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τὸ AVBE
 87 ὥστε...τισι MW om. AVBE 88 περιστάσεσι...καλῇ MW γὰρ ἐν περιστάσεσι χρειώδεις
 αὐταὶ εὐρεθήσονται AVBE 89 πράσσειν MW πράττειν AVBE | τε MW om. AVBE
 92 ταύτας MW ταύτας ὥστε AVBE | ἐνίοτε MW πολλάκις AVBE 93 χρωμένων...ἑαυτῶν
 MW om. AVBE 94 ἴσθι MW γίνωσκε AVBE 95-96 εἰ...τύχει MW om. AVBE
 96 τιθέναι MW τιθέναι εἰ οὕτως τύχη AVBE 97 παρασκευάζειν MW παρασκευάσει
 AVBE 98 ἐπὶ...μένωσιν MW τοιοῦτοι μένουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς AVBE
 98-99 ὅσον...δυνάμεως MW om. AVBE 99 γυμναζομένους MW om. AVBE

become accustomed to their movements and that the actual battle line to be
 used is not made known to the enemy.⁶ First, the outflankers, that is, the men
 stationed by the right meros for the encirclement of the enemy, may either be
 drawn up under cover behind the right flank or drawn up on the flank even
 with the line. Whether they are drawn up on the flank or even with the line,
 when the time comes for their enveloping movement, they incline to the spear
 and then ride out the necessary distance or as far as is called for. Thus, returning
 directly to their original position, they move in formation and strive to envelop
 the enemy line.

13. Again, the flank guards who are drawn up by the left meros should, in
 like manner, incline to the shield, ride out the required distance as far as neces-
 sary, and so return directly to their original position, moving rapidly in order to
 be on the same line as the opposite wing of the outflankers.

14. We have pointed out these various battle formations to you, O general, so
 that in time of leisure you may accustom and drill your army in them and
 acquire a great deal of practical experience of military tactics. Thus, in certain
 frequently occurring situations, when necessity calls, you will be able to deter-
 mine what is useful.

15. We will now set forth and propose to you a variety of additional battle
 formations for you to put in practice, on behalf of your own army and against
 the enemy. The Romans have come to learn about these formations from experi-
 ence with various peoples; we hope that you will become familiar with them and
 make use of them at the proper time on your behalf and that, when the enemy
 are using them on their behalf, <you will learn> how to devise countermeasures
 against them.

16. Be well aware, therefore, O general, that it is not you alone who ought to
 be a serious promoter and lover of the fatherland and defender of the correct
 faith of Christians, ready, if it so transpires, to lay down your very life, but also
 all the officers under your command and the entire body of soldiers should be
 ready to do the same. May those who share the same noble <ideal> remain such.
 As for those whose training has not led them <to share that ideal>, then, as
 much as possible, your care and concern <should make sure> that they are not

6. *Strat.* 6.5; "incline to the spear" = right, "to the shield" = left.

100 τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτοὺς φιλοπάτριδας καὶ εὐπειθεῖς τοῖς ἀρχο-
σιν, ἢ δι' ἀγάπην ἢ διὰ φόβον.

17. Εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ καρτερικοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ ὑπομένειν τοὺς
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολέμους.

18. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ βουλῇ τε καὶ στρατηγίᾳ μᾶλλον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν σπουδαζο-
105 μένων σοι κατόρθου καὶ τάξεως ἐπιμελοῦ ἅμα τῷ ὑπὸ σε στρατῷ, καὶ μὴ θρά-
σους καὶ προπετείας.

19. Καὶ ἐθίζεσθε πάντες ὁμοῦ οἱ διὰ Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ συγ-
γενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ὅλου τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἔθνους ἀγωνιζό-
μενοι εὐκόλως ὑποφέρειν καὶ δίψης ὄχλησιν, καὶ δαπάνης ἔνδειαν, καὶ ψύχους
110 καὶ καύματος ἐπιφοράν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα, ὡς εἰκός, δεινὰ γενναίως
ἐγκαρτερεῖν, ὅστι γὰρ τῶν ἀποκειμένων μισθῶν ἔκ τε Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐξ
αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἡμῶν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐργασία. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
ἐπιμόνου μερίμνης συγκακοπαθοῦμεν ὑμῖν.

20. Γενοῦ δὲ ἰκανός, εἴγε τινα συμβῇ ἐν καιρῷ λυπηρά, ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῦτα
115 κρύπτειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ γενναίως ἐμμένειν καὶ καρτερεῖν ἐν ταῖς
περιστάσεσι, καὶ ταύτας εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον ἀποδεικνύειν μᾶλλον ἡγουν εἰς εὐθυμί-
αν καὶ ἀπάθειαν.

21. Ἦσαν γάρ τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἷα τὰ Περσικὰ φυλά ποτε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
μαχόμενα ἄπερ, ὅτ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐνέπιπτεν, μηδὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἣν ἡῤυχοντο
120 ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι, προτείνειν θέλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
αὐτῶν προτείνεσθαι ἐκδεχόμενα. τοσοῦτον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν δεινῶν καρτερία.

22. Ἵνα δὲ καὶ πάλιν τὰ πρόωγν εἰρημένα μετρίως ἀνακεφαλαιώσωμέν σοι,
καθόπλιζε τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς ὅπλοις κατὰ τὸν ἤδη σοι διορισθέντα τύπον, καὶ
μάλιστα τοξαρίοις καὶ σαγίτταις πλείοσι. μέγα γὰρ ὄπλον καὶ δραστήριον ἢ

118–132 *Strat.*, 11.1.

100 τῆς...ἀρετῆς MW τοῦ τοιοῦτου καλοῦ AVBE 103 τῆς AVBE om. MW 105 στρατῷ
MW στρατοῦ AVBE 107 καὶ...πάντες MW ἐθίζεσθαι δὲ πάντας AVBE | οἱ MW τοῖς
AVBE 108–109 ἀγωνιζόμενοι MW ἀγωνιζομένους AVBE 110 καύματος MWAVB
χαύματος B 111 ἔκ MW om. AVBE 114 εἴγε MW ἐὰν AVBE | ταῦτα MWA αὐτὰ VBB
116 περιστάσεσι MAVBE περιστάσεσιν W 119 μαχόμενα MWA μαχομένους VBE | μηδὲ
MW οὐδὲ AVBE 120 ἑαυτοῖς MWA αὐτοῖς VBE | θέλοντα MW ἤθελον AVBB
121 ἐκδεχόμενα MW ἐξεδέχοντο AVBE | ἐν MW ἦν AVBE 123 σοι διορισθέντα MW
ρηθέντά σοι AVBE 124 πλείοσι M πλείοσιν WAVBE | δραστήριον MW ἐνεργέστατον
AVBE

found lacking in this very virtue. Rather, they should become lovers of the
fatherland and be very obedient to their officers, either through love or through
fear.

17. They should endure heavy labor and bear up well in wars for their father-
land.

18. For you, though, it is by planning and strategy that you will attain most
of the goals you are striving for and, at the same time, by your concern for disci-
pline in the army under your command rather than by boldness and headlong
haste.

19. Accustom everyone, all together, who are engaged in the struggle for
Christ our God and on behalf of relatives and friends and fatherland and for the
entire Christian people, to bear readily the distress of thirst, the lack of necessi-
ties, the burden of cold and heat, and to endure with courage whatever terrible
things may chance to fall upon them. For your labors <gain> the rewards stored
up <for you> by God himself and by Our God-given Majesty. Indeed, by our
steadfast solicitude on your behalf, we too share in your suffering.

20. Even if at times some harmful things happen, for the most part, do your
best to conceal them from the enemy. Remain brave and steadfast in <adverse>
situations, even turning them around to the opposite; show yourself in good
spirits and not suffering.

21. There were certain peoples, such as the Persian tribes, who fought
against the Romans.⁷ Whenever they fell into terrible adversity, they did not
want to propose means for their salvation that they wished for themselves, but
they would receive proposals for it from their enemies. So great was their
endurance of adversity.

22. Let us once more briefly recapitulate what we have previously said to
you. Provide your army with the weapons according to the regulations already
given to you. In particular make sure you have a large number of bows and

7. For §§21–23 cf. *Strat.* 11.1. On the various ethnic groups, see J. Wiita, “The Ethnika in
Byzantine Military Treatises” (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1977).

125 τοξεία, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνικῶν ἔθνων καὶ Κούρτων, οἷς τὸ πᾶν τῆς
νίκης ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν τοξείας κεῖται.

23. Καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν γυμνουμένων ἐν τῷ βάλλειν τὴν
σαγίτταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἵππων τῶν καβαλλαρίων μέγα ἰσχύουσιν αἱ παρὰ
τοῦ ἡμετέρου | στρατοῦ βαλλόμεναι σαγίτται, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν βλάβην τοῖς
130 ἔχθροῖς παρέξουσιν, τῶν πολυτιμῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἵππων διὰ τῆς συνεχούς,
τοξείας ἀφανιζομένων, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ εὐψύχου τῶν εἰς πολέμους ἐξίεναι
προθυμουμένων Σαρακηνῶν ἀνακοπτομένου.

24. Οὐ γὰρ δουλεία καὶ στρατεία ἐκστρατεύουσι Σαρακηνοί, ἀλλὰ φιλοκερ-
δία μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλευθερία, ἢ τὸ πλεον εἰπεῖν, ληστεία καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν πίστεως,
135 μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀπιστίας τῇ δεισιδαιμονία, ὡς ἐνταῦθα κακὰ πάσχοντες παρ'
ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν ἡγοῦνται πολέμιον ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ζημίαν μὴ ὑποφέρειν.

25. Καὶ ὅτ' ἂν μὲν πρὸς πόλεμον κινήσης, ἄνευ φοσσάτου μὴ ἀπλικεύης
ὄχυροῦ, μάλιστα ἢ καὶ πλησίον ἢ ἐντὸς ὑπάρχης τῆς πολεμίας. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ πρὸς
τὸν πόλεμον ἐγγίσης τράφον ποιεῖ καὶ ἄλλην ἀσφάλειαν διὰ χάρακος ὡς δύνα-
140 σαι ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ περιστάσεως ἐν καιρῷ μάχης καταφυγὴν.

26. Ὑποδείξω δέ σοι ἐτέρας καὶ τῶν ἐν μάχῃ παρατάξεων διαφορὰς ὡς ἐν
ὀλίγοις. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τις παράταξις μάχης ἐν τρισὶν ἴσοις μέρεσι τασσομένη, ἥ
καὶ ἄνω που ἐμνήσθημεν, τοῦτ' ἔστι, μέσῳ καὶ δεξιῷ καὶ ἀριστερῷ. ἐν δὲ τῷ
μέσῳ μέρει ἔχει ἄχρι τετρακοσίων ἢ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων κατὰ
145 περίσσειαν, τὰ δὲ βάθη τῆς τοιαύτης τάξεως οὐχ ὠρισμένῳ μέτρῳ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον οἱ καβαλλάριοι ἐν ἐκάστῳ τάγματι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ δευτέρᾳ τάξει
τάσσονται. καὶ τὸ μέτωπον τῆς τάξεως ἴσον καὶ πεπυκνωμένον ἐστί. τὴν δὲ
ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τὸν τοῦλδον ὀπισθεν κατὰ νώτου τῆς παρατάξεως ἔχει, καὶ ἐὰν
ἐν καιρῷ μάχης ὁ οὕτως παρατασσόμενος ἔχη πολεμίους κονταράτους, εἰς
150 δυσχερεῖς καὶ τραχεῖς τόπους τὴν παράταξιν ὀφείλει τάσσειν, καὶ τόξοις κεχρη-

125 κούρτων MW τούρκων AVBE 130 παρέξουσιν MWVBE παρέξουσιν A
131-132 τῶν...ἀνακοπτομένου MW ἀνακοπτομένου (ἀνακοπτομένου E) τῶν εἰς πολέμους
ἐξέρχεσθαι προθυμουμένων σαρακηνῶν AVBE 134-135 μᾶλλον...δεισιδαιμονία MW
δεισιδαιμονία μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀπιστίας AVBE 135 ἐνταῦθα κακὰ Va,Hung. ἐνταῦθα τάχα
M ἐντεῦθεν τάχα WAVBE 137-138 φοσσάτου...ὄχυροῦ MW ὄχυροῦ ἀπλήκτου μὴ
ἀπλικεύσης AVBE 138 ἢ καὶ MW ἐὰν AVBE 139 τὸν MW om. AVBE | τράφον MW
σοῦδαν AVBE 139-140 χάρακος...ἀκριβῶς MW σταβαρῶν AVBE 141-142 ὡς...
ὀλίγοις MW om. AVBE 143 ἄνω που MW ἀνωτέρω AVBE | ἔστι MVBE ἔστιν WA | καὶ/
MW om. AVBE 145 οὐχ MW οὐχὶ AVBE 147 ἐστί MVBE ἐστιν WA

arrows. For archery is a great and effective weapon against the peoples of the
Saracens and the Kurds, who place their entire hope of victory in their archery.⁸

23. Indeed, against the archers themselves, defenseless at the moment of
loosing the arrow, and against the horses of their cavalry, the arrows shot by our
army are extremely effective and will cause severe harm to the enemy. When the
horses so highly prized by them are destroyed by the continuous archery, the
result is that the morale of the Saracens, who had been so eager to ride out to
battle, is completely beaten down.

24. For the Saracens do not go on campaign out of servitude and military
service but rather for love of gain and freedom or, to put it better, for robbery
and for their own faith, rather, superstitious regard for their non-faith. Because
of this, when they suffer evil from us, they think God has become their enemy
and they cannot bear the injury.

25. When you march out to war, do not set up your camp unless it is strong-
ly fortified, especially if you are near or within enemy territory. Whenever you
approach the enemy, dig a ditch and make it more secure with a palisade, fitted
together as tightly as possible so it will be a place of refuge from the difficulties
in the time of battle.

26. Let me briefly explain some further differences in battle formations for
you. One such formation is drawn up in three equal divisions, as we recalled
above, that is, middle, right, and left. In the middle division station up to four
hundred or five hundred elite troops, according to availability. There is no
determined measure for the depth of such a formation. Rather, the cavalrymen
in each tagma are drawn up in a first and a second line, with the front of each
line equal and in close order. Put the equipment and the baggage train behind,
to the rear of the battle line. If, when you are drawn up in formation and combat
has begun, you find yourself facing enemy lancers, then you ought to draw up
your battle line in difficult and rugged terrain and make use of archery. Because

8. On archery, see AnonStrat, 44-47 and p. 4, n. 9. The more reliable MSS, MW, have
Kurds (Κούρτοι), whereas the later A has Turks (Τούρκοι). Both were noted for their ferocity
and effective archery, and the Byzantines sometimes got them mixed up. See Moravcsik, *By-
zantinoturcica*, 2.169; McGeer, *Dragon's Teeth*, 237-238. Basil I returned from his victorious
Eastern campaign of 876-877 with many Kurdish and Saracen captives: Skylitzes, *Basil.Mak.*

σθαι, ἵνα τῇ δυσκολίᾳ τῶν τόπων, διεσπασμένων αὐτῶν, οὐκ εὐλύτως καὶ εὐκόλως αἱ ὁρμαὶ τῶν κονταρίων κατ' αὐτῶν γίνωνται.

27. Καὶ ἐὰν ὁρᾷ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὅτι πρὸς ἔθνος ἔχη θερμόψυχον, ὀφείλει οὐ μόνον πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ὑπερθέσεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῆς μάχης, ἐὰν μάλιστα γινῶ ὅτι ἔτοιμοί εἰσι καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ ἐναντίοι, δηλονότι ἐν
155 δυσβάτοις τόποις ἀφόβως ἀπλκεύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς μάχης ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα θέρους καὶ περὶ τὴν θερμότεραν ὥραν τῆς δείλης τοῦ τὰς συμβολὰς ποιεῖτω, ἵνα τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου ζέσει καὶ τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ παρασυρμῇ τὸ θρασὺ καὶ θυμῶδες τῶν ἀντιταττομένων αὐτῷ παύσῃται.

28. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάξιν, ἣν προδιεγράψαμεν, ἀντιτάττεται ἀρμοδίως πεζικῇ τάξιν ἐπιμελῶς συντεταγμένη καὶ τόπος ὁμαλὸς καὶ γυμνὸς διὰ τὰς τῶν κονταρίων ὁρμάς, καὶ ἢ κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ ταχέως | συμπλοκῇ χωρὶς ἀναβολῆς, διὰ τὸ
160 ἀχρεῖους ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγύς τὰς βολὰς τῶν σαγιττῶν γίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἔχειν τοὺς τοξότας κοντάρια ἢ σκουτάρια.

29. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ τῆς μάχης καὶ ὥθῃσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς γένηται, καὶ πρὸς σύντομον φυγὴν ὁρμήσωσι, βλαβήσονται μεγάλα, ἐὰν μὴ γινώσκωσι τὰς αἰφνιδίους ὑποστροφὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐπερχομένων αὐτοῖς.

30. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπελεύσεις καὶ κυκλώσεις διὰ τῶν ὑπερκεραστῶν κατὰ τῶν πλαγίων καὶ τοῦ νώτου τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτῶν γινόμεναι βλάψουσι τὰ μέγιστα
170 αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἔχωσιν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει πλαγιοφύλακας ἀξίους μεγάλῃ ἐπελεύσει ἀντικαταστήναι.

31. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, χρὴ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις μάχαις καὶ παρατάξεσι τοποῦς ὁμαλοὺς καὶ ἀνακειμένους καὶ ἴσους ἐπιλέγεσθαι, μὴ ἔχοντας τέλματα ἢ ὀρύγματα ἢ θάμνους, ἵνα μὴ διασπᾶται ἡ τάξις.

32. Ἐμπαρασκευοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμου ὄντος καὶ παρατεταγμένου τοῦ στρατοῦ, μὴ ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὴν συμβολήν, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ δόξη μάχην συγκροῦσαι δημοσίως κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πολέμου.

33. Τὰς δὲ συμβολὰς ἥτοι προσκρούσεις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, πρὸς τὸ μέτρον τῆς σαγίττας, ἴσας καὶ πυκνὰς κατὰ λόγον καὶ συντόμους δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῇ

of the difficult terrain the lancers will be widely scattered about and it will not be feasible or easy for them to charge with their spears against your line.

27. If the general should see that he has to face a very warlike people, then, before the day of battle, he ought to postpone and delay combat, setting up camp without fear in places difficult of access, especially if he knows that the enemy are prepared and set for battle. Then, on the very day of battle, especially in summer and around the hottest hour of the afternoon, let him initiate hostilities. The heat of the sun and the heaviness of the season will put an end to the boldness and high spirits of his opponents.

28. This formation, which we have previously described, is effectively opposed by an infantry formation carefully drawn up in line, as well as by level and open terrain for the charge of the lancers, also by hand-to-hand fighting and coming to blows swiftly without delay, because shooting arrows in such close quarters achieves nothing, and the archers do not have spears or shields.

29. If the battle is at close quarters and they are forced back and rush into immediate flight, they will suffer the greatest harm if they do not know how to turn back suddenly against their pursuers.

30. Direct attacks and encirclements by the outflankers against the flanks and the rear of their battle line cause them the greatest harm, unless they have flank guards in that line capable of standing up against a very strong attack.

31. For this reason, therefore, as mentioned, to prevent the formation from being scattered about, it is necessary for battle formations of this sort to choose level, flat, even ground where there are no marshes, ditches, or bushes.

32. When the army is all drawn up in formation, well prepared and ready, on the day of battle, do not defer the engagement, if clashing in pitched battle seems to be the correct decision.

33. It is necessary to regulate the engagements or clashing together in battle in proportion to the pressure exerted by the arrows. Are they steady, thick, and

151 δυσκολία MW δυσχερεία AVBE 155 εἰσι MVBE εἰσιν WA 160 ταύτην... ἀντιτάττεται MW ταύτη δὲ τῇ τάξει ἀντιτάσσεται AVBE 162 χωρὶς MW χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως καὶ AVBE 166 ὁρμήσωσι MVBE ὁρμήσουσιν W ὁρμήσωσιν A 169 βλάψουσι MAVBE βλάψουσιν W 170 ἔχωσιν MW ἔχουσιν AVBE 171 ἐπελεύσει MW ἐπιδρομῇ AVBE 172 παρατάξει MAVBE παρατάξιν W 173 τέλματα MW πάλματα AVBE 175 ἐμπαρασκευοῦ...ἐτοίμου MW ἐτοίμου δὲ AVBE 176-177 συγκροῦσαι...πολέμου MW συμβαλεῖν δημοσίαν AVBE

180 βραδύτητι τῆς συμπλοκῆς διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς τοξείας τῶν ἐναντίων πλείονα τὰ
βέλη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐμπέσωσιν.

34. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνάγκη γένηται, ἵνα ἐν δυσχερεστέρῳ τόπῳ ἢ μάχῃ γένηται,
καλὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν πεζικῇ τάξει καταστήσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ μὴ
τὴν πᾶσαν παράταξιν ἐν τοιοῦτοις ἀνωμάλοις τόποις καβαλλαρίους μόνον
185 ποιοῦντα παρατάσσειν.

35. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν κονταράτων ἐγχειρήσεις κατὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν, ὥς εἵπομεν, ἐὰν
μὴ ἴσοι καὶ ἀδιάσπαστοι ᾖσιν, βλάβην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν σαγιτῶν ὑφίστανται, καὶ
πρὸς τὴν συμβολὴν ἀνακόπτονται. διὸ καὶ ὁμαλωτέρου δέονται τόπου ἐν ταῖς
μάχαις οἱ κονταρίοις χρώμενοι.

190 36. Ἐὰν δὲ κατανοήσῃ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀξιόμαχος ὁ στρατὸς
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν μάχεσθαι πολέμοις δημοσίοις, ἀλλὰ
ἐφόδοις, ἡγουν ἐπελεύσεσι, καὶ κλοπαῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κεκρῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς
καὶ εὐσχημόνως διὰ τόπων ἐπιτηδεῖν εἰς τὸ μὴ δηλοῦσθαι ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἢ
τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸν σκοπόν, δι' ὃν γίνεται ἡ ὑπέρθεσις τῆς δημοσίας μάχης, ἵνα μὴ ἐκ
195 τούτου τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις αὐτοῦ θάρσος, τῷ δὲ λαῷ αὐτοῦ δειλία γένηται.

37. Τὰς δὲ ἐξελίξεις ἡγουν τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς καὶ ἀναστροφὰς ἐν ταῖς ὑποχω-
ρήσεσι μὴ δι' ὄψεως ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν πλαγίων αὐτῶν ἀνα-
στρέφειν, καὶ τοὺς νώτους | αὐτῶν ἀπολαμβάνειν. τινὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἷα καὶ
τὰ τῶν Περσῶν, ποτὲ μὴ βουλόμενα διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, εὐκόλως τοὺς
200 νώτους αὐτῶν προδίδωσι τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ὑποστρέφουσιν οἰονεὶ φυγομαχοῦν-
τες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ὑποχωροῦντες καὶ ὑποφεύγοντες αὐτούς, εἰ βουληθῶσιν
ἀντιστρεφόμενοι εἰς ὅψιν τῶν διωκόντων αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν, βλάπτονται συντεταγ-
μένοι αὐτοῖς περιπίπτοντες.

183 ἐστὶ MVBE ἐστὶν WA | καταστήσαι MW καταστήναι AV καταστήσασθαι BE
184 ἀνωμάλοις MW ὁμαλοῖς AVBE 187 ἴσοι...ἀδιάσπαστοι MW ἴσοι καὶ ἀδιάσπαστοι
AVBE 188 ἀνακόπτονται AVBE ἀνακόπτωνται MW 189 οἱ MW μὴ AVBE
190-191 ἀξιόμαχος...αὐτοῦ MW ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἱκανὸς AVBE 191 μάχεσθαι...
δημοσίοις MW πολέμοις δημοσίοις συμπλέκεσθαι AVBE 192 κεκρῆσθαι MW κρῆσθαι
AVBE 193 καὶ εὐσχημόνως MW om. AVBE 194 μάχης AVBE om. MW 195 αὐτοῦ
MWA om. VBE 196-197 ὑποχωρήσεσι MVBE ὑποχωρήσιν WA 197 ποιεῖσθαι MW
ποιεῖσθαι παρὰ AVBE 200 προδίδωσι M προδίδωσιν W προδίδουσι AVBE
200-201 φυγομαχοῦντες MW φυγομαχοῦντα AVBE 202 ὅψιν MW πρόσωπον AVBE

rapid? Otherwise, the slow pace of the engagement and the constant archery of
the enemy may cause a greater number of arrows to fall upon the soldiers and
the horses.

34. If, for compelling reasons, the battle occurs in a fairly difficult location, it
is well to station some men in infantry formation and others on horses. In such
uneven terrain do not draw up the entire battle line with cavalry only.

35. The assaults of lancers against archers, as we have said, unless they are
evenly lined up and not dispersed, will sustain great damage from the arrows,
and they will be stopped short of contact in battle, for those who use spears
require more level ground in combat.

36. But if the general becomes aware that his army is not ready for combat
against his adversaries, he must not engage the enemy in a pitched battle. He
should, rather, make use of ambushes, raids, and surprise attacks against the
enemy. He should do this in a safe and respectable manner on favorable terrain
so as not to reveal, either to the enemy or to his own men, his reason for
postponing open battle. That would only make the enemy bolder and his own
troops more cowardly.

37. Wheeling or turning about or reversing direction should not be made
before the enemy's front but to turn back their flanks and to take their rear.
Some peoples, such as the Persians, unwilling to break up their formation,
sometimes readily exposed their rear to forces wheeling around against them as
though fighting in flight. However, if the forces withdrawing and pretending to
flee before them should want to turn about and attack the front lines of their
pursuers, they will be hurt on running into their well-ordered lines.

38. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἷον οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ἐν ταῖς διώξεσιν ἀτάκτως ἐπιτί-
205 θενται τοῖς διωκομένοις, ὅθεν καὶ εὐχερέστερον βλάπτονται παρὰ τῶν διωκο-
μένων εὐτάκτως ὑποχωρούντων καὶ ὑποστρεφόντων.

39. Τὰ δὲ πρῶως καὶ συντεταγμένως διώκουσι, διὸ οὐδὲ χρή τοὺς ἀναστρέ-
φοντας κατ' αὐτῶν δι' ὧσεως ἐπιτηδεύειν ἔρχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν πλαγίων
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νώτου αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπέλευσιν, ὥς μοι εἴρηται.

210 40. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τούρκων ἐμνήσθην, οὐκ ἀδόκιμον κρίνομεν καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ
παρατάττονται καὶ ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι, δέον διασαφῆσαι διὰ
μετρίας πείρας ἀναμαθόντες, ὅτε συμμάχοις αὐτοῖς ἐχρησάμεθα, Βουλγάρων
τὰς εἰρηνικὰς παραβεβηκότων σπονδὰς, καὶ τὰ τῆς Θράκης χωρία καταδραμόν-
των, οἷς ἡ δίκη ἐπεξεληθούσα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν παρορκίας, τῶν ὅλων
215 τὸν βασιλέα, τάχος ἔφθασαν ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων
δυνάμεων κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἀσχολουμένων Τούρκους ἡ θεία πρόνοια ἀντὶ
Ῥωμαίων κατὰ Βουλγάρων ἐστράτευσε, πλοῖμου στόλου τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας
τὸν Ἰστρον αὐτοὺς διαπεράσαντός τε καὶ συμμαχήσαντος, καὶ τὸν κακῶς κατὰ
Χριστιανῶν ὀπλισθέντα Βουλγάρων στρατὸν τρισὶ μάχαις κατὰ κράτος νενικη-
220 κότας, ὥσανεὶ δημίους ἐξαποστείλασα κατ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐκόντες Ῥωμαῖοι
Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανῶν Βουλγάρων αἵμασι χραίνοντο.

41. Τὰ Σκυθικὰ τοίνυν ἔθνη μᾶς εἰσιν, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἀναστροφῆς τε καὶ τάξεως,
πολύαρχά τε καὶ ἀπράγμονα, νομαδικῶς ὥς ἐπίπαν βιοῦντα. μόνᾳ δὲ τὰ τῶν
Βουλγάρων, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν Τούρκων, τῆς ὁμοίας φροντίζουσι τάξεως
225 πολεμικῆς ισχυροτέρας τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθικῶν ἐθνῶν τὰς κατὰ σύστασιν μάχας
ποιούμενά τε καὶ μοναρχούμενα.

42. Ἀλλὰ Βουλγάρων τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ εἰρήνην ἀσπαζομένων καὶ κοινωνούν-
των τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως Ῥωμαίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς παρορκίας πείραν οὐχ
ἡγούμεθα κατ' αὐτῶν χεῖρας ὀπλίζειν, ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἤδη τὰ κατ' ἐκείνων ἀναρ-

204–359 *Strat.*, 11.2. 210–221 *Skyllitzes Leon.Phil.*, 12.

205 εὐχερέστερον MW εὐκόλως AVBE 207 διώκουσι MVBΕ διώκουσιν WA 208 δι'...
ἐπιτηδεύειν MW εἰς πρόσωπον AVBE 209 κατὰ...νώτου MW ὀπισθεν AVBE | ὥς μοι
MW καθὼς AVBE 210 ἐμνήσθην MW ἐμνήσθημεν AVBE | οὐκ...κρίνομεν MW δέον
εἰπεῖν AVBE 211 αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοῖς χρή AVBE | δέον διασαφῆσαι MW om. AVBE
212 ἀναμαθόντες MW τοῦτο μαθόντες AVBE 214 παρορκίας Va,Hung. παροικίας MW
ὑβρεως AVBE 214–215 τῶν...τάχος MW om. AVBE 217 ἐστράτευσε M ἐστράτευσεν
WAVBE 218 διαπεράσαντός τε MW διαπέρασαν τότε AVBE 220 ἐξαποστείλασα
WAVBE 218 ἐξαποστείλας M 221 χραίνοντο M χραίνωντο W χραίνονται AVBE 222 εἰσιν
MW ἐστιν AVBE 223 νομαδικῶς...ἐπίπαν MW μοναδικῶς ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον AVBE
228 παρορκίας MW παροικίας AVBE 229–230 ἀναρτῶντες MW ἀνατιθέντες AVBE

38. When it comes to pursuits, some peoples, such as the Turks, are dis-
orderly in attacking those pursuing them, and so they are very easily harmed by
a force pursuing them that withdraws and wheels about in good order.⁹

39. Other peoples carry out pursuits cautiously, maintaining their formation.
For this reason, forces turning back against them should be careful not to attack
them in front but to make their attacks on the flanks and in the rear, as I have
said.

40. Since I have mentioned the Turks, we do not judge it out of place <to
describe> how they form up for battle and how one should form up to fight
against them. Let us put in writing what we have learned from a certain amount
of experience when they were our allies. At that time, the Bulgarians had
disregarded the peace treaty and were raiding through the Thracian country-
side.¹⁰ Justice pursued them for breaking their oath to Christ our God, the
emperor of all, and they quickly met up with their punishment. While our forces
were engaged against the Saracens, divine Providence led the Turks, in place of
the Romans, to campaign against the Bulgarians. Our Majesty's fleet of ships
supported them and ferried them across the Danube. <Providence> sent them
out against the army of the Bulgarians that had so wickedly taken up arms
against Christians and, as though they were public executioners, they decisively
defeated them in three engagements, so that the Christian Romans might not
willingly stain themselves with the blood of the Christian Bulgarians.

41. The Scythian nations are one, so to speak, in their manner of life and
their organization; they have a multitude of rulers, and they have done nothing
of value, living for the most part as nomads.¹¹ Only the nation of the Bulgarians,
and also that of the Turks, give thought to a similar military organization, which
makes them stronger than the other Scythian nations as they engage in close
combat under one commander.

42. Since the Bulgarians, however, embraced the peace of Christ and share
the same faith in him as the Romans, after what they went through as a result of

9. For §§38–73 cf. *Strat.* 11.2. By Turks, Leo means Magyars, who were raiding, and
beginning to settle, in a region called Tourkia by the Byzantines, more or less corresponding to
modern Hungary. Skylitzes (*Leon.Phil.*, 3) calls them Hungarians, Οὐγγροι.

10. About 894. Skylitzes, *Leon.Phil.*, 12.

11. Scythians: a generic term for the nomadic peoples north of the Black Sea. The *Suda* (Σ
704) calls them Russian (Ρῶς).

230 τῶντες στρατηγήματα, δι' ὅπερ οὔτε τὴν αὐτῶν καθ' ἡμῶν παράταξιν, οὔτε τὴν
ἡμετέραν κατ' ἐκείνων, ἅτε διὰ τῆς μιᾶς πίστεως ἀδελφῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῶν
ἡμετέραις εἵκειν ἐπαγγελλομένων εἰσηγήσεται, διαγράψειν τέως προθυμούμεθα.

43. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων διαθέσεώς τε καὶ παρατάξεως μικρῶ τῆς
Βουλγάρων ἢ οὐδὲν διαφερούσης ἤδη ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι πολὺανδρόν ἐστι καὶ ἐλεύθε-
235 ρον τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, μελέτην μόνον ποιούμενον παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πολυτελείας,
καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὸ ἀνδρείως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθρούς.

44. Τοῦτο τοίνυν ὡς μοναρχούμενον, καὶ ἀπηνεῖς καὶ βαρείας τὰς ποινὰς ἐπὶ
τοῖς ἀμαρτανόμενοις παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ὑφιστάμενον, οὐκ
ἀγάπη ἀλλὰ φόβῳ κεκρατημένον, τοὺς πόνους καὶ μόχθους γενναίως φέρουσι,
240 πρὸς δὲ καύματα καὶ πρὸς ψῦχος ἀντέχονται, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων
ἐνδείας νομαδικὸν ὑπάρχον.

45. Περιέργα δὲ εἰσι τὰ Τούρκων φύλα καὶ κρύπτοντα τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν,
ἄφιλα δὲ καὶ ἄπιστα ὄντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀπληστίας τῶν χρημάτων κρατούμενα
ὄρκου περιφρονοῦσι, μήτε συνθήκας φυλάττοντα μήτε δώροις ἀρκούμενα,
245 ἀλλὰ πρὶν τὸ δοθὲν δέξωνται, ἐπιβουλὴν μελετῶσι, καὶ ἀνατροπὴν τῶν συνθη-
κῶν.

46. Καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καιροὺς δεινῶς στοχάζονται καὶ σπουδάζουσιν οὐ
τοσοῦτον χειρὶ καὶ δυνάμει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταπολεμῆσαι, ὅσον δι' ἀπάτης καὶ
αἰφνιδιασμοῦ, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων στενώσεως.

250 47. Ὀπλίζονται δὲ σπαθίοις καὶ λωρικόις καὶ τόξοις καὶ κονταρίοις, ὅθεν ἐν
ταῖς μάχαις διπλοῦν ἄρμα οἱ πλείονες αὐτῶν ἐπιφέρονται, ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις τὰ
κοντάρια ἀναβαστάζοντες, καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχοντες, καὶ ἀμφοτέ-
ροις κατὰ τὴν ἀπαντῶσαν χρεῖαν κεκρημένοι, διωκόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον προτε-
ροῦσι τοῖς τόξοις.

255 48. Οὐκ αὐτοὶ δὲ μόνον ὀπλοφοροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ἐμφανῶν
σιδήρῳ ἢ κενδούκλῳ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν μέρη σκέπονται.

49. Πολλὴν δὲ μελέτην καὶ ἀσκήσιν ποιοῦνται περὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπων
τοξείαν.

231 ἅτε MW ὡς AVBE 232 εἵκειν (ἤκειν) ἐπαγγελλομένων MW trsp. AVBE | εἰσηγήσεται
MVBE εἰσηγήσεται WA 233 scr. mg. περὶ τούρκων W 233-234 μικρῶ... ἐροῦμεν MW
ἤδη ἐροῦμεν μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν τῆς τῶν βουλγάρων διαφερούσης AVBE 236 τὴν εὐπορίαν
MW εὐπορίας AVBE 239 φέρουσι M φέρουσιν W φέρει A om. VBE 240 πρὸς¹ MW om.
AVBE | ἀντέχονται MW ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχει AVBE 240-241 τῆς... ὑπάρχον MW πρὸς τὴν
λοιπὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδειαν AVBE 244 περιφρονοῦσι MVBE περιφρονοῦσιν WA
245 μελετῶσι MAVBE μελετῶσιν W 249 στενώσεως MWA στενώσεων VBE
253-254 προτεροῦσι MW χρῶνται AVBE 256 κενδούκλῳ MW κεντούκλοις AVBE

breaking their oath, we do not think of taking up arms against them.¹² We now
refer any military action against them to God. For the present, therefore,
inasmuch as we are brothers because of our one faith and because they promise
to yield to our advice, we are not eager to describe either their battle formation
against ours or ours against theirs.

43. We will now speak about the disposition of the Turks and their battle
formation, which differ from the Bulgarians a little or not at all. The Turks are
very numerous and independent. More than on wealth and other forms of
extravagance, they focus their attention only on conducting themselves bravely
against their own enemies.

44. This nation has a monarchical form of government and is subjected to
cruel and oppressive punishments by their rulers for their offenses. They are
governed not by love but by fear and they steadfastly bear labors and hardships.
They bear up under heat and cold, as well as the further lack of necessities, since
they are a nomadic people.

45. The Turkish tribes are meddlesome but keep their plans to themselves.
They are hostile and faithless. Possessed by an insatiable desire for riches, they
scorn their oaths and do not observe agreements they have made. They are not
satisfied by gifts; even before they receive the gift, they are making plans to
break their agreement.

46. They cleverly estimate suitable opportunities and they strive to defeat
their enemies not so much by brute force as by deceit, surprise attacks, and
deprivation of necessities.

47. They are armed with swords, body armor, bows, and lances. Thus, in
combat most of them bear double arms, carrying the lances high on their
shoulders and holding the bows in their hands. They make use of both as need
requires, but when pursued they use their bows to great advantage.

48. Not only do they wear armor themselves, but the horses of their illustri-
ous men are covered in front with iron or quilted material.

49. They devote a great deal of attention and training to archery on horse-
back.

12. The Bulgarian Khan Boris was baptized in 864 and, despite some resistance, was
followed by his subjects. See "Bulgaria" in *ODB*.

50. Ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πλῆθος ἀλόγων, ἵππαριων καὶ φοραδίων, ἅμα
260 μὲν πρὸς ἀποτροφήν καὶ γαλακτοποσίαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ πλῆθους φαντασίαν.

51. Ἀπλικεύουσι δὲ οὐκ ἐν φοσσάτῳ, ὥσπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τῆς
τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας διεσπαρμένοι κατὰ γένη καὶ φυλάς, τοὺς ἵππους βόσκον-
τες διηνεκῶς ἐν θέρει καὶ χειμῶνι, ἐν δὲ καιρῷ πολέμου τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἵππους
κατέχοντες καὶ πεδικλοῦντες πλησίον τῶν Τουρκικῶν τεντῶν φυλάττουσι μέχρι
265 καιροῦ τῆς παρατάξεως, ὑπὸ νύκτα τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπαρχόμενοι.

52. Τὰς δὲ βίγλας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἀλλεπαλλήλους ποιοῦσιν, εἰς τὸ μὴ
εὐκόλως αὐτοὺς ὑπομένειν αἰφνιδισμούς.

53. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ οὐχ ὥς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρατάσσουσιν ἐν τρισὶ μέρεσιν, ἀλλ'
ἐν διαφόροις μοίραις δρουγγιστὶ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις τὰς μοίρας, μικρὸν ἀπ'
270 ἀλλήλων διίσταμένας, ὥστε μίαν φαίνεσθαι παράταξιν.

54. Ἐχουσι δὲ ἔξω τῆς παρατάξεως δύναμιν τινα ἐκ περισσοῦ, ἣν πρὸς ἐγ-
κρυμμα ἐκπέμπουσι κατὰ τῶν ἀμελῶς ἀντιτασσομένων αὐτοῖς, ἥ καὶ εἰς βοήθει-
αν τοῦ βαρουμένου μέρους φυλάττουσι. τὸν δὲ τοῦλδον αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν τῆς
παρατάξεως ἔχουσι πλησίον ἢ δεξιᾷ ἢ ἀριστερᾷ τῆς παρατάξεως ὥς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ
275 δευτέρου μιλίου, ἀφιέντες ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὀλίγην παραφυλακὴν.

55. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συζευγνύντες τοὺς περισσοὺς τῶν ἵππων κατὰ νώτου,
ἤγουν ὀπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτῶν, ποιοῦσιν εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν
βάθη τῶν ἀκιῶν τῆς παρατάξεως, ἤγουν τοὺς στίχους, ἀορίστως ποιοῦσι, διὰ τὸ
παχεῖαν εἶναι τὴν παράταξιν βάθους μᾶλλον φροντίζοντες, καὶ ἴσον ποιοῦσι καὶ
280 πυκνὸν τὸ μέτωπον.

56. Χαίρουσι δὲ μᾶλλον ταῖς ἀπὸ μηκόθεν μάχαις καὶ ἐνέδραις καὶ ταῖς
κυκλώσεσι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ταῖς ἐσχηματισμέναις ὑποχωρήσεσι καὶ
ἀντιστροφαῖς καὶ ταῖς διεσπασμέναις τάξεσιν.

57. Ὅταν δὲ τρέψωσι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν, πάντα ἐν δευτέρῳ τιθέασιν, καὶ
285 ἀφειδῶς ἐπιτίθενται, οὐδὲν ἕτερον λογιζόμενοι ἢ τὸ διώκειν. οὐκ ἀρκοῦνται
γάρ, ὥσπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη, τῇ μετρίᾳ καταδιώξει, καὶ τῇ τῶν

50. A huge herd of horses, ponies and mares, follows them, to provide both
food and milk and, at the same time, to give the impression of a multitude.

51. They do not set up camp within entrenchments, as do the Romans, but
up until the day of battle they are spread about according to tribes and clans.
They graze their horses continually both summer and winter. When time comes
for battle, they take the horses they think necessary, hobble them next to the
Turkish tents, and guard them until it is time to form for battle, which they
begin to do under cover of night.

52. They station their sentries at a good distance one after another so as not
to be easily subjected to surprise attacks.

53. In battle they do not line up as do the Romans in three divisions, but in
several units of irregular size, linking the divisions close to one another al-
though separated by short distances, so that they give the impression of one
battle line.

54. Apart from their battle line, they maintain an additional force that they
send out to ambush careless adversaries of theirs or hold in reserve to support a
hard-pressed section. They keep their baggage train behind their battle line, to
the right or the left of the line about a mile or two away, detailing a small guard
for it.

55. Frequently they tie the extra horses together to the rear, that is, behind
their battle line, as protection for it. They make the depth of the files, that is, the
rows, of their battle line irregular because they consider it more important that
the line should be thick than deep, and they make their front even and dense.

56. They prefer battles fought at long range, ambushes, encircling their
adversaries, simulated withdrawals and wheeling about, and scattered forma-
tions.

57. When they force their enemies to take to flight, they put everything else
aside and are ruthless in their onslaught. They think of nothing else except the
pursuit. They are not content, as are the Romans and other nations, with pursu-

259 ἀλόγων MW om. AVBE 261 ἐν MW ἐν τε AVBE 264 τεντῶν MW τενδῶν AVBE |
φυλάττουσι MVBE φυλάττουσιν WA 265 ἀπαρχόμενοι MWVE ἀρχόμενοι AB
266 ἀλλεπαλλήλους MW ἀλλεπαλλήλους καὶ πυκνὰς AVBE 271 ἔχουσι MAVBE ἔχουσιν
W 272 ἐκπέμπουσι MAVBE ἐκπέμπουσιν W 273 φυλάττουσι M φυλάττουσιν WA
φράττουσι VBE | ὀπισθεν MW ὀπισθε AVBE 274 ἔχουσι MVBE ἔχουσιν WA | δεξιᾷ...
ἀριστερᾷ MW trsp. AVBE 275 ἀφιέντες MW καταλιμπάνοντες AVBE 276 καὶ MW om.
AVBE 276-277 κατὰ... ἤγουν MWVBE om. A 281 ἐνέδραις MW ἐγκρύμμασιν AVBE
282 κυκλώσεσι MWVBE κυκλώσεσιν A 284 τιθέασιν M τιθέασιν W τίθενται AVBE
286 μετρία MW συμμέτρῳ AVBE

χρημάτων ἀρπαγῇ, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τοσούτου ἐπικεῖνται, ἕως ἂν τελείως τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατάλυσιν ποιήσωνται, πάσῃ μεθόδῳ εἰς τοῦτο κεχρημένοι.

58. Ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν διωκόμενοι εἰς ὀχύρωμα καταφύγῃσι, σπουδάζουσιν ἀκριβῶς κατανοοῦντες τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔνδειαν, καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ προσκαρτεροῦσιν, ἵνα τῇ στενότητι τούτων χειρώσωνται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ εἰς τὰ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτοῖς σύμφωνα τούτους ἀγάγῃσι. πρῶτον μὲν ἐλαφρότερά τινα ἐπιζητοῦντες καὶ τότε, συντιθεμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἕτερα μείζονα προτιθέασιν.

59. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἦθη τοσούτῳ μόνον διαφέροντα τῶν Βουλγάρων, ὅσῳ τὴν Χριστιανῶν οὗτοι ἀσπασάμενοι πίστιν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐπ' ὀλίγον μετεβάλλοντο ἦθεσι, τότε τὸ ἄγριον καὶ νομαδικὸν τῷ ἀπίστῳ συναποβαλόντες.

60. Ἐναντιοῦται δὲ πολεμίοις Τούρκοις ἔνδεια βοσκῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐπιφέρονται ἀλόγων.

61. Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ δὲ συμβολῆς τάξις πεζικὴ συντεταγμένη μάλιστα αὐτοὺς βλάβει, ὥς ἐναντία αὐτῶν καβαλλαρίων ὄντων καὶ μὴ καταβαινόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων. | οὐδὲ γὰρ στήναι πεζῇ καρτεροῦσιν, ὥς συντραφέντες ἐποχεῖσθαι τοῖς ἵπποις.

62. Ἐναντιοῦται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπος ὁμαλὸς καὶ γεγυμνωμένος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τάξις καβαλλαρικὴ καὶ πεπυκνωμένη καὶ ἀδιαστάτως αὐτοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσα.

63. Ἐναντιοῦται δὲ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς συμπλοκὴ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ ἔφοδοι νυκτεριναὶ ἀσφαλῶς γινόμεναι, οἷον ἵνα οἱ προσβαλόντες αὐτοῖς ἐν μὲν ἔχουσι μέρος τεταγμένον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος ἐγκρυπτόμενον.

64. Λυπεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς σφόδρα καὶ ὅτ' ἂν τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν προσφύγῃσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. γινώσκουσι γὰρ ὅτι ἄσφατον ἔχει γνῶμην τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν, καὶ φιλοκερδεῖς εἰσι, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν φυλῶν συγκεῖμενοι, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο οὐ ποιοῦνται λόγον συγγενῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίας.

288 μεθόδῳ MW μηχανῇ AVBE 290 τῶν!... ἔνδειαν MW λείψιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων AVBE 292 ἀγάγῃσι MVBE ἀγάγωσιν WA 294 προτιθέασιν MW προστιθέασιν AVBE 295 μόνον MAVBE μόνω W 296 καὶ MW om. AVBE 297-298 συναποβαλόντες MW συμβαλόντες AVBE 301 συμβολῆς MW συμβολῆς μάλιστα αὐτοὺς βλάβει AVBE 301-302 μάλιστα... βλάβει MW om. AVBE 302 ὥς ἐναντία MW ἐναντία οὐσα AVBE 305 γεγυμνωμένος AVBE γεγυμνασμένος MW | δὴ καὶ MW om. AVBE 306 καί² MW om. AVBE 310 προσφύγῃσι MWVBE προσφύγωσιν A 312 εἰσι MVBE εἰσιν WA 313 λόγον MW λόγον ἢ φροντίδα AVBE

ing their foes a reasonable distance and plundering their goods, but the Turks press on without respite until they have brought about the complete destruction of their enemies, employing every means to achieve this.

58. If some of the enemy they are pursuing should take refuge in a fortified place, they make careful efforts to discover any shortage of necessities for horses and men. They wait patiently so they can wear down their enemies by the shortage of those items or get them to accept terms favorable to themselves. Their first demands are fairly light, but then, when the enemy agrees to these, they impose others that are heavier.

59. These characteristics of the Turks are different from those of the Bulgarians only inasmuch as the latter have embraced the faith of the Christians and gradually taken on Roman characteristics. At that time they threw off their savage and nomadic way of life along with their faithlessness.

60. Hostile Turks are greatly hurt by a shortage of pasturage, because of the large number of horses they bring along with them.

61. When it comes to battle, an infantry force in close formation opposed to their cavalry will inflict the greatest damage on them. They do not dismount from their horses and, since they have grown up riding on horseback, they do not last long on foot.¹³

62. They are also at a disadvantage on level, unobstructed ground, as well as when a cavalry force follows along after them in a dense, unbroken mass.

63. Hand-to-hand combat with weapons also hurts them, as do attacks made safely at night, in such a way that one section of our attacking force maintains its formation while the other section remains in hiding.

64. They are also seriously hurt when some of them desert to the Romans. They realize that their nation is fickle and they are avaricious and composed of so many tribes and for this reason they set no value on kinship and unity with one another.

13. Cf. *Strat.* 11.2.19. Ammianus Marcellinus (31.2.6), writing about the Huns, notes a similar characteristic: "Their shoes are formed on no last and so prevent their walking with a free step. For this reason they are not at all adapted to battles on foot."

65. Ὀλίγων δὲ τάχα τοῦ προσφυγεῖν ἀπαρχομένων καὶ φιλοφρονουμένων
 315 παρ' ἡμῶν πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθεῖ· διὸ καὶ βαρέως φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν ἀναχωροῦσιν.

66. Ὅτ' ἂν οὖν βουλευθῇ τις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγγίσει πρὸς μάχην, πρό γε πάντων
 ἔχειν αὐτὸν δέον τὰς βίγλας ἐπιμελῶς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀπὸ διαστημάτων ὀλίγων,
 εἴτα μεριμνῆσαι καὶ προεுτρεπίσαι τὰ εἰς δευτέραν τύχην τυγχάνοντα, ἥγουν
 320 μήποτε τροπὴ γένηται τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων αὐτοῖς, ἵνα καὶ ὀχυρὸν τόπον
 κατανοήσῃ ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως καὶ δαπάνην ἐφεύρῃ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, εἰ μὲν
 δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων, ἐπεὶ πάντως τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ
 ὕδατος εὐπορίαν, εἴτα καὶ τὸν τοῦλδον διαθήσῃ, ὥς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίῳ
 ἡμῖν εἴρηται.

67. Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν σύνεστι πεζικὸς στρατός, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μάλιστα μάχῃ ἐν ὅσῳ
 ὁ στρατὸς ἐν συνηθείᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους γίνεται, ἐκτάξει αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα
 ἡμῖν ἐν ἄλλοις τρόπον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὥστε ἔχειν τοὺς καβαλλάριους ὑποτεταγ-
 μένους τοῖς πεζοῖς.

68. Εἰ δὲ μόνον καβαλλάριοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀντιτασσόμενοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι
 330 πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν, κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα τρόπον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ περὶ
 τάξεως λόγῳ τάξει αὐτοῦς.

69. Πλείονας δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλαγίοις ἀφορίσει καὶ χρησίμους· ἐν τῷ νώτῳ γὰρ
 αὐτῶν ἀρκοῦσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι διφένσορες καβαλλάριοι, ἥτοι οἱ ἐκδικιοί. τοὺς δὲ
 κούρσορας, ἥτοι προμάχους, μὴ πλέον τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων σαγιττοβόλων τῆς
 335 παρατάξεως τῶν διφενσόρων ἐν ταῖς διώξεσι χωρίζεσθαι, μηδὲ κατατρέχειν
 αὐτῶν. πάντως δὲ καὶ σπουδὴν ποιήσεται ἵνα ἐν γυμνῷ καὶ ἴσῳ τόπῳ κατὰ τὸ
 δυνατόν αὐτῷ τὴν παρατάξιν ἐκτάξῃ, ἔνθα μήτε ὕλαι εἰσὶ δασεῖαι μήτε πάλματα
 μήτε κοιλάδες ἐνοχλοῦσι, διὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐπινοούμενα ἐγκρύμματα.

70. Καὶ τὰς βίγλας δὲ ἐκ διαστήματος κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τῆς παρα-
 340 τάξεως ποιήσει.

314 προσφυγεῖν MW προσφεύγειν AVBE 315-316 ἐπὶ...ἀναχωροῦσιν MW om. AVBE
 317 βουλευθῇ...ἐγγίσει MW τις βουλευθῇ προσεγγίσει αὐτοῖς AVBE | γε MW om. AVBE
 319 τυγχάνοντα MW συντείνοντα AVBE 320 αὐτοῖς MW αὐτοὺς AVBE
 327-328 ὥστε...πεζοῖς MW ἵνα ὥσιν οἱ καβαλλάριοι ὀπισθεν τῶν πεζῶν AVBE
 329 μόνον MW μόνοι AVBE 332 ἐν²...νώτῳ MW ὀπισθεν AVBE 336 καὶ¹ MW om.
 AVBE | ποιήσεται MW ποιήσεται AVBE 338 μήτε MW μήτε δὲ AVBE | ἐνοχλοῦσι
 MAVBE ἐνοχλοῦσιν W 340 ποιήσει MW ποιήσει AVBE

65. When a few begin to desert and are kindly received by us, a large number will soon follow them. For that reason they bear a grudge against those who depart from them.

66. Now then, when you wish to advance against them for battle, you must, above all, have frequent watches on the alert and not far apart. Then make your plans and advance preparations in the event of second fortune, that is, in case your forces, fighting against them, should be put to flight. Search for a strong position in the event of an emergency and find provisions for a few days, if possible also for the horses and certainly for the men, especially plenty of water. Then, make arrangements for the baggage train, as we have written in the chapter about it.¹⁴

67. If an infantry force is present, especially in the first engagement, when the army is becoming accustomed to that nation, draw it up according to the method described by us elsewhere, that is, with the cavalry lined up behind the infantry.¹⁵

68. If the troops drawn up for combat against them consist only of cavalry who are ready for battle against their forces, line them up in the manner described in the book on formations.¹⁶

69. Set apart a numerous and capable force on the flanks. To their rear, the cavalry called defenders, or *ekdikoi*, are sufficient. When in pursuit, the assault troops, or *promachoi*, should not distance themselves more than three or four bowshots from the battle line of the defenders, and they should not outrun them. A concerted effort should be made to draw up the battle line, as much as possible, in an open and even place, free of thick woods, marshes, or hollows that could serve as cover for ambushes prepared by the Turks.

70. Post scouts at some distance from all four sides of the battle line.

14. See above, Const. 10.

15. See above, Const. 7 §§41-45.

16. Probably *Sylloge tacticorum*. See Const. 19, n. 15.

71. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐνδέχεται, καλὸν ἐστίν, ἵνα ἡ δύσβατον ποταμὸν ἢ πάλματα ἢ λίμνην κατὰ νώτου τῆς παρατάξεως ἔχη, ἵνα ὁ νώτος ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττεται. |

72. Καὶ ἐὰν καλῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐξέλθῃ, μήτε κατατρέχειν αὐτῶν ἀπλή-
στως μήτε ἀμελῶς διακεῖσθαι. οὐδὲ γάρ, ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, τὴν πρώτην ἡττώ-
345 μενα μάχην ἀπολήγουσι τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ μέχρις ἂν κατὰ κράτος ταπεινωθῶ-
σιν, ἐπιτηδεύουσι διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν ἐγχειρεῖν. ἐὰν δὲ
σύμμικτός ἐστιν ἡ τάξις, καὶ πλείους εἰσὶν οἱ πεζοί, δέον πρόνοιαν ἐν τοῖς
τοιούτοις ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀποτροφῆς τῶν ἀλόγων. οὐ γὰρ πάντως συγχωροῦνται
οἱ καβαλλάριοι ἐγγιζόντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν χορτάσματα τῶν ἀλόγων συνάγειν.

350 73. Αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ πολεμικὴ τε καὶ συνήθης τῶν Τούρκων συνάσκησις
διαφέρει τῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων, ὡς εἴρηται, κατὰ τινα μικρά, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐξωμοίω-
ται. ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτου ἕνεκέν σοι ταύτην ὑπεγράψαμεν, οὐχ ὡς Τούρκοι παρα-
τάσσεσθαι μέλλοντι, οὔτε γὰρ γείτονές εἰσιν οὔτε μὴν πολέμιοι νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
μᾶλλον ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις σπουδάζουσιν ἀναδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔχοις, ὡ
355 στρατηγέ, εἰδέναι τὰ ἕκαστα τῶν διαφόρων παρατάξεων καὶ στρατηγημάτων,
καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς συντόμως πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν βουληθῇς,
καὶ δοκιμάσης τὸ χρήσιμον τοῖς ἐκ πολλῆς γυμνασίας παρά τισιν ἐφευρισκο-
μένοις στρατηγήμασι τε καὶ παρατάξεσιν ἢ ὅτε καιρὸς ἀπαιτῇ, καὶ ἀντιστρατεύ-
εσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰ τὸ ἐναντίον διὰ τῆς μελέτης προησχημένος καὶ γυμνασάμενος.

360 74. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἷον Φράγγοι καὶ Λογγίβαρδοι, πάλαι μὲν
ἀσεβεῖα κρατούμενα, νῦν δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιν ἀσπαζόμενα, ὧν
τὰ μὲν φίλια, τὰ δὲ ὑπήκοα τῇ ἡμῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλείᾳ τυγχάνουσι. καὶ τούτοις
δέ εἰσι πολεμικὰ ιδιώματα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ παραδόσεως, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ συνηθείᾳ

360–440 *Strat.*, 11.3.

342 κατὰ νώτου MW ὀπισθεν AVBE | ἔχη MW ἔχειν AVBE | ὁ νώτος MW τὰ ὀπισθεν μέρη
AVBE | φυλάττεται MW φυλάττεται AVBE 343 ἐξέλθῃ MW ἀποβῇ AVBE
345 ἀπολήγουσι MW ἀποπαύουσι AVBE 347 πλείους MW πλείονες AVBE
348 πάντως συγχωροῦνται MW trsp. AVBE 349 ἐγγιζόντων MW πλησιαζόντων AVBE
350 τοίνυν MW om. AVBE | τε MW om. AVBE | συνάσκησις MW γυμνασία AVBE
351 τῶν AVBE om. MW 351–352 κατὰ...ἐξωμοίωται MW τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅμοια εἰσιν AVBE
352–353 παρατάσσεσθαι μέλλοντι MW trsp. AVBE 353 οὔτε¹ MW οὐδὲ AVBE | οὔτε
μὴν MW οὐδὲ AVBE 354 ἀναδείκνυσθαι MW εἶναι AVBE 354–356 ἔχοις...τι MW
γινώσκης ἐκάστου ἔθνους παράταξιν καὶ στρατηγήματα καὶ ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ
πολλάκις ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτὰ πρὸς ὄνπερ AVBE 357–358 τοῖς...ἀπαιτῇ MW ἢ AVBE
359 τὸ...γυμνασάμενος MW ὅτε καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ διὰ τῆς μελέτης ταῦτα προγυμνασάμενος
AVBE 360 λογγίβαρδοι MW λαγόβαρδοι AVBE 362 ἡμῶν...θεοῦ MW trsp. AVBE |
τυγχάνουσι MVBE τυγχάνουσιν WA 363 εἰσι MAVBE εἰσιν W | τῇ MW τῇ αὐτῶν AVBE

71. If it can be done, it is good to have a river that is difficult to ford or marshes or a lake behind the battle line so that the rear is securely protected.

72. If the battle turns out well, do not be too hasty in racing after the enemy or behave carelessly. For, unlike other nations, this one does not give up the struggle when worsted in the first battle but, until they are completely beaten down, they try all sorts of ways to assault their enemies. If the formation is mixed, consisting mostly of infantry, you must still be concerned about finding forage for the horses. For when the enemy are getting close, by no means are the cavalry allowed to send out foraging parties.

73. Therefore, these military practices and characteristics of the Turks differ from those of the Bulgarians, as mentioned, in only a few particulars but are similar in others. We have given you this outline, O general, not because you are preparing to face the Turks in battle, for they are neither neighbors nor enemies to us at present, but instead they are eager to show themselves as subjects of the Romans. Still, O general, you should have a good knowledge of each one of the various formations and military practices and, at the proper time, make use of them without delay against anyone you wish. Experiment with what has been useful among those stratagems and battle formations that a great deal of experience has led some individuals to discover. Then, as the situation requires, after carefully practicing the drills and exercises, take the proper military measures to counter theirs.

74. There are some nations, such as the Franks and the Lombards, who had formerly been bound by impiety, but have now embraced the true faith of the Christians.¹⁷ Some are friendly while others are subject to Our God-given Majesty. They have distinctive military practices, some of which are traditional

17. Sections 74–92 derive from *Strat.* 11.3. Franks was a general name for Western Europeans; Lombards meant those in the various principalities of southern Italy, nominally under Byzantine rule.

σύμφωνα, ἅπερ παραθήσομέν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, οὐ χάριν τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκστρατείας
 365 —πῶς γὰρ τῶν εἰρηνευόντων καὶ συμμάχων καὶ ὁμοθρήσκων καὶ ὑπηκόων;—
 ἀλλὰ ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθίμων καὶ συστάσεων, καὶ εἴ γε δεῖ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 τοιούτοις ἐναντίων, εἴ τί σοι δόξη χρήσιμον ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ ζηλώσης καὶ ἔξης
 ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι γεγυμνασμένον κατὰ τῶν ὁποίωνδήποτε σοι ἀντιπα-
 ραταττομένων πολεμίων.

370 75. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Σκλάβοι ἦσαν ποτε, ὅτε πέραν κατῴκουν τοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν καὶ
 Δανούβιον καλοῦμεν, οἷς καὶ προσεπολέμουν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιτιθέμενοι, νομαδικῶς
 καὶ αὐτῶν τότε διαζώντων, πρὶν ἢ περαιωθῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν
 τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας τὸν ἑαυτῶν αὐχένα ὑποκλῖναι. οὐδὲ τούτῳ δὲ τὰ ἔθιμα
 πρὸς τὰς μάχας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην συνήθειαν ἄγνωστά σοι καταλείψω, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 375 μοι εἴρηται, πάντα συλλέξας διαγράψω, καθ' ὅσον ἡ ἡμῖν δύναμις ἐγχωρεῖ, ἵνα
 πανταχόθεν μελίττης δίκην ἐρανίζῃ καὶ συλλέγῃς τὰ χρήσιμα.

76. Φράγγοι τοίνυν καὶ Λογγίβαρδοι λόγον ἐλευθερίας περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦν-
 ται. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Λογγίβαρδοι τὸ πλεόν τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς νῦν ἀπώλεσαν,
 πλὴν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ Φράγγοι καὶ μάλιστα θρασεῖς | ἦσαν καὶ ἀκατάπληκτοι, ἐν
 380 τοῖς πολέμοις τολμηροὶ τε καὶ προπετεῖς, εἰς ὄνειδος ἔχοντες τὴν δειλίαν καὶ
 τὴν πρὸς μικρὸν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ταύτην οἰοῦναι φυγὴν ἡγούμενοι. εὐκόλως δὲ
 διὰ τοῦτο θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι τὴν κατὰ χεῖρα μάχην σφοδρῶς καὶ καβαλ-
 λάριοι καὶ πεζοὶ μαχόμενοι.

77. Ὅτ' ἂν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν ταῖς καβαλλαρικαῖς μάχαις στενωθῶσιν, ἐξ ἐνός
 385 συνθήματος ἀποκαταβαίνουνσι τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν καὶ πεζῇ παρατάσσονται,
 ὀλίγοι τάχα καὶ πρὸς πλείονας καβαλλάριους μὴ δειλιῶντες ἢ ἀπολέγονται τῆς
 μάχης.

364–365 τῆς...ἐκστρατείας MW τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκστρατεῦσαι AVBE 365 ὁμοθρήσκων
 MW ὁμοπίστων AVBE 365–366 ἀλλὰ MW ἀλλ' AVBE 366–367 ἐθίμων...ἐναντίων
 MW om. AVBE 367 καὶ¹...καὶ² MW om. AVBE 368 ὁποίωνδήποτε MW om. AVBE
 368–369 σοι ἀντιπαταττομένων MW trsp. AVBE 370 ἦσαν MW om. AVBE | ὅτε MW
 om. AVBE 372 καὶ¹...διαζώντων MW διαζώσιν AVBE | ἢ περαιωθῆναι MW περάσαι
 AVBE 372–373 ὑπὸ...ὑποκλῖναι MW ὑποταγῆναι Ῥωμαίοις AVBE 375 ἡ AVBE om.
 MW 376 μελίττης MW μελίσσης AVBE | ἐρανίζῃ...συλλέγῃς MW συνάγῃς AVBE
 377 λογγίβαρδοι MW λαγόβαρδοι AVBE | λόγον MW φροντίδα πολλὴν τῆς AVBE | περὶ
 πολλοῦ MW om. AVBE 378 λογγίβαρδοι MW λαγόβαρδοι AVBE 379 καὶ³ MW om.
 AVBE 382 καταφρονοῦσι MAB καταφρονούσιν WVE | κατὰ χεῖρα MW ἀπὸ χειρῶν
 AVBE 384 ὡς εἰκός MW om. AVBE 386–387 ἀπολέγονται...μάχης MW
 ἀπαγορεύοντες τὴν μάχην AVBE

among them, while others derive from actual usage. We are transmitting these
 to you, O general, not because of a military campaign against them—for how
 «could this be» when they are at peace and are allies, coreligionists, and sub-
 jects?—but in order that, from their usages and organization and, if necessary,
 from their adversaries, you may select whatever might seem useful to you and
 emulate them. And, when the time comes, you will be well practiced <in facing>
 absolutely any kind of enemy drawn up in formation against you.

75. Formerly there were the Slavs. When they dwelt across the Ister, which
 we call the Danube, the Romans attacked them and made war against them.
 They were then living as nomads, that is, before they crossed the Ister and bent
 their necks under the yoke of Roman authority. But I will not leave you ignorant
 of their usual methods in combat and of their other customs. Indeed, as I said, I
 will gather and explain everything to you, to the best of my ability, so that, like
 the bee, you may bring together from all sides and collect what is useful.

76. The Franks and the Lombards place great value on freedom. But the
 Lombards have now lost most of such virtue, although they and the Franks were
 particularly bold and undaunted, daring and impetuous in battle, regarding any
 timidity and even a short retreat as a disgrace, considering it just like a rout. For
 this reason they calmly despise death as they fight violently in hand-to-hand
 combat either on horseback or on foot.

77. Now, in the event that they are hard pressed in cavalry actions, they
 dismount from their horses at a single prearranged signal and line up on foot.
 Although few in number against many horsemen they show no fear and do not
 shrink from battle.

78. Ὀπλίζονται δὲ σκουταρίοις καὶ κονταρίοις καὶ σπαθίοις κοντοτέροις, ἃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτῶν διὰ λωρίων ἀναβαστάζουσιν. ἐνίστε δέ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ
390 διαζώννυνται αὐτά.

79. Χαίρουσι δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ πεζομαχίᾳ καὶ ταῖς μετ' ἐλασίας καταδρομαῖς, τάσσονται δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἴτε πεζοὶ εἴτε καβαλλάριοι οὐκ ἐν μέτρῳ τινὶ ὠρισμένῳ καὶ ἐν τάξει ἢ ἐν μοίραις ἢ ἐν μέρεσι, καθάπερ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγγενείᾳ τε καὶ προσπαθείᾳ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ
395 συνωμοσίᾳ. ὅθεν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως φίλων ἐναπολειφθέντων συνεκινδύνευσαν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τούτους ἐκδικήσαντες.

80. Ἴσον δὲ τὸ μέτωπον τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται καὶ πυκνὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις.

81. Τὰς δὲ συμβολάς, εἴτε καβαλλάριοι εἴτε πεζοί, σφοδρῶς καὶ ἀκατασχέ-
400 τως ποιοῦσιν, ὡς μονότονοι καὶ πάσης δειλίας ἀπεχόμενοι.

82. Ἀπειθεῖς δὲ εἰσι πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα Φράγγοι, ἐλευθερίας ὥσπερ ἀντιποιοῦμενοι, καὶ ἐκουσίως ἐφ' ὅσον καιρὸν ὀρίσωσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὀρισθῶσιν ἐκστρατεύουσι καὶ μόνον, καὶ τούτου παρερχομένου, εἰ τύχοι αὐτοὺς ἐπιμένειν, βαρέως φέροντες τὸν παρασυρμὸν τοῦ χρόνου,
405 λύουσι τὴν σύνταξιν τοῦ ἐξπεδίτου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν.

83. Ἀπράγμονες δὲ εἰσι καὶ πάσης ποικιλίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐκτὸς καὶ τῆς τοῦ συμφέροντος γνώμης. διὸ καὶ τάξεως περιφρονοῦσι καὶ μάλιστα τῆς καβαλλαρικῆς.

84. Ὑποφθείρονται δὲ διὰ χρημάτων εὐκόλως, φιλοκερδεῖς ὄντες, ἐξ ὧν
410 πείρα μαθόντες, ἴσμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐνταῦθα πολλάκις παραγενομένων ἐπὶ τισὶ διοικήσεσιν, ὡς τῇ ἐκείνων ἐπιμιξίᾳ, οἶμαι, καὶ τούτων βαρβαρωθέντων τε καὶ συνεθισθέντων.

85. Λυπεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς κακοπάθεια καὶ συντριβή. ὅσον γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς τολμη-
415 εὐκόλως φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενα.

78. They are armed with shields and lances and rather short swords slung by straps from their shoulders, although at times some carry them around the waist.

79. They take more pleasure in fighting on foot and in making headlong charges.¹⁸ Whether on foot or on horseback, they draw up for battle not in any fixed measure and formation or in moirai or divisions, as do the Romans, but according to clans, their kinship with one another, or some common bond or often leagued together by oath.¹⁹ As a result, when things are not going well and their friends have fallen, they will often risk their lives fighting to avenge them.

80. In combat they make the front of their battle line even and dense.

81. Either on horseback or on foot their charges are impetuous and uncontrollable, hardheaded as they are without any fear at all.

82. They are disobedient to their leaders, especially the Franks, placing freedom above all else. They willingly go on campaign for as much time as they shall determine or that has been determined by their rulers, and only for that period of time. If it happens that they are to remain <beyond that>, they bear the extension of time grudgingly and break up the formation of the expedition and withdraw to their homes.

83. They are easygoing and avoid anything at all complicated and security measures and planning something beneficial. Thus, they despise good order, especially when it comes to cavalry.

84. They are easily corrupted by money, greedy as they are. This we have learned from experience, and we know from those who have frequently come here from Italy on some business or other that by intermingling with them, I think, even these have adopted their habits and become barbarized.

85. They are hurt by suffering and fatigue. Although they possess bold and daring spirits, their bodies are pampered and soft and unable to bear heavy labor easily.

389 ἐνίστε MW πολλάκις AVBE 395 ἐναπολειφθέντων MW ἐναπολειφθέντων μέσω των ἐχθρῶν AVBE 399-400 ἀκατασχέτως MW ἀκρατῶς AVBE 400 μονότονοι καὶ MW om. AVBE 402 ὥσπερ MW om. AVBE | ὀρίσωσιν MW ὀρίσουσιν AVBE 404 φέροντες MW φέρουσι AVBE 405 λύουσι MW καὶ λύοντες AVBE | τοῦ ἐξπεδίτου MW τῆς ἐκστρατείας AVBE 406 καὶ ἀσφαλείας MW om. AVBE 407 περιφρονοῦσι MW καταφρονοῦσι AVBE 410 ἴσμεν MW γινώσκμεν AVBE | ἐνταῦθα πολλάκις MW trsp. AVBE 411-412 ὡς...συνεθισθέντων MW καὶ τοσούτων τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης μεταλαβόντων τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους συνηθείᾳ καὶ συναναστροφῇ AVBE

18. Cf. *Strat.* 11.3.3; Procopius, *Bella*, 6.25.12-14.

19. Cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, 7.2.

86. Προσέτι δὲ λυπεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ καύσων καὶ ψύχος καὶ βροχὴ καὶ ἔνδεια δαπανημάτων, καὶ μάλιστα οἴνου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑπέρθεσις πολέμου.

87. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τῆς καβαλλαρικῆς μάχης ἐναντιοῦνται αὐτοῖς τόποι δύσβατοι καὶ δασεῖς διὰ τὸ εἰς ὀξεῖς ἐλασίας ἐπ' εὐθείας μετὰ τῶν κονταρίων αὐτοὺς ἐγγυμνασθῆναι.

88. Ὑπομένουσι δὲ καὶ δι' ἐγκρυμμάτων βλάβας εὐκόλως | κατὰ τε τῶν πλαγίων καὶ τοῦ νότου τῆς αὐτῶν παρατάξεως· οὐ γὰρ πάνυ φροντίζουσι βίγλας ἢ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀσφαλείας.

89. Ἐὰν δὲ τινες καὶ σχηματίζωνται φυγὴν, εὐκόλως διαλύονται, καὶ εἰ ἄφνω 425 κατ' αὐτῶν ἀντιστρέψωσιν, εὐκόλως αὐτοὺς διαφθείρουσι.

90. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ νυκτερινὰ ἐπελεύσεις ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν βλάπτουσιν αὐτούς· διεσπασμένοι γὰρ ἀπικεύουσιν.

91. Εἰ δὲ τις αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύθη ποτὲ προσβαλεῖν οὕτως εἰθισμένοις καὶ διακειμένοις, οὐκ ἔχρητο κατ' αὐτῶν ἐν μάχῃ δημοσίᾳ παρατάξει, καὶ μάλιστα 430 ἐκ προοιμίων, ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως δι' ἐγκρυμμάτων καὶ κλοπῆς κατ' αὐτῶν προσέβαλεν καὶ διὰ σοφισμάτων ἄλλων στρατηγικῶν ἢ διὰ ὑπερθέσεως τῆς μάχης διασύρων τὸν καιρὸν ἢ καὶ σύμφωνα εἰρήνης σχηματιζόμενος πρὸς αὐτούς, ἵνα ἢ τῇ τῶν δαπανημάτων ἐπιλείψει ἢ τῇ τοῦ καύσωνος ἢ καὶ ψύχους τυχὸν ὀχλήσῃ τοὺς θράσους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον ἐλαττώσῃ.

92. Ἡ δὲ ὑπέρθεσις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μάλιστα ἐδύνατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι 435 τότε, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς ὀχρωτέρους καὶ δυσβάτους τόπους ἠπλίκενεν ὁ πολέμιος ἐκείνων στρατός, ἔνθα, ὥς ἔχοντες κοντάρια, κατὰ τοῦ τόπου ἐγχειρεῖν ἐπιτηδείως οὐκ ἐδύναντο. ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐκ ἐνήργουν κατ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ

416 προσέτι...λυπεῖ MW λυπεῖ δὲ AVBE | ἔνδεια MW λείψις AVBE 417 ὑπέρθεσις πολέμου MW trsp. AVBE 419 ὀξεῖς MW ὀξείας AVBE 421 δὲ MW δὲ βλάβας AVBE | βλάβας MW om. AVBE 422 τοῦ...παρατάξεως MW ὅπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτῶν AVBE 423 λοιπῆς MW λοιπῆς αὐτῶν AVBE 424 τινες καὶ MW καὶ οἱ ἀντιτασσόμενοι αὐτοῖς AVBE | διαλύονται MW ἐκείνοι τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτῶν διαλύουσιν AVBE 425 ἀντιστρέψωσιν MW ἀντιστρέψωσιν οἱ τὴν φυγὴν σχηματίζοντες AVBE | διαφθείρουσι MVBE διαφθείρουσιν WA 427 διεσπασμένοι MW διεσπαρμένοι καὶ διεσκορπισμένοι AVBE 428 ἐβουλεύθη MWVE ἐβουλήθη AB 428-429 εἰθισμένοις...διακειμένοις MW trsp. AVBE 429 ἐν μάχῃ MW om. AVBE 430 ἐκ προοιμίων MW ἐξ ἀρχῆς AVBE 430-431 προσέβαλεν MW προσέβαλεν ἢ AVBE 431-432 διὰ...καιρὸν MW ἢ ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ παρασύρων τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μάχης AVBE 433 ἢ...τυχὸν MW τυχὸν ἢ τῇ τοῦ ψύχους AVBE 435 ὑπέρθεσις MW ὑπέρθεσις τοῦ πολέμου AVBE | ἄλλα MW ἄλλα τότε AVBE 435-436 γενέσθαι τότε MW γίνεσθαι AVBE 436-437 πολέμιος ἐκείνων MW πολέμων ἐκείνου AVBE 437-438 ὥς...ἐδύναντο MW ἐγχειρίζειν καὶ ἐπιτιθεσθαι ἐπιτηδείως οὐκ ἐδύναντο ὥς ἔχοντες κοντάρια AVBE

86. Moreover, they are hurt by heat, cold, rain, and lack of provisions, especially of wine, as well as postponement of battle.

87. When it comes to a cavalry battle, they are hindered by difficult and wooded terrain because they have been trained to charge swiftly with their lances on level ground.

88. They are easily subject to serious damage from ambushes along the flanks and to the rear of their battle line, for they pay no attention whatever to scouts and other security measures.

89. Their ranks are easily broken by a simulated flight, and a sudden turning back against them easily wipes them out.

90. Attacks at night by archers often inflict damage on them since they set up camp all scattered about.

91. In the past, individuals who wanted to assault these people, with their customs and manner of doing things, did not line <their own troops> up for a pitched battle against them, especially in the early stages. Instead, they proceeded against them with well-planned ambushes and sneak attacks, as well as by other clever military actions, or else they delayed combat and kept putting it off. Or they pretended to make an agreement about peace with them, so that the shortage of provisions or else the likely discomforts of heat or cold might put a damper on their boldness and high spirits.

92. Delays and other actions against them could best be carried out at a time when the army opposed to them pitched camp on rugged and difficult ground. Because the Franks relied on lances, they were unable to launch an effective attack against such a place. If <the army opposed to them> did not carry out any

πρὸς μάχην πάντως ἑώρων, τότε παρετάσσοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς ἐν τῷ περι
 440 παρατάξεως ἐδηλώσαμεν κεφαλαίῳ.

93. Καὶ τὰ Σκλαβικά δὲ ἔθνη ὁμοδιαίτᾳ τε ἦσαν καὶ ὁμότροπα ἀλλήλοις, καὶ
 ἐλεύθερα, μηδαμῶς δουλοῦσθαι ἢ ἄρχεσθαι πειθόμενα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε πέραν
 τοῦ Δανουβίου κατέκουν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ. ὅθεν καὶ ἐνταῦθα περαιωθέντα καὶ
 οἰονεὶ βιασθέντα δέξασθαι τὴν δουλείαν, οὐχ ἑτέρῳ ἡδέως πείθεσθαι ἤθελον,
 445 ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἑαυτοῖς. κρεῖττον γὰρ ἡγοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς αὐτῶν
 φυλῆς φθειρεσθαι ἢ τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς δουλεῦν καὶ ὑποκλίνεσθαι νόμοις, οὐδὲ
 τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος τὸν ἁγιασμὸν καταδεξάμενα ἄχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων
 χρόνων, τοῦτο ὅσον κατ' αὐτούς εἰς ἀρχαίας ἐλευθερίας συνήθειαν διατηροῦν-
 τες.

450 94. Πολύανδρά τε ἦσαν καὶ κακοπαθείας ὑπομένοντα, εὐκόλως δὲ πρὸς
 καύσωνα καὶ ψῦχος καὶ βροχὴν καὶ σώματος γυμνότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν δαπανη-
 μάτων ἔνδειαν καρτεροῦντα.

95. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν θεῇ τῇ λήξει γενόμενος πατὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων
 αὐτοκράτωρ Βασίλειος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθνῶν ἔπεισε μεταστῆναι καί, γραικώσας,
 455 καὶ ἄρχουσι κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν τύπον ὑποτάξας, καὶ βαπτίσματι τιμήσας, τῆς τε
 δουλείας ἡλευθέρωσε τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι κατὰ τῶν
 Ῥωμαίοις πολεμούντων ἐθνῶν ἐξεπαίδευσεν, οὕτω πως ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τὰ
 τοιαῦτα διακείμενος, διὸ καὶ ἀμερίμνους Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῆς πολλάκις ἀπὸ Σκλά-
 βων γενομένης ἀνταρσίας | ἐποίησεν, πολλὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὀχλήσεις καὶ πολέ-
 460 μους τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ὑπομείναντας.

96. Ἦσαν δέ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰπεῖν, τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ κατακόρως χρώμενα τὰ τῶν
 Σκλάβων φύλα, ἦν οὐδὲ νῦν καταλιπεῖν ἐδικαίωσαν, ἀλλ' ἔχουσιν ὁμοίως. τοῖς

441-492 *Strat.*, 11.4.

439 ἑώρων MW ἀπέβλεπον AVBE 440 παρατάξεως MW περιτάξεως AVBE 441 τε...
 ὁμότροπα MW καὶ ὁμότροπα ἦσαν AVBE 442 δουλοῦσθαι... πειθόμενα MW πειθόμενα
 δουλοῦσθαι ἢ ἄρχεσθαι AVBE 443 περαιωθέντα MW διαπεράσαντα AVBE 444 οἰονεὶ
 MW om. AVBE 444-445 ἑτέρω... τινὰ MW ἤθελον ἑτέρῳ πείθεσθαι ἀλλ AVBE
 446 δουλεῦν... νόμοις MW νόμοις δουλεῦν καὶ ὑποκλίνεσθαι AVBE 447 τοῦ...
 ἁγιασμὸν MW τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα AVBE | ἄχρι MW μέχρι AVBE 448 ὅσον MW ὅσον
 τὸ AVBE 448-449 ἀρχαίας... διατηροῦντες MW συνήθειαν τηροῦντες ἀρχαίας ἐλευθερίας
 AVBE 450 τε MW δὲ AVBE 452 ἔνδειαν MW λειψιν AVBE 453 ἐν... γενομένου
 MW μακαριώτατος AVBE 454 αὐτοκράτωρ MW βασιλεὺς AVBE 456 στρατεύεσθαι
 MW om. AVBE 457 ἐθνῶν MW ἐθνῶν στρατεύεσθαι AVBE 458-459 πολλάκις...
 γενομένης MW γενομένης πολλάκις ἀπὸ σκλαβῶν AVBE 461-462 οὐκ... ἦν MW
 φιλόξενα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τὰ τῶν σκλαβῶν φύλα τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην φιλοξενίαν AVBE
 462 ἐδικαίωσαν MW ἠθέλησαν AVBE

of the above operations against them, but was intent on fighting, it would form
 its battle line against them, as we explained in the chapter on formations.

93. The Slavic nations have shared the same customs and way of life with
 each other.²⁰ They were independent, absolutely refusing to be enslaved or
 governed, especially when they dwelled across the Danube in their own country.
 And when they crossed over from there to here and, as it were, were forced to
 accept slavery, they still did not want to obey another person meekly but in
 some manner only themselves. For they deemed it better to be destroyed by a
 ruler of their own race than to serve and to submit themselves to the laws of the
 Romans. Even after they received the sacrament of salvific baptism, up to our
 own times, they just as strongly retained their ancient and customary indepen-
 dence.

94. They were always a populous and hardy people, readily bearing up under
 heat, cold, rain, nakedness, and scarcity of provisions.

95. Our father, autokrator of the Romans, Basil, now in the divine dwelling,
 persuaded these peoples to abandon their ancient ways and, having made them
 Greek, subjected them to rulers according to the Roman model, and having
 graced them with baptism, he liberated them from slavery to their own rulers
 and trained them to take part in warfare against those nations warring against
 the Romans.²¹ By these means he very carefully arranged matters for those
 peoples. As a result, he enabled the Romans to feel relaxed after the frequent
 uprisings by the Slavs in the past and the many disturbances and wars they had
 suffered from them in ancient times.

96. The tribes of the Slavs—I am not sure how to say this—practiced
 hospitality²² to an extreme, and even now they judge it wrong to abandon it, but

20. Sections 93-102 derive from *Strat.* 11.4.

21. The conversion of the Slavs, as a whole, is dated to the 860s. See F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970); A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970). "Made them Greek," γραικώσας; apparently, they had to adopt Greek customs, including, perhaps, the language, as did the orphans, who came from various ethnic groups. Anna Komnene employs a more classical word to describe the same process: ἐλληνίζω (15.7.9). See T. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 2003).

22. Hospitality toward strangers, φιλοξενία, an aspect of philanthropy praised and practiced by religious Byzantines. See ODB, s.v.

γὰρ ἐπιξενουμένοις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἥπιοι καὶ πρᾶοι ἐγίνοντο φιλοφρονούμενοι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ δεξιούμενοι διασώζοντες, καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον
 465 παραπέμποντες καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδιαλείπτους δαπάνης ἀλλήλους παρεγγυώμενοι, ὥς εἴ γε δι' ἀμέλειαν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου συμβαίῃ τὸν ξενὸν βλαβῆναι, πόλεμον κατ' ἐκείνου ὁ τοῦτον παραθέμενος ἐκίνει, ἀντὶ πίστεως σεβασμίας ἡγούμενος τοῦ ξένου τὴν ἐκδίκησιν.

97. Ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕτερον συμπαθέστερόν ποτε εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν
 470 αἰχμαλωσίᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβανομένους οὐκ ἀορίστως, ἕως ἂν βούλωνται, πρὸς δουλείαν κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐποίουν, ὀρίζοντες αὐτοῖς ῥητόν τινα τῆς δουλείας χρόνον ἵνα, μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον, ἐὰν θέλωσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳ ἀναχωρῆσαι μετὰ τινος ὠρισμένου μισθοῦ ἢ, ἐὰν βούλωνται παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, μένειν ἐλευθέρους καὶ φίλους.

98. Ἐσωφρόνουν δὲ καὶ αἱ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μάλιστα κραταιῶς, ὥστε τὰς
 475 πολλὰς αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδρῶν τελευτὴν ἰδίαν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποπνίγειν ἑαυτάς, μὴ δυναμένας φέρειν τὴν ἐν χρεΐᾳ ζωὴν.

99. Ἐχρῶντο δὲ δαπάνῃ κέγχρω, μάλιστα ἐφίλουν δὲ καὶ ὀλιγαρκίαν, δυσχε-
 480 ρῶς φέροντες τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς γεωργίας πόρους, διὰ τὸ ἐλευθεριωτέραν μάλ-
 λον φιλεῖν αὐτὰ τὴν διαγωγὴν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἄπονον, ἢ σὺν πολλῷ κόπῳ πολυ-
 τέλειαν βρωμάτων ἢ χρημάτων ἐπικτιζεσθαι.

100. Ὡπλίζοντο δὲ ποτε μικροῖς ἀκοντίοις ἤγουν ῥηκταρίοις, δυσὶν ἑκάστου
 ἀνὴρ, τινὲς δὲ καὶ σκουταρίοις μεγάλοις ἐπιμήκεσιν, οἷον θυρεοῖς. ἐκέχρητο δὲ
 καὶ τόξοις ξυλίνοις, καὶ σαγίττας εἶχον κεχρισμένας φαρμάκῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν

hold on to it as formerly. They were kind and gentle to travelers in their land, and were favorably disposed to them. They conducted them safely from one place to another in sequence and preserved them free from harm and always well supplied, commending them to one another. Indeed, if the stranger happened to suffer some harm because of his host's negligence, the one who had commended him would commence hostilities against that host, regarding vengeance for the stranger as a sacred pledge.

97. From former times they held on to another very sympathetic custom. They did not keep those whom they had taken into captivity for an indefinite period, as long as they wished. Rather, they set a definite period of time for their enslavement, and then gave the prisoners a choice: after this set period, if they so desired, they could return to their own homes with a certain assigned recompense or, if they wished to stay with them, they could remain there as free men and friends.

98. Their women manifested particularly strong feelings. Many of them regarded the death of their husbands as their own and would have themselves suffocated, <finding it> unbearable to keep on living as widows.

99. For food they made use of millet. They were truly happy and content with very little and grudgingly bore the labors involved in farming. They far preferred to have a much more independent way of life without any work than to acquire a wide variety of food or money with a great deal of toil.

100. Formerly they were armed with short javelins, or throwing weapons, two to each man, while others had large, thick shields, similar to thyreoi. They also used wooden bows and they had arrows smeared with a drug that was very

463 ἐν MW om. AVBE | ἥπιοι καὶ MW om. AVBE 464 διασώζοντες MW om. AVBE
 465-466 καὶ!...παραγγυώμενοι MW τε καὶ διασώζοντες καὶ ἀδιαλείπτους δαπάνης
 παρατρέχοντες ἀλλήλους τε παρεγγυώμενοι καὶ παραινούντες ἀβλαβῆ τὸν ξενοδοχούμενον
 διασῶσαι AVBE 466-467 συμβαίῃ...βλαβῆναι MW τὸν ξένον βλαβῆναι συνέβη AVBE
 467 ἐκείνου...ἐκίνει MW πόλεμον ἐκίνει κατὰ τοῦ προλαβόντος αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦτον παραδοῦς
 AVBE 468 ἡγούμενος...ἐκδίκησιν MW τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἐκδίκησιν λογιζόμενος AVBE
 469 ποτε MW om. AVBE 470 λαμβανομένους MW κρατουμένους AVBE | ἕως...
 βούλωνται MW om. AVBE 471-472 ἐποίουν...ῥητόν MW ἀνετίθουν ὠρισμένον AVBE
 472 τῆς...χρόνον MW χρόνον τῆς δουλείας τιθέντες αὐτοῖς AVBE | τοῦτον MW τὸ
 παρελθεῖν AVBE 473 ὠρισμένου MW συμφωνηθέντος AVBE 475 θήλειαι MW
 γυναῖκες AVBE | μάλιστα κραταιῶς MW ὑπερβαλλόντως AVBE 476 ἰδίων MW om.
 AVBE | τελευτὴν...ἡγεῖσθαι MW ἴδιον λογιζεσθαι θάνατον AVBE 478-479 δυσχερῶς
 MW δυσκόλως AVBE 479-480 τὸ...ἢ MW τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐλευθεριωτέραν
 διαγωγὴν καὶ ἄπονον οὐ γὰρ ἤθελον AVBE 482 ἀκοντίοις...ῥηκταρίοις MW ῥιπταρίοις
 AVBE 483 μεγάλοις MW μεγάλοις καὶ AVBE | οἷον θυρεοῖς MW om. AVBE

485 ἐνεργητικόν. ἐὰν μὴ ὁ λαβὼν τὴν πληγὴν ἢ θηριακὴν πίη ἢ καὶ ἕτερον βοήθημα
ἀντιφάρμακον ἢ καὶ παρευθὺ περικόψῃ τὴν πληγὴν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαδραμεῖν,
πάντως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὸ ὅλον σῶμα ἀπόλλυται.

101. Καὶ δάσει δὲ καὶ δυσβάτοις οἰκεῖν καὶ καταφεύγειν φιλοῦσιν.

102. Ὅπως δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ ἐφόδους Ῥωμαῖοι,
490 τότε διηγησάμην ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐφόδων διατάξει, ἵνα καὶ
αὐτός, ὡς στρατηγός, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτῶν νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶν ἢ
κατὰ ἐτέρων βαρβάρων ποιοῦμενος ἀδοκίμους ἐφόδους, εἴ γε ἄρα χρήσιμόν τι
ἐκ τῆς διατυπώσεως ἐκείνης εὑρεθῇ, ἔχῃς καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ἐτοίμου πρὸς τὴν δέου-
σαν χρεῖαν, ὡς προγεγυμνασμένον.

495 103. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διαφόρων ἐθνικῶν παρατάξεων | τε καὶ διαθέσεων ἐμνημο-
νεύσαμεν, φέρε λοιπὸν καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἐνοχλοῦντος τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἡμῶν πολιτείας
ἔθνους τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐπιμνησθῶμεν κατὰ δύναμιν, ὅπως τε ἔχουσι φύσεως
καὶ ὅπως τοῖς τε ὅπλοις ἐν ταῖς ἐκστρατείαις χρῶνται καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι, καὶ
ὡς ἂν εἴη δέον κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνθοπλίζεσθαι τε καὶ ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐκ
500 τούτων ἐγχειρήσεις ποιεῖσθαι.

104. Σαρακηνοὶ μὲν οὖν Ἀραβὲς εἰσι τὸ γένος παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τῆς Εὐδαί-
μονος Ἀραβίας ποτὲ κείμενον, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστί-
νην διασπαρέν, πρῶτα μὲν οἷον μετοικίας χάριν, ὕστερον δέ, ὅτε τῆς αὐτῶν
δαισιναιμονίας ἐγένετο ἀρχηγὸς Μουχούμετ, καὶ ὅπλοις κρατοῦντες τῶν τε
505 εἰρημένων ἐπαρχιῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
χωρῶν, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἐρημώσεως χώραν
ἔδωκε κατασχεῖν.

495 M: ff. 401–403 versionem praebent aliam cui signum damus M¹ et cuius lectiones, ubi ab M
divergunt, notamus. inc. λέοντος ἐν χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως ῥωμαίων πῶς δεῖ σαρακηνοὺς
μάχεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κτλ.

485 ἐνεργητικόν MW ἀναιρετικόν AVBE | λαβὼν...πληγὴν MW πληγὴς AVBE
485–486 καὶ...περικόψῃ MW ἕτερον ἀντιφάρμακον ἢ παρευθὺ γύροθεν διακόψῃ AVBE
487 πάντως...ἀπόλλυται MW τὸ φάρμακον AVBE 488 καὶ δάσει MW ἀγαπῶσι AVBE |
δυσβάτοις MW δυσβάτοις τόποις καὶ δάσει AVBE | φιλοῦσιν MW om. AVBE 489 δὲ
MW δὲ καὶ AVBE 492 ἄρα MW ἄρα εὑρεθῇ AVBE 493 εὑρεθῇ MW om. AVBE
493–494 δέουσιν MW ἀπαιτοῦσαν AVBE 495 δὲ MWAVBE om. M¹ | τε MW om.
AVBE | διαθέσεων MW ἐθῶν AVBE 498 ἐπιτηδεύμασι MW ἐπιτηδεύμασιν AVBE
499 ὡς...δέον MW πῶς ἐστὶ πρέπον AVBE | ἀνθοπλίζεσθαι...ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι MW trsp.
AVBE 501 scr. mg. περὶ σαρακηνῶν W | γένος MW γένος ἔθνος AVBE 502 κείμενον
AVBE κειμένου MW 503 οἷον...χάριν MW ὡς μέτοικος AVBE 503–504 τῆς...
μουχούμετ MW ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο τῆς αὐτῶν κακοδαιμονίας μουχούμετ AVBE
506 ἐρημώσεως AVBE om. MW

effective. If the wounded man did not drink an antidote or take some other
remedy to counteract the drug or immediately cut around the wound to keep
the poison from spreading, it would assuredly destroy the whole body.

101. They love to make their homes in overgrown and difficult land and to
take refuge there.

102. Previously, in the constitution dealing with unexpected ambushes, we
explained the manner in which the Romans made their attacks and ambushes
against them. Now you, O general, even if you are not setting up surprise
ambushes against them but against peoples like them or against other barbar-
ians, if indeed you should find something useful in that ordinance, then you will
have something right at hand to meet any contingency, as though you had been
drilled in it beforehand.

103. Since we have recalled the various foreign battle formations and
dispositions, then permit us now to call to mind as best we can the nation of the
Saracens that is presently troubling our Roman commonwealth.²³ What are they
really like? What weapons do they make use of in military campaigns? What are
their practices? How does one arm himself and campaign against them and thus
carry out operations against them?

104. The Saracens, therefore, are Arabs by race, who formerly lived near the
entrance to Blessed Arabia, but in time came to be scattered about toward Syria
and Palestine.²⁴ <They came> originally to find a place to live, but later, when
Muhammad founded their superstition, they took possession of those provinces
by force of arms. In fact, <they took> Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the other lands
at that time when the devastation of the Roman land by the Persians allowed
them to occupy those lands.

23. Saracens (Arabic: East) is a generic term for Arabs, implying Muslims.

24. Arabia: the southwest section of the Arabian peninsula, known as Felix Arabia, Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία, present day Yemen. Cf. DAI, 25.65.

105. Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ μὲν τὸ θεῖον δοκοῦντες εὐσεβεῖν, βλασφημίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν
δοκοῦσαν εὐσέβειαν ἀποδεικνύντες, οἷς Χριστὸν μὲν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν καὶ
510 τοῦ κόσμου σωτῆρα καλεῖν Θεὸν οὐκ ἀνέχονται, παντὸς δὲ καὶ κακοῦ ἔργου
τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι αἷτιον ὑποτίθενται, καὶ πολέμοις χαίρειν λέγουσι τὸν Θεόν, τὸν
διασκορπίζοντα ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα· καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους δὲ νόμους
ἀπαραβάτους φυλάττουσι, τὴν σάρκα λιπαίνοντες καὶ ψυχὴν ἀτιμάζοντες. τῇ
οὖν τοιαύτῃ δυσσεβείᾳ διὰ τῆς ἡμῶν εὐσεβείας τε καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως
515 ἀντιμαχόμενοι καὶ τοὺς θεῖους νόμους καὶ τοὺς πολιτικούς πολλῶ μάλλον
ἀπαραβάτους διαφυλάττοντες κατ' αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατευόμεθα.

106. Χρῶνται δὲ καμήλοις, τοῖς ἀχθοφόροις αὐτῶν, ἀντὶ ἀμαξῶν καὶ ὑπο-
ζυγίων, ὄνοις καὶ ἡμιόνοις, καὶ τυμπάνοις τε καὶ κυμβάλοις ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν,
ἐν οἷς τοὺς οἰκείους ἵππους ἐθίζουσι. διὰ δὲ τοιούτων κτύπων καὶ ἤχων τοὺς
520 ἵππους τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων αὐτοῖς ταρασσόντες τρέπουσιν εἰς φυγὴν. ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν καμήλων ἡ θέα ὁμοίως τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις ἵππους ἐκφοβεῖ καὶ ταραττει, καὶ
πρόσω βαίνειν οὐκ ἔα.

107. Τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας τῶν τε καμήλων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀποσκευὰς καὶ εἰς
πλήθους πολλάκις φαντασίαν χρῶνται, μέσον μὲν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους
525 αὐτὰς καθιστώντες, πυκνὰ δὲ φλάμουλα ἄνωθεν αὐτῶν ἐφιστώντες, ὥς δοκεῖν
στρατιωτῶν εἶναι πλῆθος τῶν ἐκείνων ὄχλον.

108. Θερμοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ τὴν κρᾶσιν ἐν τοιούτῳ κλίματι θερμῷ κατοικοῦντες.

109. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ πεζικῇ στρατιᾷ, Αἰθίοψι φασι, γυμνοῖς ὅπλων ἐμ-
προσθεν τῶν καβαλλαρίων παραταττομένοις, οἷον εἰς ψιλοῖς. τόξα γὰρ φέροντες,
530 καὶ τούτοις χρώμενοι, δυσάντητοι δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις.

110. Τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς αὐτῶν φέρουσιν ἢ ἐφ' ἵππων ἰδίων ὀχουμένους ἢ ὀπισ-
θεν τῶν καβαλλαρίων καθημένους, ὅτε πλησίον τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἐστὶν ἡ
ἐκστρατεία αὐτῶν. χρῶνται δὲ ὅπλοις | καὶ οἱ καβαλλάριοι τόξοις καὶ σπαθίοις,
κονταρίοις καὶ σκουταρίοις καὶ πελέκεσι· καὶ πανοπλίαν γὰρ φοροῦσιν, οἷον
535 λωρίκια καὶ κλιβάνια καὶ κασσίδας καὶ ποδόψελλα καὶ χειρόψελλα καὶ εἴ τι

508–509 εἰσὶ...οἷς MW δοκοῦσι δὲ εὐσεβεῖν μὲν περὶ τὸ θεῖον βλασφημίαν δι'
ἀποδεικνύουσιν τὴν δοκοῦσαν αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν δι' ὅτι AVBE 511 ὑποτίθενται MW
λέγουσιν AVBE | λέγουσι MW ὑποτίθενται AVBE 513 φυλάττουσι MWVBE φυλάττουσιν
A 517 τοῖς...αὐτῶν MW ἐν ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις αὐτῶν καὶ AVBE 518 τε De δὲ codl.
519 ἐθίζουσι MVBE ἐθίζουσιν WA 522 πρόσω...ἔα MW ἐμπροσθεν προβαίνει οὐ
συγχωρεῖ AVBE 528 αἰθίοψι φασι MW αἰθίοψιν AVBE 530 δυσάντητοι MW
δυσάπνητοι AVBE 534 πελέκεσι MW πελέκεσιν AVBE | καὶ³...γὰρ MW om. AVBE |
οἷον MW om. AVBE

105. As far as the divinity is concerned, they appear to show proper rev-
erence, but their apparent reverence must be recognized as blasphemy. They
cannot bear to call Christ God, <although he is indeed> true God and savior of
the world. They argue that God is the cause of every evil deed and they claim
that God rejoices in war and scatters abroad the peoples that want to fight. They
observe their own laws as inviolable, fattening their flesh and bringing dishonor
on their souls. Fighting, therefore, against such impiety by means of our own
piety and orthodox faith and observing divine and civil laws as all the more
inviolable, we wage war against them.

106. They make use of camels, asses, and mules to bear their baggage, in-
stead of wagons and pack animals. They use drums and cymbals in their battle
formations, to which their own horses become accustomed. Such great din and
noise disturbs the horses of their adversaries, causing them to turn to flight.
Moreover, the sight of the camels likewise frightens and confuses horses not
used to them, preventing them from advancing.

107. Such hordes of camels and pack animals are often used to give the
impression of a great number. They place these in the middle of the multitude of
soldiers and raise a thick array of pennants above them to give the appearance
of a very large crowd of soldiers.

108. Their temperament is hot because they dwell in such a hot climate.

109. They make use of foot soldiers, Ethiopians they say, drawn up in front
of the cavalry, without armament, like light-armed troops.²⁵ They carry bows
and, when they shoot, they seem irresistible to their opponents.

110. They transport their infantry either riding on their own horses or sit-
ting behind the cavalymen, when the campaign takes place near their country.
They make use of armament, and their cavalry uses bows, swords, lances,
shields, and axes. They wear full armor, including body armor, cuirasses,

25. Ethiopians: a generic term for dark-skinned Africans, from Sudan or elsewhere, who
appear in Muslim armies on the borders of Syria and Cilicia in the 2nd half of the 9th century.
See Dagron, *Guérilla*, 179. The *Suda* (A1 129) defines Ethiopian simply as “the black man” (ὁ
μέλας).

ἕτερον κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν τρόπον. τὰς δὲ ζώνας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς χαλίνους καὶ τὰ σπαθία ἀργύρῳ ποικίλλουσι φιλοτιμότερον.

111. Οὔτε δὲ διώκοντες οὔτε διωκόμενοι λύουσι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ συμβῇ αὐτὴν λυθῆναι δι' ἑαυτῶν, ἀσύστατοι καὶ ἀνεπίστροφοι γινόμενοι μόνῳ
540 τῷ σωθῆναι ἐλαύνουσιν.

112. Θρασεῖς μὲν γάρ εἰσι νικᾶν ἐλπίζοντες, δειλοὶ δὲ λίαν ἀπειπόντες τῆς νίκης. ὥς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ γάρ τὸ πᾶν, εἰ καὶ κακὸν εἴη, λέγοντες εἶναι· εἰ συμβῇ αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον τι παθεῖν, ὥς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὀριζομένου οὐκ ἀντιπίπτουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προσβολῇ σφαλέντες χαλῶσι τὸν τόνον. ὑπνηλοὶ δὲ εἰσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς
545 νυκτομαχίας φοβούμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα, μάλιστα ὅτ' ἂν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἑαυτῶν γῇ κατατρέχουσι. διόπερ ἢ εἰς ὄχυρους τόπους ἀναχωροῦσι, κάκεϊ τῆς νυκτὸς ποιοῦνται τὴν φυλακὴν, ἢ περιφράττουσιν ἀσφαλῶς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς τῶν ἐναντίων προσβολαῖς.

113. Τετράγωνον δὲ καὶ ἐπιμήκη ποιοῦνται τὴν οἰκείαν παράταξιν ὥς ἀσφαλεστέραν καὶ ῥαδίως λυθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀντιπαραταττομένων προσβολαῖς.

114. Ταύτη δὲ <τῇ παρατάξει> χρῶνται καὶ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς συστάσεσι τῆς μάχης, ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ Ῥωμαίους μιμοῦνται, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα
555 σχήματα τῶν παρατάξεων τῇ πείρᾳ τῶν προσβολῶν οἷον ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δρᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύοντες.

helmets, shin guards, gauntlets, and all the rest in the Roman manner. They decorate their belts and bridles and swords very richly with silver.

111. Neither when they are pursuing nor are being pursued do they break their formation. But if it should happen that they do so, they lose their cohesion and are unable to return, only racing on to save themselves.

112. They are bold at the expectation of victory but very cowardly when victory is denied them. They say that everything comes from God, even if it should be evil. If it happens that they suffer a setback, they do not resist since it has been decreed by God. Overthrown by the onslaught, they are completely undone. They are given to sleep and for this reason have a fear of battle at night and all that is connected with it, especially when they are raiding in a country foreign to them. And so they withdraw to strong places and there set up a guard for the night or else they will securely fortify their camp so as not to be subjected to night attacks by their adversaries.

113. Their native battle formations are both square and oblong and so are very secure and not easily broken up by the attacks of their opponents.

114. They employ this formation while marching and in forming up for battle. They also imitate the Romans in many respects. It is as though they have been trained by experience in the other models of battle formations, so the very things they suffered from the Romans they are now busily putting into practice against them.

537 ποικίλλουσι MW κατακοσμοῦσι AVBE 539 δι' ἑαυτῶν MW om. AVBE
540 ἐλαύνουσιν MA ἐλαύνουσι WVBE 541-542 ἀπειπόντες...νίκης MW τὴν νίκην ἀπελπίσαντες AVBE 542 τὸ...λέγοντες MW καὶ τὰ κακὰ κρίνοντες AVBE 543 ὥς... ἀλλὰ MW οὐκ ἀντιπίπτουσιν ὥς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὀριζομένου ἀλλ' ἐν AVBE 544 χαλῶσι... ὑπνηλοὶ MW τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ὑποχαλῶσιν ὑπνώδεις AVBE 545 φοβούμενοι MW φοβοῦνται AVBE 546 κατατρέχουσι M κατατρέχουσιν WM¹ κατατρέχουσιν A κατατρέχουσι VBE | ἀναχωροῦσι MVBE ἀναχωροῦσιν WA 547 κάκεϊ MW καὶ ἐκεῖ AVBE 547-548 περιφράττουσιν...αὐτῶν MW τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς περιφράττουσιν AVBE 550 οἰκείαν MW ἰδίαν AVBE | ὥς AVBE om. MW 551-552 ῥαδίως... ἀντιπαραταττομένων MW μὴ δυναμένων εὐκόλως διαλυθῆναι ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀντιπαραταττομένων AVBE 553 τῇ παρατάξει ci. De om. codd. 554 συστάσεσι...μάχης MW μάχαις AVBE | πολὺ MW τὸ πλεῖστον AVBE 555 προσβολῶν οἷον MW πολέμων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους AVBE 556 δρᾶν MW ποιεῖν AVBE

115. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρατάξεσιν αὐτῶν εὐμήχανοι καὶ σταθεροὶ <εἰσι>, μὴδὲ διὰ τάχος προσβολῆς πτοούμενοι τοὺς ἐπερχομένους μήτε διὰ προσποιητὴν ἀναβολὴν ἐκλυόμενοι.

560 116. Προσμένουσι δὲ τῇ παρατάξει φέροντες καὶ τὰς βολὰς μακροθύμως πρὸς τοὺς θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένους, καὶ ὅτ' ἂν τὸν τόνον χαλάσαντα ἴδωσι τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων, τότε διαναστάντες εὐτόνως μάχονται. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν οὐ μόνον ἐν πεζομαχίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν μάχαις, ἐκ χειρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων μαχόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν βαλλομένων κατ' αὐτῶν ἀποπλη-
565 ρωσιν, ἃ σύσκουτα ποιοῦντες καρτεροῦσι, δεχόμενοι εὐθέως ἀνίστανται ἀθρόοι καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς τῆς μάχης ἀπάρχονται, πρὸς οὓς εὐμηχάνως δεῖ προσβάλλειν αἰεί.

117. Χρῶνται δὲ εὐβουλία καὶ καταστάσει πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς μεθόδους τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἔθνων δοκιμώτερον, ὥς παρά τε τῶν ὑποστρατῆγων ἡμῶν
570 πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προσβαλλόντων ἐρευνήσαντες ἀνεμάθομεν. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνενεχθέντων διηγῆσεων τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου θειοτάτου | πατρὸς πολλάκις κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκστρατεύσαντος ἀκηκόαμεν.

118. Λυπεῖ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ψῦξις καὶ χειμῶν καὶ ὑετῶν ἐπιφοραί, διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς χρὴ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν συμπλοκάς ποιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν
575 εὐδίασι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν ἀσθενῇ διὰ τὴν ὑγρότητα, καὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν νωθρὸν διὰ τὸ ψῦχος εὐρεθήσεται. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους καιροὺς καταδρομαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ληστεῖαις καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διεφθάρσαν.

119. Χαίροντες οὖν ταῖς εὐδίασι καὶ ταῖς θερμότεραις ὥραις τότε συλλέγον-
580 ται, καὶ μάλιστα θέρους, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ταρσὸν τῆς Κιλικίας τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις ἐνούμενοι τὴν ἐκστρατείαν ποιοῦνται. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καιροὺς μόνοι οἱ ἐκ

557 σταθεροὶ μὴδὲ MW γενναῖοι μήτε AVBE | εἰσι De om. codd. 557-558 μὴδὲ...τάχος MWA μήτε διὰ τάχους VBEM¹ 558 πτοούμενοι MW om. AVBE | ἐπερχομένους MW ἐπερχομένους φοβούμενοι AVBE 558-559 προσποιητὴν ἀναβολὴν MW ἐσχηματισμένην ἀνάβολην καὶ ὑπέρθεσιν πολέμου AVBE 560 προσμένουσι δὲ MW ὑπομένουσι δὲ ἐν AVBE | φέροντες...μακροθύμως MW μακροθύμως φέροντες τὰς βολὰς AVBE 561-562 τὸν...ἀντιπολεμίων MW τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν χαλάσαντα ἴδωσιν AVBE 562 εὐτόνως MW εὐτόνως καὶ γενναίως AVBE 565 ἃ MW ἅτινα AVBE | καρτεροῦσι δεχόμενοι MW δέχονται AVBE 570 ἀνέγνωμεν MW om. AVBE 574 τοῖς AVBE om. MW 575 ὑγρότητα MW ὑγρότητα εὐρεθήσεται AVBE 575-576 τοῦ σώματος MW σώμα AVBE 576 εὐρεθήσεται MW om. AVBE 578 τῶν AVBE om. MW 580 τὴν ταρσὸν MWAVB τέταρτον E 581 οἱ AVBE om. MW

115. In their battle formations they are inventive and steadfast and are not frightened by the rapid onslaught of their attackers nor do they become too relaxed by simulated delays.

116. They stand steadfast in their formation, bearing up valiantly under the missiles fired by the forces boldly attacking them. When they observe that their adversaries' energies are drooping, then they rise up and fight strenuously. They do this not only in battles on foot but also in those on the sea, fighting at close quarters on the ships. After those who had been shooting against them have discharged <their arrows>, which they endure by forming a wall of shields, they quickly come together and in a body rise up and start fighting hand-to-hand. In attacking these people it is always necessary to be ready for anything.

117. They are more notable than all other peoples in relying on good counsel and firm adherence to methods of warfare, as we have learned from our subordinate commanders who have often discovered this in launching attacks against them. Indeed, we have read this in the accounts attributed to the emperors before us and, in particular, we have heard it from our most holy father <Basil> who had frequently campaigned against them.

118. This people is hurt by cold, by winter, and by heavy rain. It is best, therefore, to launch attacks against them at such times rather than in good weather. Their bow strings become slack when it is wet and because of the cold their whole body will become sluggish. Often while making their incursions and plundering raids at such times, they have been overcome by the Romans and destroyed.

119. They flourish, therefore, in good weather and in the warmer seasons, mustering their forces, especially in summer, when they join up with the inhabitants of Tarsus in Cilicia and set out on campaign.²⁶ At other times of the year

26. See Skirmishing, 7: "In that month [August] large numbers would come from Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and southern Syria to Cilicia, to the country around Antioch and to Aleppo and, adding some Arabs to their force, they would invade Roman territory in September."

Ταρσοῦ καὶ Ἀδάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς Κιλικίας πολισμάτων τὰς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ποιοῦνται καταδρομάς.

120. Χρὴ οὖν αὐτοῖς τότε προσβάλλειν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπὶ
585 πραιδαν ἐξερχομένοις. τοῦτο δὲ γενήσεται ἐὰν τὰ στρατεύματα παραμείναντά
που πλησίον ἀσυμφανῶς καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπήσαντα τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν
προσβολὴν ποιήσωνται. οὕτως γὰρ διαφθεροῦσιν αὐτούς· ἢ ὅτ' ἂν ὁμοῦ πάντες
συνέλθωσιν ἐν πολυπληθείᾳ καὶ καταστάσει πολέμου ἐξηρτισμένοι.

121. Σφαλερὸν γάρ, ὡς πολλάκις ἡμῖν εἴρηται, τὸ πρὸς δημόσιον πόλεμον
590 ἀποκινδυνεύειν τινάς, κἂν πάνυ δοκοῦσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιττεύειν τῷ πλήθει· τὸ
γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἀόρατον.

122. Συνάγονται δὲ οὐχὶ ἀπὸ καταγραφῆς στρατευόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος
γνώμῃ ἐκουσίᾳ συντρέχοντες πανοικεῖ, πλούσιοι μὲν ὥστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου
ἔθνους μισθῷ ἀποθανεῖν, πένητες δὲ ἵνα τι τῆς πραιδανος κερδήσωσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
595 ὅπλα αὐτοῖς οἱ συμφυλέται χορηγοῦσι, καὶ γυναῖκες μάλιστα καὶ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ
διὰ τούτου κοινωνοῦντες αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκστρατείας, καὶ μισθὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ
καθοπλίσαι στρατιώτας οἱ ὀπλισθῆναι δι' ἀσθένειαν σώματος μὴ δυνάμενοι. καὶ
ταῦτα μὲν Σαρακηνοί, ἔθνος βάρβαρόν τε καὶ ἄπιστον.

123. Ῥωμαίους δὲ χρὴ, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εὐψύχους τῇ προαι-
600 ρέσει καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς οὐπω στρατευσαμένους συνεκστρατεύειν κατὰ
τῶν βλασφημούντων τὸν πάντων βασιλέα Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν καὶ δι'
ἀπάντων ἐνδυναμοῦν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στρατευομένους κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ
ὅπλοις καὶ δώροις καὶ ταῖς προπεμπτηρίοις εὐχαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεον τι τούτων
πράττειν, τὸ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν σὺν προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ στρατευομένων
605 φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐνδέον τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ἢ ἵπποι ἢ ἀναλώματα ἢ
πανοπλῖαι, καὶ ταῦτα χορηγεῖν διὰ κοινωνίας καὶ συγκροτήσεως.

124. Εἰ γὰρ οὕτω γένηται, πάντως πολυπλασιῶν ὑπάρχων ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
στρατός, καὶ καλῶς τε καὶ ὡς προσήκεν καθωπλισμένος καὶ μάλιστα ὅπόσοι
ἐπιλέκτοι | δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ γενναϊότητα τυγχάνουσι, μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων ἐν

583 ad καταδρομάς des. VBE

582 ἀδάνων MW ἀδάλας A ἀδάνας VBE 586 ἀσυμφανῶς MW λαθραῖως A |
ἐπισκοπήσαντα MW κατασκοπήσαντα A 588 ἐξηρτισμένοι MW ἡτοιμασμένοι A
590 ἀποκινδυνεύειν MW κινδυνεύειν A | κἂν MW καὶ A | δοκοῦσι MW δοκῶσιν A | ἐχθρῶν
De χειρῶν codd. | περιττεύειν MW περισσεύειν A 590–591 τὸ... ἀόρατον MW ἄδηλον γὰρ
τὸ τῆς τύχης A 595 χορηγοῦσι MW χορηγοῦσιν A 598 τε MW om. A
600 στρατευσαμένους MWA στρατευομένους M¹ 602 ἐνδυναμοῦν A ἐνδυναμοῦντα MW
607 οὕτω MW οὕτως A 608 καὶ... τε MW om. A 609 τυγχάνουσι M τυγχάνουσιν WA

only the men from Tarsus, Adana, and other cities of Cilicia launch raids against the Romans.

120. Therefore, it is necessary to attack them as they are marching out to pillage, especially in winter. This can be accomplished if <our> armies remain in a location out of sight somewhere nearby. When our men observe them marching out, they can launch an attack against them and so wipe them out. <We can also attack> when all of our troops have come together at the same time in large numbers, fully equipped for battle.

121. It is very dangerous, as we have frequently said, for anyone to run the risk of a pitched battle, even when it seems perfectly clear that <our forces> far outnumber the enemy. The result of fortune is unseen.

122. They are not assembled for military service from a muster list, but they come together, each man of his own free will and with his whole household. The wealthy <consider it> recompense enough to die on behalf of their own nation, the poor for the sake of acquiring booty. Their fellow tribesmen, men and especially women, provide them with weapons, as if sharing with them in the expedition. Because their physical weakness does not enable them to bear arms themselves, they consider it a reward to provide armament for the soldiers. These, then, are the Saracens, a barbaric and faithless people.

123. The Romans, of course, must not only take care of these things, but the soldiers too must be resolute in purpose and those <citizens> who have not actually gone off to war must campaign along with them against those people who blaspheme the emperor of all, Christ our God, and they must strengthen those waging war on his behalf against the nations by every means, by arms, gifts, and processional prayers, even doing more than this, kindly looking after the households of the men who eagerly and bravely march off to war and, if the armies are lacking something such as horses, expenses, or suits of armor, providing these through communal solidarity and collaboration.

124. If this is how everything goes, the army of the Romans, well and properly armed, will greatly increase, especially with a large number of men chosen for their courage and nobility, and lacking nothing of what is needed, it

610 αὐτοῖς ὑστερούμενοι, ῥαδίως σὺν Θεῷ τὴν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν ἀναδήσονται νίκην.

125. Εἰ γὰρ τῇ τε ὀπλίσει καὶ μάλιστα τόξοις καὶ βέλεσι πλείστοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι στρατηγήμασι τε καὶ μηχανήμασι πλεονεκτήσομεν Ῥωμαῖοι μάλιστα κατὰ βαρβάρων, καὶ τὴν θείαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν

615 ἔξωμεν συμμαχίαν, καὶ εὐκόλως τὴν κατ' ἐκείνων κατορθώσωμεν νίκην.

126. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐλπίζομένην πραιδαν καὶ τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι κινδύνους πολέμου, εὐκόλως εἰς πολυπληθίαν συνάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐντὸς Συρίας καὶ Παλαιστίνης ἀπάσης, καὶ τῶν ἀνάνδρων τάχα διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας συνερχομένων ἐκουσίως τοῖς ἐκστρατεύουσιν.

620 127. Εἰ δέ, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν συμμαχούσης βοηθείας, καλῶς ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι, καὶ καλῶς καὶ εὐψύχως προσβαλόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχικῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Χριστιανῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀνενδοιάστως τὰς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν. οὐκ ἀποτευξόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτευξόμεθα τῶν κατ' ἐκείνων πάντως

625 νικητηρίων.

128. Δεῖ δέ σε, εἴ ποτε καὶ ληστείας χάριν καταδράμωσι τοῦ Ταύρου ἐντὸς, ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν ταῖς στεναῖς τοῦ ὄρους τούτου διεξόδοις, ὅτ' ἂν ὑποστρέφωσι μάλιστα κεκοπωμένοι, ἴσως καὶ πραιδας τινὰς ζῶων ἢ πραγμάτων ἐπιφερόμενοι. ἐπιβιβάζειν γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν τινων τόπων τοξότας καὶ σφεν-

630 δονήτας καὶ βάλλειν κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς διὰ καβαλλαρίων προσβολάς, ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία καλέσῃ ἢ δι' ἐγκρυμάτων ἢ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπιτηδεύματων ἢ πετρῶν κατὰ κρημνῶν κυλιόμενων ἢ ἀναφραγῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ δένδρων καὶ ἀδιεξοδεύτου γινομένης, ὡς ἂν ποῦ ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ἢ ὡς ἂν δυνατόν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, κατὰ τὸν τότε καιρὸν τὴν τοῦ πράγματος διάθεσιν κατανοῆσαι.

635 129. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρατάξεσιν αὐτῶν οὐ λύουσι τὴν τάξιν, καὶ τις ἐπέλθῃ αὐτοῖς ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἄχρις οὗ ἢ θαρρήσουσι κινήσαντες διῶξαι ἢ δειλιάσουσι καὶ ὀρμήσουσι πρὸς φυγὴν. διὸ χρὴ βαστάζειν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν πρότερον διὰ τοξείας τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐμπροσθέν τε καὶ μικρὸν ὀπισθεν ἐστῶτας βάλλον-

614 ad βαρβάρων des. W

610 ῥαδίως MW εὐκόλως A 617 πολυπληθίαν M πολὺ πλῆθος A 620 ἡμῖν M ἡμῶν A 621 καὶ καλῶς M γενναίως A 623 ἀνενδοιάστως M ἀδιστάκτους A 624 οὐκ... πάντως M ὡς οὐκ ἀποτύχωμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτύχωμεν πάντως τῶν κατ' ἐκείνων A 626-627 καταδράμωσι...καὶ M δράμωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ταύρου ἐπιτίθεσθαι αὐτοῖς A 631 καλέσοι M καλέση A 632 κυλιόμενων A κυλωμένων M 633 ὡς!...που M καθὼς ἀνωτέρω A 636 ἢ!...τρεῖς M om. A 637 βαστάζει M βαστάσαι A

will easily, with God's help, be crowned with victory over the barbarian Saracens.

125. If, in our weaponry, especially our great supply of bows and arrows, our numbers and courage, and our requisite stratagems and machines, we Romans are far superior to the barbarians, and if we have the divinity as our ally in everything, we will easily achieve victory over those peoples.

126. Because of the booty they have reason to expect, and because they do not fear the perils of war, this nation is easily gathered together in large numbers from inner Syria and all of Palestine. Because of such expectations, even the cowardly quickly choose to join up with those marching off to war.

127. If we are well armed and drawn up in formation, with God fighting along beside us, we charge against them bravely and in good spirits on behalf of the salvation of our souls, and we carry on the struggle without hesitation on behalf of God himself, our kinsmen, and our brothers the other Christians, then we place our hopes in God. We shall not fail to achieve, rather, we shall certainly achieve the glory of victory over them.

128. If they ever raid inside the Taurus in order to pillage <the area>, it is necessary for you to deal with them in the narrow passes of that mountainous region, when they are on their return journey and are particularly exhausted, perhaps bearing along some booty of animals or objects.²⁷ Then you must station archers and slingers on some of the high places to shoot at them and thus have the cavalry attack. Or, as the situation requires, lay ambushes or <make use of> other means such as rolling rocks over cliffs or barricading the road with trees and making it impassable, as we have described above. Or make whatever arrangements you deem possible, O general, to deal with the situation at that moment.

129. When they are drawn up for battle, they do not break ranks, even if you charge against them two or three times, up to the point when they either become bold enough to move out in pursuit or become timid enough and rush to escape. It is, therefore, necessary for you to withstand their attack first by archery, with our men stationed in front and those a little behind shooting against them. For in this manner, with their horses, the so-called pharia, being

640 φαρίων, καὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἢ καὶ ἄλλων τοξοτῶν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν γύμνωσιν αὐτῶν
 πληγωμένων, ῥαδίως εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμήσουσι δυοῖν ἔνεκεν· καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
 περισφῶζειν βουλόμενοι, πολυτίμους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ εὐκόλως ποριζομένους, καὶ
 διὰ τῆς τῶν ἵππων σωτηρίας καὶ αὐτοὶ συμπερισφῶζόμενοι. τῶν γὰρ ἵππων
 ἀπολλυμένων διὰ τῶν βελῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πεφαρμακευμένων, συναπόλλυν·
 645 ται καὶ οἱ ἐποχούμενοι αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ γνόντες τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πρὸ
 τοῦ βληθῆναι | φεύζονται.

130. Οὐ τοσοῦτον γὰρ δόξης ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ ὀνόματος ἐκστρατεύονται οἱ
 πλείστοι Σαρακηνῶν, ὅσον εὐπορίας χάριν καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κέρδους· οὐ
 γὰρ γεωργεῖν οἶδασιν, ἴν' ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πένητες διαζῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ
 650 αὐτῶν καὶ μόνη ἢ ζῆν ἢ θνήσκειν ἐκ νέου παιδεύονται· ὅθεν ἡ ἅπαξ κατ' αὐτῶν
 νίκη πολλῶν ἐλευθερώσει κινδύνων Ῥωμαίους, μηκέτι τολμώντων ἀπερισκέ-
 πτως ἐξέρχεσθαι τῶν θεωμένων τοὺς ἐξελθόντας μὴ ὑποστρέψαντας, ἀλλὰ
 θρηγνυμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ιδίων.

131. Δοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς Κίλιξι Σαρακηνοῖς, ὅσον ἔχουσι πεζικὸν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας
 655 ἐκπαιδεύειν τὰς μάχας, πρὸς τε τὴν κατὰ γῆν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς διὰ τοῦ Ταύρου
 ὁρους καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πλοίων, τῶν λεγομένων
 κουμβαρίων· καὶ ὅτε μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκστρατεύουσι, διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἐξέρχονται, πραιδας τε ποιοῦντες κατὰ τῶν παραθαλασσίων χωρίων. πολλάκις
 δέ, εἰ οὕτω τύχη, καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, ὅτε δὲ μὴ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐξέλθωσι, διὰ τῆς
 660 ἡπείρου κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρίων ἐκστρατεύουσι.

132. Δεῖ οὖν ἐπιτηρεῖν σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, διὰ κατασκόπων ἀληθῶν καὶ μαν-
 θάνειν τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐτοιμάζεσθαι σὺν τῷ ἀρκούντι στρατῷ, ἴν'
 ὅτ' ἂν διὰ θαλάσσης ἐκστρατεύωσιν, αὐτὸς κατὰ γῆν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 αὐτῶν προσβάλης αὐτοῖς. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκστρατεύειν μέλλωσι, μηνύσης
 665 τῷ Κιβυρραιώτῃ τοῦ πλοῖμου στρατηγῷ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν δρομώνων εἰς-
 πιπτέτω κατὰ τῶν Ταρσεῶν καὶ Ἀδανέων χωρίων, ὅσα κεῖται κατὰ θάλασσαν. οὐ

641 πληγωμένων M πληττομένων A | ῥαδίως M συντόμως A | ὁρμήσουσι... ἔνεκεν M
 ὁρμήσουσιν A 642-643 οὐκ... διὰ M μετὰ A 643 αὐτοὶ συμπερισφῶζόμενοι M ἑαυτοὺς
 περισφῶζειν ἐθέλοντες A | τῶν² A om. M 645 ἐποχούμενοι αὐτοῖς M ἐπιβαίνοντες αὐτοὺς A
 646 φεύζονται M εἰς φυγὴν τραπήσονται A 647 ὀρεγόμενοι M ἐπιθυμοῦντες A |
 ἐκστρατεύονται M ἐκστρατεύουσιν A 648 καὶ... ἐπιτηδείων M om. A 651 ἐλευθερώσει
 κινδύνων M trsp. A 654 κίλιξι M ἐν κιλικία A 655 ἐκπαιδεύειν... μάχας M trsp. A
 656 θάλασσαν M θάλατταν A 657 κουμβαρίων M κομβαρίων A | μὴ... ἐκστρατεύουσι M
 δὲ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐκστρατεύουσιν A 659 εἰ M ἐὰν A | ἐξέλθωσι M ἐξέλθωσιν A
 660 ἡπείρου M γῆς A | χωρίων ἐκστρατεύουσι M χωρῶν ἐκστρατεύουσιν A 663 ἰδία M
 χώρα A 664 αὐτοῖς M om. A | μέλλωσι M μέλλωσιν A 666 ἀδανέων M ἀδανίων A

shot at, as well as the Ethiopians or other archers being wounded because they
 do not wear armor, they will quickly rush off in flight.²⁸ They will do this for two
 reasons, namely because of their desire to save their horses, which are highly
 prized and not easily procured, and because they want to save themselves as well
 through saving the horses. For when the horses are wiped out by missile fire,
 especially by poisoned arrows, their riders perish at the same time or, because
 they know the strength of the poison, they will flee before being hit.

130. The majority of the Saracens do not go on campaign so much to attain
 glory and fame as for the sake of providing for themselves and gaining material
 goods. For they do not know how to farm in order to save themselves from
 poverty, but they are trained from childhood to live or die by the sword alone.
 And so, just one victory over them will free the Romans from a multitude of
 dangers. They will no longer be so bold and thoughtless as to march out
 <against us> again, when they observe that those men who had marched out
 have not returned, but are being mourned by their own people.

131. The Saracens in Cilicia place great value on thoroughly training all their
 infantry forces to engage in battle on two fronts, that is, on land along the road
 leading out from the Taurus mountains and on sea by means of their ships,
 called koumbaria.²⁹ When they do not campaign on dry land, they sail out to
 sea, pillaging the towns along the coast and often, if it so happens, engaging in
 naval battles. When they do not go out to sea, they campaign against the Roman
 territories on land.

132. You, therefore, O general, must keep an eye on them by means of
 trusted spies. Find out exactly what is going on with them and be prepared with
 a strong enough army. When they campaign by sea, you go by land and, if
 possible, launch an attack against them in their own territory. But if the spies
 report that it is their intention to campaign on land, then you should advise the
 commander of the Kibyrraiotai fleet so that, with the dromons under his
 command he may fall upon the Tarseote and Adanan territories that lie along

28. Pharia, from a Semitic root, designated the so-called Arabian horses, originally bred
 by the Bedouins, and highly prized in the medieval and modern worlds. Cf. Theophanes *Cont.*,
 480.

29. κουμβάρια. Large ships; see *infra* Const. 19; LBG, s.v.

γὰρ πολυπληθία στρατοῦ τοῖς Κίλιξι βαρβάροις ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ περ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκστρατεύονται.

133. Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἐκείνων καταπτώσεώς ἐστιν, ἵνα ὁμοῦ καὶ διὰ
670 πλοῖμου στόλου τοῦ ἱκανοῦ καὶ διὰ πεζικοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ταύρου, ἅμα καὶ
ἐτέροις συστρατήγοις τοῖς ἀρκοῦσι ποιήσης τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν προσβολὴν καὶ
ἐπέλευσιν, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ληστῶν ἐκείνων καταλήσῃ τὴν χώραν, οἷόν ποτε ὁ
ἡμέτερος μακαριώτατος πατὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρόνοις
διὰ κελεύσεως αὐτοῦ θείας πεποίηκε.

134. Τοὺς δὲ πλησιάζοντας τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ Συρίας Σαρακηνοὺς δι' ἐπιτη-
δευμάτων καταπολεμήσεις, οἷς ἐχρήσατο ὁ κατὰ τὸν μικρῷ παρελθὼν καιρὸν
τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατεχομένην ἀφελόμενος στρατηγός, καὶ τῇ
ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτὴν ὑποτάξας βασιλείᾳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖκοι ἵπποι ἀήθως ἔχοντες
πρὸς τε τὰς καμήλους, καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ τύμπανα ἤχουντα καὶ τὰ
680 κύμβαλα πτύρονται, καὶ ἀποστρέφονται εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, ὥστε καὶ εἰς φυγὴν διὰ
τοῦ τοιοῦτου τρόπου πολλάκις ὁρμᾷ Ῥωμαίους, δεῖ ἐθίζεσθαι τοὺς τῶν στρατι-
ωτῶν ἵππους, καὶ μάλιστα | τῶν πρωτοστατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἰς τε τοὺς
κτύπους τῶν τυμπάνων καὶ τῶν κυμβάλων διὰ τοιαύτης γυμνασίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ
εἰς τὸ συνεῖναι καμήλοις καὶ μὴ ξενίζεσθαι τῇ θεᾷ αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα, ἅπερ
685 ἂν τις ἐπινοήσοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα διασκοπούμενος.

135. Συνελόντα δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ τῆς τακτικῆς θεωρίας
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους, ὅσα τε διὰ τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰς ὀπλίσεις καὶ τὰς γυμνασί-
ας καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας στρατηγικὰς μεθόδους
εἴρηται, ἔνεκεν τοῦ Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνους ἡμῖν καὶ παρηγγέλη καὶ διατέτακται.
690 τοῦτο γὰρ γειτονεῦον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ, οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῦ πάλαι Περσικοῦ
ἔθνους τοῖς ἀρχαίοις βασιλεῦσι, τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖ καὶ παραλυπεῖ τοὺς
ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους τὸ καθεκάστην, οὐ χάριν καὶ τὸν παρόντα τῆς πολεμικῆς
διατάξεως ἀνεδεξάμεθα πόνον. εὕρηνται δὲ ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς εἰρηνέμοις καὶ ἕτερα
παρατάξεων σχήματα, οἷς χρῆσάμενος, ὦ στρατηγέ, κατὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου βαρβα-
695 ρικοῦ ἔθνους εὐδοκίμησεις. εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα.

136. Ποιήσεις παράταξιν ποικίλην, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ,δ' ἐπι-
λέκτων οὕτως· πρώτη μὲν ἔστω παράταξις, ἡ λεγομένη πρόμαχος, ἀνδρῶν ,αφ'.

668 θάλατταν M θάλασσαν A 671 ἀρκοῦσι M ἀρκοῦσιν A 672 οὕτω M οὕτως A |
καταλήσῃ...χώραν M τὴν χώραν ἐξαφανίσης A 674 πεποίηκε M πεποίηκεν A 681 τοῦ
A om. M 684 καμήλοις M καμήλους A 689 σαρακηνῶν ἔθνους M ἔθνους τῶν
σαρακηνῶν A 690-691 οὐδὲν...βασιλεῦσι M om. A 692 οὐ M οὐτινος A 693 πόνον
A μόνον M | πρὸς M σὺν A 696 ,δ' M τετρακισχιλίων A 697 ,αφ' M χιλίων φ' A

the coast.³⁰ For the army of the Cilician barbarians is not very numerous, since the same men are campaigning both on land and on the sea.

133. What most contributes to the downfall of those people is the simultane-
ous assault of a strong battle fleet and of an infantry force through the Taurus.
Together with a good number of your subcommanders, launch your attack
against them. In this way you will plunder the land of those bandits, as our most
blessed father and autokrator of the Romans once did in his days by his sacred
command.³¹

134. In waging war against the Saracens of Syria dwelling near Mesopo-
tamia, adopt the methods employed by the commander, who, a short time ago,
recaptured Theodosiupolis, which had been occupied by them, and returned it
to our dominion.³² The horses of the Romans are unaccustomed to camels and
are even more frightened by the noise of drums and cymbals and they turn
around <and move> to the rear. This tactic has often caused the Romans to rush
into flight. It is necessary, then, to accustom the horses of the soldiers, especially
those of the front line troops and their officers, to the din of the drums and
cymbals by using them in drills and also to have camels among them so they
will not be scared by the sight of them. There are also other considerations that
one could discover by careful investigation of present conditions.

135. To sum it up, all that we have written about tactical theory from the
beginning to the end, all that was said about weapons, armament, drills, battle
formations, and other military methods in connection with the Saracen people
has been transmitted and set forth by us. This people that borders on our
commonwealth causes us no less trouble now than the Persian people of old did
to former emperors. They cause harm to our subjects every day. It is for this
reason that we have undertaken the present task of formulating instructions for
war. In addition to what we have already said, we have found other models of
battle formations that you may well consider employing, O general, against this
barbaric people. They are the following.

136. Vary your battle formation. To give an example, <take> about four
thousand picked troops. Let the first battle line, called promachos, consist of one

30. The Kibyrriaiotai theme, in southwest Asia Minor, furnished a large number of ships and crews for the imperial navy.

31. This probably refers to the expedition of Basil I in 876-877.

32. Theodosiupolis (Arm.: Karin; Turk.: Erzurum), in Armenia, was taken from the Arabs for a brief period in 754, then retaken by the Byzantines in 949. This note must refer to the campaign led by the magister Leo Katakalon, in 902. See DAI, 45; *Commentary*, 173.

ἦν εἰς τρία διαιρήσεις ἴσα μέρη, δεξιόν, ἀριστερόν, μέσον, ὥστε εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα
 ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν φ', ἔγγιστα ἀλλήλων, τῶν τριῶν τούτων τάξεων παρατεταγμένων.
 700 ὥς δοκεῖν μίαν εἶναι τὴν τάξιν. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τάξιν ποιήσεις ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ,α',
 ἦν εἰς δ' διαιρήσεις μέρη ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σαγιττοβόλου ἀλλήλων δῖιστάμενα, ὥστε
 εἶναι αὐτὰ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν σν', ὀπίσω τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως ἱσταμένων ὥστε, εἴ
 γε τοῦτο συμβῇ, τὴν πρώτην ὑποποδίσαι τάξιν, ὑποδέχεσθαι αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς
 κενοῖς αὐτῶν τῆς διαιρέσεως τόποις, καὶ οἶον μίαν σὺν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι παρά-
 705 ταξιν. τὰ γὰρ δ' μέρη τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως τρία ποιεῖ κενὰ χωρία, εἰς ἅπερ οἱ τῆς
 πρώτης τάξεως ἐλθόντες συστήσονται τῇ δευτέρᾳ. ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ
 νωτοφύλακας ἄνδρας φ', οὓς διαιρήσεις εἰς μέρη β' κατὰ οὐράν, ἥτοι δεξιὸν καὶ
 ἀριστερόν· ἵστασθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως εἰς τρίτην τάξιν,
 ἔχοντας ἕκαστον μέρος ἀνὰ σν', ὥστε καὶ ἐν καιρῷ χρείας αὐτοὺς προερχο-
 710 μένους ἐνοῦσθαι πρὸς βοήθειαν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρατάξει, ὑποδεχομένη τὴν
 πρώτην. ταύτας μέντοι τὰς τρεῖς τάξεις, εἰ καὶ διηρημένας διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ὠρίσα-
 μεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἠνωμένας τῇ ἐγγύτητι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἀγωνίσμασι κατα-
 νοοῦμεν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ σχήματος εὐθετον· ἐπὶ τούτοις στήσεις καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα
 κέρατα κατὰ χεῖρα, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πρώτης τάξεως τοὺς μὲν λεγομένους
 715 ὑπερκεραστάς κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν | μέρος, τοὺς δὲ πλαγιοφύλακας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυ-
 μον· καὶ ταῦτα ἔστωσαν ἀπὸ σ' ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε εἶναι ἐτοίμους εἰς τὸ κυκλῶσαι
 τὴν ἐπερχομένην τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν τοὺς ὑπερκεραστάς, εἰς δὲ τὸ κωλύ-
 σαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων κατὰ τῆς σῆς τάξεως κύκλωσιν τοὺς εὐωνύμους πλαγιοφύ-
 λακας, ἢ τάχα καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς κύκλωσιν ἐτοίμους. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ποιήσεις ἐν
 720 ἑκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ μακρόθεν τάγματα β' ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν σ', ὥστε εἰς ἐγκρύμματα
 γενέσθαι, ἔνθεν ἀκείθεν τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς τόπους κρυπτοὺς ἐγκαθημένους,
 ἢ ὀπίσω μὲν τῆς παρατάξεως ἐστῶτας, ἀθρόως δὲ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον δρουγ-
 γιστὶ ἐκπηδῶντας, καὶ κατὰ τῶν πλευρῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπερχομένους.

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698 ἦν A καὶ M 699 φ' M πεντακοσίων A | τάξεων M παρατάξεων A 700 ,α' M χιλίων
 A 701 δ' M τέσσαρα A 702 σν' M διακοσίων πεντήκοντα A 703 ὑποποδίσαι MW
 ὀπισθοποδίσαι A 704 κενοῖς...τόποις MW διαχωρίσασιν αὐτῶν A 705 δ' M τέσσαρα
 WA | κενὰ χωρία MW διαχωρίσματα A 706 τάξεως MW παρατάξεως A 707 φ' M
 πεντακοσίου WA | β' M δύο WA | κατὰ οὐράν MW om. A 708 ὀπίσω MW ὀπισθεν A
 709 ἔχοντας...μέρος MW ἔχοντας ἑκάστου μέρους A | σν' MW διακοσίων πεντήκοντα A |
 καὶ MW om. A | χρείας MW χρείας καὶ A 712 ἀγωνίσμασι MA ἀγωνίσμασιν W
 715-716 εὐώνυμον MW ἀριστερόν A 716 σ' ἀνδρῶν MW ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων A | ἐτοίμους
 MW ἐτοίμους τοὺς ὑπερκεραστάς A 717 τοὺς ὑπερκεραστάς MW om. A 720 β' M δύο
 WA | σ' MW διακοσίων A 721 παρατάξεως A om. MW 723 καὶ MW om. A

thousand five hundred men; divide them into three equal divisions, very close
 to one another, that is, right, left, middle, so each will have five hundred men.
 When drawn up in formation, these three lines will appear as one line. You will
 make the second line of one thousand men, and divide it into four divisions
 separated from one another by one bowshot; these will thus consist of two
 hundred fifty men. Station them behind the first battle line, so that if the first
 line happens to retreat, it may find refuge in the empty spaces between the
 divisions, and with them it will seem to form one battle line. For the four
 divisions of the second line make three empty spaces in which the men of the
 first line may take their stand and receive the support of the second line. In
 addition to these, post five hundred men as rear guards and divide them into
 two divisions in the rear: right and left. Post them behind the second battle line
 as a third line, with each section having two hundred fifty men. In time of need
 have these sections join together and move forward to support the second battle
 line, which has already received the first. These three lines, then, though we
 defined them as separate by necessity, nonetheless we still consider them to be
 united by their closeness and their struggles on behalf of one another, on
 account of the good arrangement of the model. In addition to these, station the
 so-called horns close by and, in front of the first line, the so-called outflankers
 by the right division and the flank guards by the left. These should amount to
 two hundred men. The outflankers should be prepared to encircle the advancing
 line of the enemy, while the flank guards on the left are to prevent the en-
 circlement of your line by the enemy, or perhaps they too should be ready to
 take part in the encircling <of the enemy>. In addition to these, also post two
 tagmata of two hundred men on each side at a distance to set up ambushes,
 lying in wait in hidden places on this side and that of your battle line. Or they
 may be stationed behind the battle line ready to charge out all at once, in what is
 called a droungos, and attack the flanks of the enemy.

137. Ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ κενοῖς μέρεσι τῆς δευτέρας παρατάξεως
 725 τάγματα ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ρ' ἡγουν ἄνδρες τ', ὥστε δοκεῖν συνημμένην εἶναι καὶ
 αὐτὴν τὴν τάξιν. οὗτοι δέ, εἰ ἄρα χρεῖα καλέσῃ ὑποχωρῆσαι τοὺς τῆς πρώτης
 τάξεως εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα τρία κενὰ <χωρία>, ὑποχωρήσουσιν ὀπίσω, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ
 ἀναστελοῦσι τοὺς ὁρμώντας πρὸς φυγὴν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψουσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν
 αὐτῶν τάξιν, τοῖς νωτοφύλαξιν ἅμα γινόμενοι διὰ τῆς ὀπίσω ὑποχωρήσεως,
 730 ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ῥοπὴν ποιήσει τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ὠφέλιμον.

138. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ρ' ἄνδρες ἔστωσαν ἅμα τῷ στρατηγῷ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ
 προελεύσεως ἵνα, ὅπῃ ἂν συμβῇ χρεῖαν γενέσθαι βοηθῆσαι τινὶ βαρουμένῳ
 μέρει, ἀποστελλόμενοι ἱκανὴν ῥοπὴν παρέχωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναψυχὴν διὰ τῆς
 αὐτῶν ἱκανότητος.

139. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἡ πᾶσα πρώτη τε καὶ δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη τάξις τῆς παρα-
 735 τάξεως, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ πλαγιοφύλακες καὶ ὑπερκερασταὶ καὶ νωτοφύλακες τε καὶ
 ἔνεδροι καὶ οἱ μέσοι τῶν κενῶν τόπων, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑποβοηθείᾳ μετὰ τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ τεταγμένοι, ἐν ὅλοις, δ' ἀνδράσι πάντες ὁμοῦ ταττέσθωσαν.

140. Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τὴν μέσσην ἐχέτω τάξιν τῆς πρώτης παρατάξεως, καὶ
 740 διαταττέτω καὶ ὁράτω τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ταύτην ἐχέτω πρὸς βοήθειαν, εἴ που καὶ
 δέοι μείζονος δυνάμεως, ἐκπέμπων ἅμα τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐστῶτος τουρμάρχου,
 ἥτοι τοῦ πάλαι μὲν ὑποστρατήγου νῦν δὲ μεράρχου καλουμένου. καὶ γὰρ καθ'
 ἕκαστον μέρος ἔμπροσθεν τουρμάρχης ὀφείλει προτάττεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
 τούτων ὁ στρατηγός.

141. Ἐχέτωσαν δὲ τὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους δρουγγαρίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκεί-
 745 νους κόμητας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας κατ' ἀρετὴν ἕκαστον συνεστῶτας, καὶ
 ἰθύνοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ διεγείροντας πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην μάχην.

724 κενοῖς μέρεσι MW διαχωρίσασι A 725 τάγματα A om. MW | ρ' MW ἑκατὸν A | τ' MW τριακόσιοι A | συνημμένην MW μίαν καὶ ἡνωμένην A 726 τὴν A om. MW | ὑποχωρῆσαι MW om. A 727 τάξεως MW τάξεως ὀπισθοποδῆσαντες A | κενὰ MW χωρία ci. De διαχωρίσματα εἰσελθεῖν A 727-730 ὁμοῦ... ὠφέλιμον MW καὶ ἐνωθήσονται τοῖς νωτοφύλαξιν καὶ ἅμα μὲν εἰς τρίτην παράταξιν σὺν αὐτοῖς γενήσονται ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγειν βουλομένους ἀποκωλύσουσιν ἅπερ οὐ μικρῶς τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ὠφελήσουσιν A 728 ἀναστελοῦσι M ἀναστείλουσιν W om. A 731 ρ' M ἑκατὸν WA 733 ῥοπὴν MW βοήθειαν A 733-734 διὰ... ἱκανότητος MW om. A 735 καὶ τρίτη MW om. A 736-737 τε... ἔνεδροι MW καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐγκρυμάτων A 737 κενῶν τόπων MW διαχωρισμάτων A | τοῦ MW τῷ A 738, δ' MW τετρακισχίλιος A 741 ἐστῶτος τουρμάρχου MW ἐστῶτι τουρμάρχη A 742 τοῦ MW τῷ A | ὑποστρατήγου MW ὑποστρατήγῳ A | μεράρχου καλουμένου MW μεράρχη καλουμένῳ A

137. In the three empty spaces of the second battle line station between one hundred and three hundred men so that it appears to be one continuous line. If it becomes necessary for the soldiers in the first line to retreat into those three empty spaces, then the men <stationed there> will draw back and, at the same time, restrain the men rushing into flight and make them turn back to their own line. In withdrawing to the rear, they join up with the rear guard. This will be beneficial and of no small importance to the men who are struggling.

138. Station the rest of the one hundred men with the general and his own retinue. Whenever the need arises, they can assist any division under pressure. Because of their numbers, when they are sent out, they may well bring sufficient strength and a respite to such a unit.

139. And so the entire first, second, and third lines of the battle formation, as well as the flank guards, the outflankers, the rear guards, the ambushers, and the men in the middle of the empty spaces, together with the support troops stationed with the general, all these together add up to four thousand men in formation.

140. Let the general have the middle position of the first battle line, where he can see and make arrangements for what is needed. Let him have this support unit so that, if ever a greater force is needed, he may dispatch it together with the tourmarch stationed with him, or the officer formerly called lieutenant general, now known as merarch. A tourmarch ought to take his place in front of each division and the general over all of these.

141. The divisions should have their own droungarioi. The counts under their command and the rest of the officers, each one according to his valor, should be stationed with him to strengthen the soldiers and to arouse them for the impending battle.

142. Τὸ δὲ ποσὸν τῆς πρώτης τάξεως διαιρήσεις, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ, ἡγουν τὸ
 τρίτον μέρος, ἀφορίσεις εἰς τοὺς λεγομένους κούρσορας, ὅσους μάλιστα γινώ-
 750 σκεις ἀνδρείους καὶ εὐτόλμους, τὸ δὲ δίμοιρον μέρος τάξεις εἰς τοὺς λεγομέ-
 νους διφένσορας, ἵνα οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πεμπόμενοι ὡς πρόμαχοι ἐπέλθωσι
 κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων | δρουγγιστί, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ ἄνευ τάξεως, καὶ εἰ μὲν τρέψωσιν
 αὐτούς, ἀκολουθήσωσι καὶ οἱ διφένσορες, ἡγουν οἱ βοηθοὶ καὶ ἔκδικοι, μὴ
 λύνοντες τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως περιπατοῦντες, εἰ δὲ βαρηθῶσιν οἱ
 755 κούρσορες, ἡγουν οἱ λεγόμενοι καὶ προκλάσται, εἴτα ὑποστρέψωσιν, ἵνα ὑπο-
 δέχωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ διφένσορες μετὰ τάξεως καὶ ἀναστέλλωσι τοὺς πολεμίους.
 εἰ δέ τι καὶ πλεόν καὶ οἱ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως ὑποβοηθήσουσι, καὶ προσέτι οἱ
 νωτοφύλακες, καὶ οὕτως διώξουσιν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκ διαδοχῆς τὴν βοήθειαν
 παρὰ πολλῶν ὑποδεχόμενοι· οὐ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἐν μιᾷ μόνη παρατάξει ἀποκιν-
 760 δυνεῦν ἀσφαλές, ὁμοῦ γὰρ πονοῦσα ἢ μία ὁμοῦ καὶ φεύγει. ἐνταῦθα δέ, εἰ καὶ
 ἡ πρώτη πονήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἡ δευτέρα ἐστῶσα ῥωμαλαιότερον βοηθήσῃ· εἰ δὲ καὶ
 αὕτη πονήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἡ τρίτη ἀπαθῶς ἐπέλθῃ, καὶ οὕτως πρὸς τρεῖς ἀπαθείς
 παρατάξεις ἢ μία τῶν πολεμίων πονοῦσα εὐκαταγώνιστος γίνεται, καὶ ταχέως
 λυθήσεται, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμήσῃ, συμπνεόντων δηλονότι κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον
 765 καὶ τῶν πλαγιοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ὑπερκεραστῶν, μάλιστα τῶν εἰρημένων τετρα-
 κισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων ὄντων, καὶ διαφερόντων τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ τῇ περὶ
 τοὺς πολέμους ἀρετῇ, ὅπερ ὀφείλει. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνδραποδῶδη στρατὸν ἡμῖν
 πρόκειται ἢ διάταξις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἱκανὸν μεταχειρίσασθαι ὄπλον καὶ ἐκθύμως
 ἀγωνίσασθαι.

770 143. Τὰς δὲ ἀκίας τῆς τοιαύτης παρατάξεως ποιήσεις ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν δέκα τὸ
 βάθος, ἥτοι τὸ πάχος αὐτῶν, ὥστε εἶναι καθ' ἐκάστην ἀκίαν ἄρχοντας δύο, τόν
 τε λεγόμενον λοχαγόν, ἡγουν δέκαρχον ἢ πρωτοστάτην ἢ πρόμαχον, καὶ τὸν
 οὐραγόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἔσχατος τοῦ στίχου καὶ καλεῖται πεντάρχης, οὓς καὶ μάλιστα
 ἱκανοὺς εἶναι χρὴ καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ καταφράκτους τοῖς ἀρμόζουσιν ὅπλοις· καὶ
 775 οὕτως τοῦ βάθους τῶν ἀκιῶν τεταγμένου, τὸ ἐπὶ μέτωπον ἕκταμα πρὸς πλάτος
 κατὰ ζυγόν, ὅσον ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ, τάττεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πλευράν.

748 ad τάξεως des. W

755 καὶ M om. A 757 ὑποβοηθήσουσι M ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν A 759 οὐ A οἱ M
 759-760 μοι...ἀσφαλές M δοκεῖ μοι ἀσφαλές ἐν μιᾷ μόνη παρατάξει ἀποκινδυνεύειν A
 761 ῥωμαλαιότερον M ἰσχυρότερον A 764 συμπνεόντων M συμπνούντων A 765 τῶν
 M συνεργούντων A 767 ὅπερ M ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ A | ἀνδραποδῶδη M ἀνδραποδῶδη καὶ
 χυδαῖον A 767-768 ἡμῖν πρόκειται M trsp. A 768 ἐκθύμως M προθύμως A 776 κατὰ
 M παρὰ A

142. Divide the number <of men> in the first line, assigning part of it, that
 is, a third, into the so-called assault troops, men whom you know to be especial-
 ly brave and courageous. Designate the second part as the so-called defenders.
 The assault troops are sent against the front. As promachoi they should attack
 the enemy in irregular order, that is, all together without any formation. If they
 force them to flee, the defenders, that is, the support troops and ekdikoi, will
 pursue them without breaking their formation, but riding along in good order.
 But if the assault troops, also known as proklastai, come under pressure, they
 will then withdraw so that the defenders may receive them in order and hold
 back the enemy. But if there is something more, the men in the second line shall
 move to help, and the rear guard as well, and in this manner they will pursue the
 enemy, continuously receiving help from many sources. I do not think it is safe
 to take such great risks with only one battle line. When the first finds itself in
 difficulties, at that time it also turns to flight. But here <in our scheme> even if
 the first finds itself in difficulty, the second line is standing there, ready to assist
 it most vigorously. If this line is in difficulty, the third, still unharmed, will move
 up. In this way, against three unharmed battle lines the one line of the enemy
 will be in difficulty, will be easily overcome, quickly break ranks, and turn to
 flight. The flank guards and the outflankers, of course, must cooperate in this
 operation, especially in unison with the above-mentioned four thousand men,
 all elite troops, as they should be, outstanding for bravery and valor in warfare.
 For this constitution of ours is not intended for an army of slaves but for one
 that will take weapons in hand and enthusiastically engage in combat.

143. Make the files of such a battle line ten men deep, or thick, so that in
 each file there shall be two officers, the one called group leader, also dekarch,
 protostates, or promachos, and the ouragos, who is the last of the row and is
 called pentarch. It is necessary that these men be particularly qualified and
 brave, and equipped with the appropriate armor and weapons. With the depth
 of the files formed in this way, arrange the extent along the front according to
 width, line by line, as much as is called for, and also by the flank.

144. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νῦν ὑποθέσεως ἡ μὲν πρώτη τάξις, ἣτις καὶ εἰς τρία μέρη
 διαιρεθῆσεται, καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ἔξει ἀκίας πεντήκοντα, ἀνὰ δέκα ἔχουσιν τὸ
 βάθος κατὰ στίχον, ἀπὸ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ καὶ πρωτοστάτου ἕως τοῦ ἐσχάτου οὐρα-
 780 γοῦ, ὡς εἶναι τὰς ὅλας ἀκίας τῶν τριῶν μερῶν τῆς πρώτης τάξεως ρν', ἥτοι
 ἀνδρας χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. ἡ δὲ δευτέρα τάξις ἐχέτω διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων
 αὐτῆς μερῶν ἀκίας ἀνὰ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, τὰς πάσας ἀκίας ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας χιλί-
 ους. <οἱ δὲ νωτοφύλακες, ἡγουν ἡ τρίτη τάξις ἐχέτω ἀκίας ἀνὰ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε,
 ὁμοῦ ἀνδρας πεντακοσίους.> οἱ δὲ πλαγιοφύλακες ἔξουσιν ἀκίας δέκα, ἀνδρας
 785 ἑκατόν. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ὑπερκερασταὶ ἀκίας δέκα, ἀνδρας ἑκατόν, προσέτι δὲ καὶ
 οἱ ἔνεδροι, ἡγουν τὰ ἐγκρύμματα, ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τῶν δύο μερῶν τῆς παρατά-
 ξεως ἀνὰ ἀκιῶν εἴκοσιν, ἀκίας τεσσαράκοντα, ἀνὰ ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων, ὁμοῦ δὲ
 ἀνδρας τετρακοσίους. καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς κενοῖς <τόποις> διεστῶτες τῆς δευτέρας
 παρατάξεως, οἵτινες, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀναστέλλουσιν, ἔσονται τὰ
 790 τρία μέρη ἀπὸ ἀκιῶν δέκα ἡγουν ἀνδρῶν ἑκατόν, ὁμοῦ ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων, καὶ
 οἱ τῷ στρατηγῷ παρεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἑκατόν.

145. Ἄλλ' αἱ μὲν τρεῖς παρατάξεις, | ἐξηρημένων τῶν κουρσῶρων, ὑπὸ ἀκίας
 ταχθήσονται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τάγματα, ἡγουν οἱ πλαγιοφύλακες καὶ οἱ ὑπερκε-
 ρασταὶ, ἥτοι οἱ πρὸς τὴν κύκλωσιν ταγέντες, καὶ διὰ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐγκρυμμάτων
 795 ἥτοι οἱ ἔνεδροι, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ αἰὲν συντεταγμένοι στήσονται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν
 χρεῖαν ποτὲ μὲν οὕτως, ποτὲ δὲ δρουγγιστὶ ἐπελεύσονται ἢ ὡς ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ τοῦ
 πολέμου περίστασις.

146. Συναχθήσονται τοῖνυν ἀπὸ τῶν οὕτω τεταγμένων δ' χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν
 οἱ πάντες ἄρχοντες κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τάξιν ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι, αἰμς' οὕτως· πεν-
 800 τάρχαι μὲν ὡ', δεκάρχαι δὲ ὡ', πεντηκοντάρχαι δὲ οἱ καὶ τριβούνοι καλούμενοι
 π', κένταρχοι ἡγουν ἑκατοντάρχαι μ', κόμητες κ', δρουγγάριοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι δ',
 τουρμάρχαι β', ὁμοῦ ἄρχοντες μικροὶ <καὶ> μεγάλοι, αἰμς'. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ἐνὸς θέματος ἐπιλεγέσθωσαν ἀνδρεῖοι στρατιῶται καὶ πληροῦτωσαν τὸ

780 ρν' Μ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα Α 783-784 οἱ... πεντακοσίους Va, Hung. om. ΜΑ
 784 δέκα Μ εἴκοσι Α 785 ἑκατόν¹ Μ διακοσίους Α | δέκα Μ εἴκοσι Α | ἑκατόν² Μ
 διακοσίους Α 786 οἱ... ἡγουν Μ om. Α 787 εἴκοσιν Μ εἴκοσι Α 788 κενοῖς...
 διεστῶτες Μ διαχωρίσμαι δὲ ἐστῶτες Α | τόποις ci. De om. codd. 790 δέκα... ἑκατόν Α
 ἑκατόν Μ 792-793 ἐξηρημένων... ταχθήσονται Μ ὑπὸ ἀκίας ταχθήσονται παρεκτὸς τῶν
 κουρσῶρων Α 793 ἡγουν Μ om. Α | οἱ¹ Μ οἱ τε Α | οἱ² Μ om. Α 795 ἥτοι... ἔνεδροι Μ
 om. Α 798 οὕτω Μ οὕτως Α | δ' Μ τεσσάρων Α 799 ἄνδρες Α om. Μ | αἰμς' Μ χίλιοι
 τριακοσίοι τεσσαράκοντα ἔξ Α 800 ὡ' Μ ὀκτακόσιοι Α | ὡ' Μ τετρακόσιοι Α | καλούμενοι
 Μ λεγόμενοι Α 801 π' Μ ὀγδοήκοντα Α | μ' Μ τεσσαράκοντα Α | κ' Μ εἴκοσι Α | δ' Μ
 τέσσαρες Α 802 β' Μ δύο Α | καὶ¹ ci. De om. ΜΑ | αἰμς' Μ χίλιοι τριακοσίοι
 τεσσαράκοντα ἔξ Α

144. In this present proposition the first line, divided into three divisions, will have in each division fifty files, ten deep for each row, from the group leader or protostates to the ouragos at the end. Thus, all the files of the three divisions of the first line come to one hundred fifty, totaling one thousand five hundred men. Let the second line have in its four divisions some twenty-five files each, so all the hundred files will total a thousand men. <Let the rear guard, that is, the third line, have some twenty-five files, for a total of five hundred men.> The flank guards will have ten files, one hundred men. Likewise the outflankers ten files, one hundred men. Furthermore, the ambuscades, or ambushes, on this side and that of the two divisions of the battle line <should have> some twenty files: so, forty files or two hundred men. All together, four hundred men. The troops stationed in the empty spaces of the second battle line, who, as said, restrain those who are fleeing, will make up three divisions of ten files, that is, one hundred men, or three hundred all together, as well the one hundred men stationed with the general.

145. With the exception of the assault troops, the three battle lines will be formed by files; the rest of the units, that is, the flank guards and the outflankers who are designated for the encircling movements, as well as those for the ambushes, the ambushers, and the others, will not always take their place in strict formation, but will advance according to need, sometimes in this fashion and sometimes in irregular formation, or as the circumstances of combat require.

146. From these four thousand men in formation all the officers, elite men, will be selected according to their rank, 1,346 in the following manner: 800 pentarchs, 400 dekarchs, 80 pentekontarchs, also called tribunes, 40 kentarchs or hekatontarchs, 20 counts, 4 droungarioi and chiliarchoi, 2 tourmarchs, altogether 1,346 major and minor officers. And in this way, for one theme let brave

λεγόμενον στρατιωτικὸν θέμα, ἥτοι τῶν τετρακισχιλίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλέκτων
 805 καὶ ἐνόπλων καβαλλαρίων καὶ γενναίων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ τοῦ
 θέματος εἰς ἑτέρας τάξεις καὶ χρείας καταμερίζεσθω, ὥς ἂν σοι δοκῇ, ὃ στρα-
 τηγέ, τὸ λυσιτελοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἐκάστοτε καιρὸν.

147. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἴρηται, ἐὰν ἄρα ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς
 <ἡ> ὑπὲρ τὸν σὸν ἢ ἴσος. εἰ δὲ πολυπληθία πλεονεκτεῖ ὁ ἐναντίος, τότε κατὰ
 810 τὸν ὀρισθέντα σοι τύπον ἐν τῇ προδηλωθείσῃ παρατάξει, ἡ διπλώσεις τὸ
 στράτευμα ἀπὸ ἑτέρων θεμάτων τῶν συστρατήγων σου, ὥστε γενέσθαι τὴν
 πᾶσαν παράταξιν χιλιάδων ὀκτώ, δηλονότι κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τύπον μεριζομέ-
 νου τοῦ ὅλου στρατοῦ, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ ποσοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα τῆς τάξεως
 προστιθεμένου. εἰ δὲ μὴ διπλῶσαι μόνον ἀρκῇ, καὶ τριπλώσεις συντάσσων καὶ
 815 ἑτέρους δύο στρατηγούς ἅμα τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιώταις οὕτως ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ
 καταφράκτοις, ὥστε δύο καὶ δέκα γενέσθαι χιλιάδας. καὶ οὕτως κατὰ τὸν
 εἰρημένον ἄνωθεν τύπον διαμερισθήσεται ὅλος ὁ στρατός, τριπλουμένων
 δηλονότι τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστη τάξει στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω που ὀρισμένον ποσόν.

148. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγους καὶ ἀνδρείους πολεμίους ἔχεις τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ
 820 δοκεῖ σοι χρήσιμον, κατὰ ἓν θέμα ἐκτάξας τρεῖς ποιήσεις παρατάξεις ἀνὰ χιλι-
 ᾶδων τεσσάρων κατὰ τὸν ῥηθέντα τύπον, ἡ καὶ πλειόνων χιλιάδων κατὰ τὸ
 ποσὸν τῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ εὐπορίας· καὶ τῇ μὲν μιᾷ προσβαλεῖς αὐτοῖς, ἡ προσ-
 βάλλοντας ὑποδέξῃ αὐτούς· καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκείνων ἀσχολουμένων, εἰ μὲν
 τραπῶσι, καὶ οὕτως διώξεις ἀσφαλῶς· εἰ δὲ ἀντιστῶσι, τότε καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα ποιήσε-
 825 ται προσβολὴν ἐξόπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσα, καὶ οὕτως κατεργασθήσονται οἱ
 πολέμοι. εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην | ἀντίσχωσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ τρίτῃ ἐπελθοῦσα ἡ ὀπισθεν
 ἡ ἐκ πλαγίου, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις κυκλώσασα τοὺς ἐναντίους πάντως αἰρήσει
 αὐτούς. οὐ γὰρ ἄσαρκοί εἰσιν οἱ πολέμοι, κἂν τὸ θράσος αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ χρῶμα
 περικείται.

830 149. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς πλῆθος πολεμίων διαγωνίζεσθαι μέλλεις, τὰς τρεῖς παρα-
 τάξεις τὰς ἀπὸ δ' χιλιάδων εἰς μίαν, ὥς εἴρηται, συνάξεις καὶ τριπλασιάσεις τὸ
 ποσὸν τῆς προειρημένης ἐκτάξεως, διαμερίζων κατὰ λόγον, ὥς πρόκειται, εἰς τε
 πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν παράταξιν, καὶ εἰς νωτοφύλακας καὶ εἰς πλαγιοφύλακας

819 ad kai de novo inc. W

807 τὸ λυσιτελοῦν M ὠφέλιμον εἶναι A 809 ἡ¹ ci. De om. codd. | πολυπληθία M πολλῶ
 πλήθει A 815–816 δύο...χιλιάδας M δώδεκα χιλιάδας γενέσθαι A 818 ἄνω...
 ὀρισμένον M ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένον A 824 ἀντιστῶσι M ἀντιστῶσιν WA 825 ἐξόπισθεν
 MW ὀπισθεν A 826 ἀντίσχωσιν MW ἀπαντήσουσιν A 827 αἰρήσει MW πορθήσει A
 831 τὰς A om. MW | δ' MW τεσσάρων A | εἰς MW ὥς A

soldiers be selected and let what is called the military theme be filled by elite
 and armed cavalymen, four thousand in number and noble in their qualities.
 The other troops from the theme should be divided up among other formations
 and needs, as appears most useful to you, O general, for each situation.

147. These prescriptions stand whether the enemy's army is small, larger
 than yours, or equal to it. If your adversary is greatly superior in numbers, then
 <act> in line with the model set forth for you in the battle line just explained,
 double your army with your fellow commanders from other themes, so that the
 entire battle line will total eight thousand. The whole army, of course, should be
 divided according to the prescribed model, except only for the numbers added
 according to each tagma of the line. But if doubling alone should not be enough,
 then triple the number, lining up with yourself the two other generals with elite,
 armed soldiers under them. This results in twelve thousand. In this way, the
 entire army will be divided according to the above-mentioned model, that is,
 tripling the soldiers in each line according to the number prescribed above.

148. If you face combat against a small but brave enemy force, then, if this
 seems helpful to you, draw up one theme and make three battle lines of up to
 four thousand, as in the model given, or even more thousands according to the
 quantity <required> for easily provisioning the army. Have one line charge
 against them or, if they charge, receive them. If they turn away, you will pursue
 them in safety, but if they resist, then the other line will launch a charge against
 them, coming from their rear. In this way, the enemy will be overpowered. Even
 if they hold up against this, the third line can attack either from the rear or the
 flank and, together with the other lines, having encircled them, they will utterly
 destroy them. After all, the enemy are not without flesh even though they wear
 their boldness like their skin.

149. If you are preparing to engage a large enemy force in battle, join togeth-
 er the three battle lines of four thousand men into one, as said, and you will
 triple the number of the aforementioned formation. Divide it in the regular
 manner, as laid down, into the first and the second battle lines, into rear guards,

καὶ εἰς ὑπερκεραστὰς καὶ εἰς ἐνέδρους, ἥτοι ἐγκρύμματα, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα, ὥς
 835 προεῖρηται, τάγματα, καὶ οὕτως μετὰ εὐταξίας καὶ συντάσεως ποιήσεις τὴν
 προσβολὴν διὰ τῶν λεγομένων κουρσόρων, ἥτοι τῶν προμάχων τῆς πρώτης
 τάξεως, ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑπερκεραστῶν ἢ ὥς ἂν ἡ χρεία καλέσῃ, καθὼς σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ
 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου διατάξει διωρισάμεθα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείονές εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι,
 καὶ χρεία πολλῷ πλείονος στρατοῦ, ἔστωσαν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν
 840 θεμάτων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην χρείαν ἔτοιμοι, ὁμοίως τὸν οἰκεῖον
 στρατὸν ἐπιλεξάμενοι καὶ διακρίναντες τοὺς χρησίμους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀχρείων, ὥς
 ἄχρι τεσσάρων χιλιάδων, ὥς εἴρηται, ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ θέματι διὰ τὴν νῦν ἐπικρατη-
 σάντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀγυμνασίαν τε καὶ ἀμέλειαν καὶ ὀλιγότητα. καὶ οὗτοι
 πάντες πλῆθος δοκίμων στρατιωτῶν συλλέξουσιν, καὶ παραστήσουσιν ἅμα σοι
 845 κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας καταστήναι τοὺς
 ὀφείλοντας ἀνδρείως καὶ εὐψύχως ἐκστρατεῦν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

150. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διωρισάμεθα τῇ ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητι, τάχα οὐδὲ καινόν τι ἢ
 παρὰ τὴν δόξαν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν, ὥς εἴρηται, τοῖς παλαιότεροις ἐντυχόντες
 ἠνθολογήσαμεν, καὶ μετρίαν πείραν ἐκεῖθεν συλλέξαντες συμφώνως ἐκείνοις
 850 διεταξάμεθα. καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλείστα δυνήσῃ ἐφευρεῖν ἐντεῦθεν λαμβάνων τὰς
 ἀφορμὰς, ἅπερ, ὥς εἴρηται, οὔτε γράφειν καθ' ἐν δυνατόν οὔτε τῷ παρόντι
 συντάγματι διὰ τὴν συντομίαν ἐντάξαι ἀρμόδιον. ἐξὸν δέ σοι φιλοπονοῦντι καὶ
 τῷ πλάτει τῶν τακτικῶν ἐμμελετήσαντι καὶ τοιαῦτα καὶ τούτων ἔτι δραστικώ-
 τερα καὶ προσεπινοῆσαι καὶ διαπράξασθαι Θεὸν ἔχοντι βοηθὸν διὰ τε τῆς εἰς
 855 αὐτὸν πίστεως καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν βασιλείαν ἀγάπης καὶ διαθέσεως.]

flank guards, outflankers, ambushers or ambushes, and the rest of the units, as
 already explained. Thus, with good order and a united front, you will have the
 assault troops, as they are called, or the promachoi of the first line launch their
 attack, or even the outflankers, or do as need requires, as we have prescribed in
 the constitution concerning battle. But if the enemy are even more numerous
 and you need a much larger army, have the remaining generals of the eastern
 themes stand ready for such a necessity. In like manner, each one should muster
 his own army of four thousand men from each theme, after having separated
 the useful troops from the useless, as we said. <This condition> has been
 brought about by the prevailing lack of training, by carelessness, and by the
 small number of soldiers these days. All of these <commanders> will stand
 together by your side against the enemy and will assemble a multitude of
 trustworthy soldiers, so that those who are obliged to wage war bravely and in
 good spirits against the enemy add up to more than thirty thousand men.

150. We have presented Your Excellency with these regulations. Perhaps
 they contain nothing new or extraordinary. As noted above, however, we have
 gathered together what we came across in older authorities and thence, having
 harmoniously brought together ordinary experience with those authorities, we
 have issued <these regulations>. Taking these as your starting point, you will be
 able to discover many other things in this <book>, things that, as we said, owing
 to the limitations of space, it is not possible to write about individually or to
 include conveniently in this present constitution. But it is possible for you,
 dedicated to this task and reflecting on the broad field of tactics, to devise and
 put into action such practices, as well as those still more effective than these,
 with God as your support, because of your faith in him and your love and good
 disposition toward Our Majesty.

837 καλέσοι MW καλέση A | σοι A om. MW 844 συλλέξουσιν MW συλλέξουσιν A
 848 δόξαν MW δόκησιν A 850 πλείστα MW πλείστα τοιούτοτροπα A 852 ἐξὸν MW
 ἐξεστι A 853 τῷ πλάτει MA τῷ πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν διάταξις ἰθ' περὶ ναυμαχίας πλάτει
 W | ἐμμελετήσαντι MW ἐμμελετώντι A | καὶ² MW καὶ ἔτι A

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΙΘ'

Περὶ ναυμαχίας

α'. Ἦδη δὲ περὶ ναυμαχίας διαταξόμεθα, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τακτικοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς κεκανονισμένον εὐρόντες· ἀφ' ὧν δὲ σποράδην ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ
5 διὰ μετρίας πείρας τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ παρὰ τῶν πλωτῶν στρατηγῶν ἡμῶν ἀνεμά-
θομεν, τὰ μὲν πεπονηκότων, τὰ δὲ πεπονθότων, ἀναλεξάμενοι μικρά τινα καὶ
ὅσον ἔμφασιν δοῦναι τοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μάχεσθαι διὰ τῶν ποτε λεγομένων
τριηρῶν, νῦν δὲ δρομώνων καλουμένων, μέλλουσι ἐν ὀλίγοις διορισώμεθα.

β'. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως στρατηγέ—ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς
10 σὲ δέον τὸν λόγον ποιήσασθαι—τῆς ναυμαχικῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τάξεως ἐπιστή-
μονά σε εἶναι χρεών, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων κινήσεις προσκο-
εῖν τε καὶ προειδέναι διὰ τῆς τῶν φαινομένων ἀστέρων καὶ ἐν ἄστροις σημείων
πείρας, καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην γινομένων σημασιῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς
τῶν καιρῶν ἐναλλαγῆς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐπιγινώσκειν, ὥς ἂν ἔχων περὶ ταῦτ'
15 ἐμπείρως ἀσφαλῆς καὶ ἀκίνδυνος ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θαλάσσης διαφυλάττη χειμῶνων.

γ'. Κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ καὶ δρόμοντας δεῖ ἀρκοῦντας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν κατὰ
τῶν ἀντιστρατευομένων πλωτῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων διάθεσιν τε
καὶ κατάστασιν, καὶ τῶν σῶν ποιήσασθαι τὴν κατασκευὴν δυνατὴν πρὸς ἅπαν-
τα, ἐκείνοις ἀντιμάχεσθαι.

MW A Dain PG 107:989

1 πολεμικῶν...ιθ' W λέοντος ἐν χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ ῥωμαίων στρατηγικά M ναυμαχία
λέοντος βασιλέως A 2 περὶ ναυμαχίας MW om. A 3 ἤδη δὲ M ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτων ἤδη W
om. A | διαταξόμεθα MW βουλόμεθα διατάξασθαι περὶ ἧς A 4 περὶ αὐτῆς MW om. A |
εὐρόντες MW εὐρομεν A 5 μετρίας MW ὀλίγης A | στρατηγῶν ἡμῶν MW trsp. A
6 πεπονθότων MW παθόντων A 7 ἔμφασιν MW ἀφορμὴν A | μάχεσθαι MW μάχεσθαι
μέλλουσιν A 8 μέλλουσι M μέλλουσιν W om. A 9 τῆς...στρατηγέ MW στρατηγέ τῆς
ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως A 9-10 ἤδη...ποιήσασθαι MW om. A 10-11 τῆς...καὶ MW δεῖ
εἶναι σε ἐπιστήμονα τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐμπειρίας κατατάξεως καὶ προσκοπεῖν καὶ προγινώσκειν A
11-12 προσκοπεῖν...προειδέναι MW om. A 13 καθ' MW κατὰ τὸν A | καὶ² MW καὶ τὴν A
| σημασιῶν M σημείων W ἐπισημειώσεων A | καὶ δὴ MW ἐπιγινώσκειν δὲ A 14 ἐπι-
γινώσκειν M γινώσκειν W om. A | ταῦτ' M ταῦτα WA 15 ἀσφαλῆς...διαφυλάττη MW
διαφυλάττη ἀσφαλῆς καὶ ἀκίνδυνος ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θαλάσσης A 16 δὲ MW δὲ δεῖ A | δεῖ MW
καὶ A 17-18 διάθεσιν...καὶ MW om. A

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XIX

About Naval Warfare

1. We will now set down ordinances for naval warfare. While we found no regulations about it in the older tactical books, still from what we have read here and there and what we have learned from the ordinary experience of our fleet commanders at the present time, their successes as well as their failures, we have selected a few examples, enough to give this presentation to those who intend to do battle at sea on what were once called triremes but are now called dromons.¹ We will present these regulations in a few words.

2. First, therefore, O commander of our naval force—for we must now address this treatise to you—you ought to be skilled and experienced in naval tactics and combat. You should <know how> to make allowance for the movements of air and the winds and to anticipate them by examining the visible stars, the stellar signs, and also the indications relating to the sun and the moon. Indeed, you must have an exact knowledge of the change of the seasons. And so, experienced in these matters, you may safely and without danger guard against the sea's storms.

3. It is necessary to outfit the dromons in numbers sufficient to engage the enemy fleet drawn up against you, according to its disposition and condition. You must equip your own fleet, making it ready in every respect to fight against them.

1. Const. 19, as it appears in A, has been edited by A. Dain, together with other writings on naval warfare: *Naumachica* (Paris, 1943). See H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966); E. Eickhof, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966). On dromon ("runner"), see Ahrweiler, 409–418; Eickhoff, 135–148. The most detailed work on the dromon and the Byzantine navy is J. Pryor and E. Jeffreys, *The Age of the Dromon: The Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204* (Leiden–Boston, 2006); this includes texts and translations of Greek and Arabic sources.

20 δ'. Ἡ δὲ τῶν δρομώνων κατασκευὴ μήτε ἄγαν ἔστω παχεῖα, ἵνα μὴ ἀργοὶ γίνωνται ἐν ταῖς ἐλασίαις, μήτε λίαν εἰς λεπτότητα ἐξεργασμένη, ἵνα μὴ ἀσθενὴς οὖσα καὶ σαθρὰ ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων συναράξεώς τε καὶ κρούσεως διαλύεται. ἀλλὰ σύμμετρον ἔχέτω τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ δρόμων, ἵνα καὶ ἐλαυνόμενος μὴ λίαν ἀργός ἐστιν, καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος ἢ παρὰ τῶν
25 ἐχθρῶν συγκρουόμενος ἰσχυρότερος διαμένῃ καὶ ἄρρηκτος.

ε'. Ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἐξαρτισμὸν δρόμωνος ἀπαράλειπτα καὶ διπλᾶ, οἷον αὐχένας, κώπας, σκαρμούς, σχοινία, κάρυα, καὶ τὰ ἄρμενα δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ κερατάρια, καὶ κατάρτια, καὶ ὅποσα ἄλλα ἡ ναυτικὴ τέχνη πρὸς χρεῖαν ἀπαιτεῖ. ἔχέτω δὲ καὶ ἐκ περισσοῦ ξύλα τινὰ ἐγκοιλία, καὶ σανίδας, καὶ
30 στυπία, καὶ πίσσαν, καὶ ὑγρόπισσαν, καὶ ναυπηγὸν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐργαλείων αὐτοῦ, ἓνα τῶν ἐλατῶν οἷον σκεπάρνου, τελέτρου, πρίονος, καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

ζ'. Ἐχέτω δὲ πάντως τὸν σίφωνα κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν ἔμπροσθεν χαλκῷ ἡμιεσμένον, ὡς ἔθος, δι' οὗ τὸ ἐσκευασμένον πῦρ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀκοντῖσαι. καὶ ἄνωθεν δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου σίφωνος ψευδοπάτιον ἀπὸ σανίδων καὶ αὐτὸ
35 περιτετειχισμένον σανίσιν, ἐν ᾧ στήσονται ἄνδρες πολεμισταὶ τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς πρῶρας τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιμαχόμενοι, ἢ κατὰ τῆς πολεμίας νηὸς ὅλης βάλλοντες δι' ὧν ἂν ἐπινοήσωσιν ὅπλων.

ζ'. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ξυλόκαστρα περὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ καταρτίου ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δρόμοισιν ἐπιστήσουσι περιτετειχισμένα σανίσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρες
40 τινὲς τὸ μέσον τῆς πολεμίας νηὸς ἀκοντίσουσιν ἢ λίθους μυλικούς ἢ σίδηρα βαρεῖα, οἷον μάζας ξιφοειδεῖς, δι' ὧν ἢ τὴν ναῦν διαθρύψουσιν ἢ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους συνθλάσουσιν σφοδρῶς καταφερόμενα ἢ τι ἕτερον ἐπιχύσουσιν ἢ ἐμπρῆσαι δυνάμενον τὴν ναῦν τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ πολεμίους θανατῶσαι.

45 η'. Ἐκαστος δὲ τῶν δρομώνων εὐμήκης ἔστω καὶ σύμμετρος, ἔχων μὲν τὰς λεγομένας ἐλασίας δύο, τὴν τε κάτω καὶ τὴν ἄνω. ἐκάστη δὲ ἐλασία ἔχέτω ζυγοὺς τὸ ἐλάχιστον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐν οἷς οἱ κωπηλάται καθεσθῆσονται· ὡς εἶναι ζυγοὺς τοὺς ἅπαντας κάτω μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, ἄνω δὲ ὁμοίως εἴκοσι καὶ

4. The equipment of the dromon should not be too massive, which would make it slow in maneuvering, nor should it be too lightly outfitted, which would make it weak and easily shaken by the waves and broken up when the enemy ships dash against it and crush it. But let the dromon be outfitted in a balanced manner so that it may not be too slow in sailing and, when buffeted by the waves or rammed by the enemy, it may remain stronger and unbreakable.

5. Nothing required for the outfitting of the dromon should be omitted, and there should be two of each item. This includes tillers, oars, pegs for oars, ropes, pulleys and their sails and their yardarms and furnishings, and as many other items as are required for the exercise of the naval art. There should also be some extra lumber for the belly of the ship, and planks, hemp, pitch, and liquid pitch. A shipwright should be on board with all his tools, some of forged metal such as an adze, a drill, a saw, and the like.

6. By all means, it should have a siphon, bound in bronze, and placed up front on the prow, as is customary, so that it can project the prepared fire against the enemy.² Above this particular siphon there should be a sort of platform made of planks and walled around by planks. Station combat troops there to ward off attacks coming from the prow of the enemy ships or to shoot whatever weapons they may choose against the whole enemy ship.

7. On the largest dromons erect the so-called wooden castles with their wall of planks somewhere around the middle of the mast.³ From these <vantage points> our men will shoot millstones or heavy pieces of iron such as those shaped like swords. These will either break up the enemy ship or, landing with great force, crush those on whom they fall. The men may also hurl other things capable of setting the enemy ships on fire or of killing the troops on board.

8. Let each dromon be of good length and proper size with two oarbanks, as they are called, one below and one above. Let each row have at least twenty-five benches for the rowers to sit on. All told, therefore, there should be twenty-five benches below and, likewise, twenty-five above, making a total of fifty. On each

20 ἄγαν MW πάνυ A 22 ῥαδίως MW ταχέως A 22-23 συναράξεως...κρούσεως MW συγκρούσεως A 24 ἀργός ἐστιν MW trsp. A 28 κερατάρια MA κεράτια W 31 τελέτρου MW τυμπάνου A 33 ἀκοντίσαι PG ἀκοντίσοι MW ἀκοντίσει A 38 πού MW om. A 39 ἐπιστήσουσι MA ἐπιστήσουσιν W 40 τινὲς MW τινες εἰς A 41 βαρεῖα MW βαρέα A | μάζας MW μαζία A 42 συνθλάσουσιν MW συνθλάσουσι A | τι ἕτερον MW trsp. A 43 ἐναντίων MW πολεμίων A | πολεμίους MW om. A 45 η' MW om. A 46 ἐκάστη...ἐλασία MW ἡ ἐκάστη A 47 πέντε...εἴκοσι M ε' καὶ εἴκοσι W κε' A 48-49 εἴκοσι...πέντε MW κε' A

2. Prepared fire, also known as liquid or Greek fire, was a petroleum-based substance, put under pressure, ignited, and discharged through bronze tubes, called siphons, engulfing the enemy in roaring flames and thick black smoke. See R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge, 1960), 1-41; Pryor-Jeffreys, 607-631; J. Haldon and F. Byrne, "A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire," *BZ* 70 (1977): 91-99; J. Haldon, "Greek Fire Revisited: Recent and Current Research," in *Byzantine Style, Religion, and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge, 2006).

3. On the location of this fort or fighting platform see Pryor-Jeffreys, 229-238.

πέντε, ὁμοῦ ν'. καθ' ἓνα δὲ αὐτῶν δύο καθεζέσθωσαν οἱ κωπηλατοῦντες, εἷς μὲν
 50 δεξιὰ, εἷς δὲ ἀριστερά· ὡς εἶναι τοὺς ἅπαντας κωπηλάτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 καὶ στρατιώτας τοὺς τε ἄνω καὶ τοὺς κάτω ἄνδρας ρ'. ἔξω δὲ τούτων τὸν κέν-
 ταρχον τοῦ δρόμωνος καὶ τὸν τὸ φλάμουλον κατέχοντα, καὶ τοὺς δύο κυβερνή-
 τας τῶν τοῦ δρόμωνος αὐχένων, οὓς καλοῦσι καὶ πρωτοκαράβους, καὶ εἴ τινα
 ἕτερον δέον εἰς τὴν τοῦ κεντάρχου ὑπηρεσίαν. τῶν δὲ πρωρέων ἐλατῶν οἱ
 55 τελευταῖοι δύο ὁ μὲν ἔστω σιφωνάτωρ, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὁ τὰς ἀγκύρας βάλλων κατὰ
 θάλασσαν. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ὁ πρωρεὺς ἄνω που τῆς πλώρας | κατήμενος ἔνοπλος,
 καὶ ὁ τοῦ ναυάρχου δέ, ἥτοι τοῦ κεντάρχου, κράββατος ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης γινέ-
 σθω, ὁμοῦ μὲν ἀφορισμένον δεικνύων τὸν ἄρχοντα ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ φυλάττων ἐν
 καιρῷ συμβολῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ῥιπτομένων βελῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ
 60 ἕκαστα βλέπων πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀγεσθαι κελεύσοι ὁ ἄρχων τὸν δρόμωνα.

θ'. Καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ δρόμωνες κατασκευαζέσθωσάν σοι τούτων μείζονες ἀπὸ
 διακοσίων χωροῦντες ἀνδρῶν ἢ πλείω τούτων ἢ ἐλάττω, κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τὴν
 δέουσαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων· ὧν οἱ μὲν πεντήκοντα εἰς τὴν κάτω
 ἐλασίαν ὑπουργήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνω ἐστῶτες ἅπαντες
 65 ἔνοπλοι μαχήσονται τοῖς πολεμίοις.

ι'. Καὶ ἔτι δὲ κατασκευάσεις δρόμωνας ἐλάττους δρομικωτάτους οἰονεῖ
 γαλαίας ἢ μονήρεις λεγομένους, ταχινούς καὶ ἐλαφρούς, οἷσπερ χρῆσις ἐν τε
 ταῖς βίγλαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταχιναῖς χρεαίαις.

ια'. Καὶ ἐτέρας δὲ ναῦς ποιήσεις φορητοὺς καὶ ἱππαγωγούς, οἰονεῖ τούλδου
 70 δίκην, αἵτινες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν βαστάσωσιν ἵνα μὴ δι'
 αὐτὴν βαροῦνται οἱ δρόμωνες, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἀγῶνος καιρῷ. ὅτε δὲ χρεῖα
 μικρᾶς δαπάνης ἢ ὅπλων ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης, ἐκεῖθεν ἀναλαμβάνωσι τὰς διοικήσεις.

ιβ'. Τὸν δὲ τῶν δρομώνων ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν ἀνεῖκα-
 στὸν ἔστι καὶ ἄδηλον διορίσασθαι. ἢ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν χρεῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν
 75 ἀντιμαχομένων πολεμίων δύναμιν, ὡς ἂν ἀπαιτήσῃ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δρομώ-

one of them let two oarsmen be seated, one on the right and one on the left, so
 that all the oarsmen, who also serve as soldiers, those above and those below,
 come to one hundred men. In addition to these are the centurion of the dromon
 and the standard-bearer and the two pilots at the tillers of the dromon, whom
 they also call steersmen, and whoever may be needed to assist the centurion.
 Finally come the two officers in command at the bow; let one operate the siphon
 and the other be responsible for dropping anchor at sea. Let the commander at
 the bow be armed and stationed somewhere above the prow. The pallet of the
 ship's commander, or of the centurion, should be at the stern, making the
 commander visible by himself and at the same time protecting him during battle
 from the missiles hurled by the enemy.⁴ From there the commander of the
 dromon can observe everything and give orders to meet any contingency.

9. You should also outfit other dromons larger than these with space for two
 hundred men, more or less, depending on what is needed against the enemy at
 the time. Fifty men will serve on the lower row of benches and one hundred
 fifty, armed and stationed above, will fight against the enemy.

10. In addition, you will outfit smaller dromons, very fast ones, like those
 called galleys or monoremes, swift and light, which you can use for scouting and
 other operations requiring speed.⁵

11. You shall also build other ships for transport of material and horses.
 Much like a baggage train, they will carry all the equipment of the soldiers so as
 not to weigh down the dromons, especially in time of battle. When a small
 outlay of weapons or other supplies is needed, they may distribute them from
 those vessels.

12. To determine the number of dromons and the soldiers on board is
 uncertain and well-nigh impossible. For, in addition to the strength of the
 enemy arrayed against you, the needs of the moment are what should set the
 requirements for the number of dromons as well as for the number of troops on

49 ν' MA πεντήκοντα W 50 καὶ MW om. A 51 ρ' MA ἑκατὸν W 55 ὁ³ MA om. W
 56 θάλασσαν MW θάλασσαν ἡγουν τὰ σίδηρα A | που MW om. A 57 κράββατος WA
 ράβος M 59 τὰ MW om. A 60 ἀγεσθαι κελεύσοι MW μάλιστα κελεύσει A 62 πλείω
 MW πλέον A | ἐλάττω MW ἔλαττον A 63 πεντήκοντα MW ν' A | εἰς A om. MW
 64 ἑκατὸν... πεντήκοντα MW ρ' καὶ ν' A 66 καί... δὲ MW ἔτι δὲ καὶ A | ἐλάττους
 δρομικωτάτους MW μικροτέρους γοργωτάτους A 68 ταχιναῖς MW σπουδαίαις A
 69 οἰονεῖ MW om. A 70 βαστάσωσιν M βαστάσουσιν WA 74 ἔστι M ἔστιν WA

4. Centurion's pallet: κράββατος generally means a bed or couch (see *ImpEx*, C 504, and p. 234). It was also called the commander's tent (σκηνή), and was probably a small platform under an awning in the ship's stern (Dain, *Naumachica*, 5.5). See Pryor-Jeffreys, 215–216.

5. A galley, in Leo's time, designated a smaller, faster ship, intended primarily for scouting. See Pryor-Jeffreys, index, s.v. In March 949, for example, galleys were sent to Syria to find out what the Saracens were up to (*De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. 2, p. 657). Vegetius (4.37) calls them *liburnii* and recommends a form of camouflage, coloring the ships and the sails blue, with the sailors wearing blue clothing.

νων. καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς λαοῦ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πλοίων καὶ τῇ δέουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολεμικὴν ὅπλισιν οὕτω καὶ ποιήσεις.

ιγ'. Προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀρκοῦντας ἔξουσι ναύτας, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνόπλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόξα ἔχοντας καὶ
80 σαγίττας καὶ ρικτάρια καὶ εἴ τι χρειῶδες πρὸς πόλεμον ἕτερον, διὰ τὰς ἀναγκαί-
ας περιστάσεις. ἐπιφερέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ περιττὰ ὅπλα· ποτὲ γὰρ καὶ λειπόντων
ὀπλων, ἐκεῖθεν οἱ στρατιῶται πορίσονται. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα πλοῖα καὶ ἄρματα
ἔχέτωσαν καὶ μάγγανα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅπλα πρὸς χρεῖαν, εἰ τύχοι, μήποτε ἐπιλεί-
πουσι διὰ τὸ ὀλιγοῦσθαι αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις.

ιδ'. Ἐκτὸς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἥτοι τῶν ἄνω ἐλατῶν, ὅσοι ἂν εἰσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ
τοῦ κεντάρχου καὶ ἐφεξῆς | ἕως τοῦ ἐσχάτου, κατὰφρακτοὶ ἔσονται ὅπλα ἔχον-
τες οἷον σκουτάρια, μέναυλα, τόξα, σαγίττας ἐκ περισσοῦ, σπαθία, ρικτάρια,
λωρίκια, κλιβάνια, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀπισθεν ἀλλὰ πάντως ἔμπροσθεν, κασσίδας,
χειρόψελα, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ τῆς μάχης κατὰ χεῖρας
90 συμπλεκόμενοι καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι. οἱ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες λωρίκια ἢ κλιβάνια πάντως
φορεῖτωσαν τὰ λεγόμενα νευρικά, ἅπερ ἀπὸ διπλῶν κενδούκλων γίνεται. καὶ
οὗτοι ὀπισθεν τῶν ἄλλων σκεπόμενοι τόξοις χρήσονται, καὶ λίθους δὲ χειρο-
πληθεῖς πλείστους ἔχέτωσαν ἥτοι κόχλακας ἐν τοῖς δρομωνίοις, οὐσπερ κατὰ
τῶν πολεμίων βάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἥττω τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλων ἀνοίσουσιν. ὅπλα γάρ
95 εἰσιν οἱ λίθοι εὐπόριστα καὶ ἀνελλιπῇ.

ιε'. Μὴ μέντοι οὕτω βαλλέτωσαν τοὺς λίθους μόνον, ὥστε τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς
αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἐν τούτοις ἐκδαπανῆσαι, καὶ στήναι τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἢ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
τὰ βαλλόμενα ἀποκενῶσαι, μήποτε οἱ ἐναντίοι σύσκουτα ποιήσαντες καὶ τὰς
βολὰς ὅπως οὖν δεξάμενοι, εἴτα τούτων πληρωθέντων καὶ τῶν βαλλόντων
100 ἀποκαμόντων, ἀθρόοι ἀναστάντες ἀπάρξωνται ταῖς σπάθαις καὶ τοῖς μεναύλοις
ἀμύνασθαι. καὶ ὥσπερ ἀκμαιότεροι τῇ ἀθρόᾳ κινήσει ἀναφανέντες καὶ τοῖς
κεκμηκόσι στρατιώταις ἐπιτεθέντες ἰσχυρότεροι γένωνται, καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς
καταπολεμήσωσι. φιλεῖ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸ βάρβαρον.

board, to be determined by the size of the ships, and by the combat armament required for them. And so you shall do this.

13. Furthermore, the ships transporting equipment and horses shall have a sufficient number of sailors, who should not be without weapons, but equipped with bows and arrows, javelins, and whatever else may be useful in battle, depending on the press of circumstances. Let the ships carry extra weapons, so that when the soldiers run out of them, they may be provided on the spot. Ships of this sort should have heavy weapons and artillery as well as the other weapons that may be needed, so they will not fail if they run short of them during combat.

14. Besides the soldiers on the upper bank of oarsmen, all present, from the centurion right down to the lowest private, shall wear armor. They shall have weapons such as shields, heavy spears, bows, arrows in abundance, swords, javelins. They shall have coats of mail and plate armor, if not in back, then certainly in front; also helmets and iron gloves, especially those fighting in the front ranks caught up in battle and struggling in hand-to-hand combat. Those who do not have coats of mail or plate armor should, by all means, wear the surcoats, as they are called, made of a double layer of quilted material. These men will find cover behind the others and use bows. Also they should have a very large supply of rocks or stones that can be held in their hands on the dromons. Hurling these stones at the enemy will be no less effective than other weapons. For stones make weapons that are never lacking and are easy to find.

15. Nonetheless, do not let them restrict themselves only to throwing stones. They will expend the best part of their force in doing that and will end up standing idle and run out of weapons to throw. The enemy might then join shields and be barely affected by the missiles. Then, when these <stones> have all been discharged, the enemy may rise up in a body and begin to defend themselves with swords and spears. As they join together they find new energy and attack the exhausted soldiers and may well prove stronger and easily overpower them. Barbarian peoples delight in this sort of thing.

80 ρικτάρια MW ριπτάρια A 81 περιττὰ MW περισσὰ A 82 πορίσονται MW λάβωσιν A
83-84 ἐπιλείπουσι...αὐτὰ MW ἐπιλείψουσιν καταδαπανώμενά A 87 ρικτάρια MW
ριπτάρια A 88 ἔμπροσθεν MW ἔμπροσθεν πέταλα ἔχοντα A 89 κατὰ MA κατὰ τὰς W
91 ἅπερ MW ἅπερ καὶ A 92-93 χειροπληθεῖς MW δυναμένους ἀπὸ χειρῶν ρίπτεσθαι A
94 τῶν MW om. A | ἥττω MW ἔλαττον A | ἀνοίσουσιν MW αὐτοὺς καταβλάψουσιν A
96 οὕτω MW οὕτως A 96-97 ἀκμὴν...δυνάμεως MW δύναμιν αὐτῶν A 99 τούτων MW
τῶν βελῶν A 101 ὥσπερ ἀκμαιότεροι MW ἀκοπίατοι A 102 κεκμηκόσι MW
κεκοπίακοσι A | ῥαδίως MW εὐκόλως A 103 καταπολεμήσωσι M καταπολεμήσουσιν WA

105 ις'. Ὑπομένουσι γὰρ Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν βίαν τῆς προσβολῆς. καὶ ὅταν ἀποκα-
μόντας ἴδωσι καὶ τῶν ὄπλων κενωθέντας, ἢ σαγιτῶν ἢ λίθων ἢ τινων ἐτέρων,
τότε ἀναπηδῶντες ὁμοῦ τε καταπλήττουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀπὸ σπαθίων καὶ
μεναύλων προσβολαῖς εὐρώστως καὶ ἀκμαιότερον ἐπέρχονται.

110 ιζ'. Διὸ φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δέοντος σκοποῦ ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὴν προσβολὴν ἵνα μᾶλλον οἱ πολέμοιοι πάθωσι τὰ πρὸς βλάβην γινόμενα ἢ
οἱ ἡμέτεροί στρατιῶται. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὰς βολὰς φυλάτ-
τειν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετρεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν διάθεσιν,
καὶ οὕτως τὴν μάχην διασκευάζειν.

115 ιη'. Πρὸς τούτοις φροντίσεις, ὡς στρατηγέ, καὶ τῆς δεούσης τῶν στρατιωτῶν
δαπάνης, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα· ἵνα μὴ τούτων λειπόμενοι ἢ στασιάζ-
σωσιν ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ὄντες τοὺς συντελεστάς καὶ ὑπηκόους ἡμῶν τυραν-
νοῦσι καὶ ἀδικοῦσι ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνης τῶν ἀναγκαίων συνελαυνόμενοι, ἀλλ' εἴ γε
δυνατόν, ἐν τάχει τὴν πολεμίαν καταλάβης γῆν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια πορίσῃ.

120 ιθ'. Παραγγείλεις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι μηδένα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν
ἀδικεῖν, ἢ τὸ οἰονοῦν δῶρον παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν ἢ τὰς λεγομένας συνήθειας.
περὶ γὰρ τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότητος, τί χρὴ λέγειν ὥς οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι τοιοῦτον
δέον, μὴ τί γε διαπράξασθαι, μήτε δῶρον τὸ οἶον δῆποτε ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἢ μεγάλου
ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ὑπὸ σε τελούντος λαμβάνειν τὸ σύνολον;

125 κ'. Τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀνδρείους ἐπιλέγου καὶ ῥωμαλέους καὶ εὐπρο-
θύμους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἄνω τοῦ δρόμωνος ταττομένους, οἵτινες καὶ
ἀπὸ χειρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις συμπλέκονται. εἰ δέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνάν-
δρους ἐπιγινῶς, τούτους εἰς τὴν κάτω ἐλασίαν τέως παράπεμπε, καὶ εἴ ποτέ τις
πλήγῃ ἢ πέσῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐξ ἀνάγκης
ἀναπληρώσεις.

130 κα'. Χρὴ γὰρ σε πάντως εἰδέναι τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπὸ σε στρατιωτῶν ἔξιν
καὶ διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ποιότητα. ὥσπερ οἱ κυνηγέται τῶν

16. The Saracens bear up under the force of such a barrage and when they see that their opponents are getting weary and running out of weapons, whether arrows, stones, or other things, then, all together they leap up and striking hard they charge vigorously and with great force, attacking with swords and heavy spears in their hands.

17. Therefore, it is necessary to be on your guard against such things and to carry out the shooting with the proper goal: the enemy, rather than our own soldiers, should suffer the harmful effects. It is necessary to conserve our own strength and <regulate> the shooting from the beginning to the end of the battle, taking note of the disposition of our opponents. In this manner we should prepare for combat.

18. In addition to the above, you will also take thought, O general, for the required supplies for the soldiers so they will have what they need. Otherwise, deprived of these things, they might rebel while still in their own country and, impelled by the scarcity of necessities, lord it over our subjects and taxpayers and do them harm. But, if it is possible, get to the enemy's territory swiftly and provide for all your needs from it.

19. Announce to your officers that they should not treat any of the soldiers under their command unjustly. They should not accept a gift of any sort from them, including the so-called customary gratuities. As far as Your Excellency is concerned, why is it necessary to say that one should not even think about such a thing, let alone do it? Without exception, you must not accept any kind of gift from any man under your command, whether of high or low rank.

20. Select brave and robust soldiers, highly motivated, especially those stationed on the upper deck of the dromon, who are to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand combat. If you find out that some of the soldiers are cowardly, assign them temporarily to the lower bank of oars. If one of the soldiers should be wounded or should fall, you can, when necessary, fill his place from among the men below.

21. It is essential for you to know the condition and disposition of each soldier under your command. What qualities does he possess that give promise

104-105 ἀποκαμόντας MA ἀποκαμόντες W 105 ἴδωσι MW ἴδωσιν A | τινων ἐτέρων MW trsp. A 106 καταπλήττουσι MW καταπλήττουσιν A 107 προσβολαῖς MA συμπλοκαῖς W 108 διὸ φυλάττεσθαι MW διαφυλάττεσθαι A 110 ἀκμὴν MW δύναμιν A | βολὰς MW βουλὰς A 115-116 τυραννοῦσι...σπάνης MW τυραννώσιν καὶ ἀδικῶσιν τῇ σπάνει A 116 συνελαυνόμενοι MW ἀναγκαζόμενοι A 117 πολεμίαν A om. MW 118 πορίσῃ MW προσλάβης A 121 οὐδ' MW οὐδὲ A 122 δέον MA om. W 124-125 ῥωμαλέους...εὐπροθύμους MW προθύμους A 125 ταττομένους MW τασσομένους A 128 ἐκ...κάτω WA om. M | ἀνάγκης MA om. W

κυνῶν ἐκάστου τὰς ἐπιτηδεϊότητας ἐπιγινώσκοντες ἔχουσιν εὐκαίρως αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὃ βούλονται.

κβ'. Οὕτως οὖν διαθήσεις ἕκαστα, καθὼς ἂν συνίδης ἀρκοῦντα πρὸς τὴν
 135 προκειμένην ἐκστρατείαν τοὺς τε δρόμοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας, τὰ
 τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰς δαπάνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐν ἑτέροις πλοίοις ἀποσκευὴν· ἦντινα
 οἶονεὶ τοῦλδον ἐν ἀσφαλέσι τόποις σε χρὴ καθιστᾶν, ὅταν καιρὸς ἐλπίζεται σοι
 μάχης.

κγ'. Καὶ προσέτι, εἴ γε χρεῖα τοιαύτη καλέσοι, ὥστε καὶ ἵππους ἐν τοῖς
 140 ἵππαγωγοῖς πλοίοις πρὸς ἐπιρριφήν κατὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἔχειν τινῶν καβαλ-
 λαρίων. καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα ἐξαρτύσας ὁδοιπορήσεις δεόντως.

κδ'. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ἀποκινήσαι ἀγιασθήτωσαν ἅπαντα τὰ φλά-
 μουλα τῶν δρομώνων ἐκάστου διὰ θείας τῶν ἱερέων ἱερουργίας καὶ εὐχῆς
 145 ἐκτενοῦς πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν ὑπὲρ εὐοδώσεως τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τῶν
 πολεμίων. ἔπειτα καὶ διαλαλήσεις πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχον-
 τας ἰδίως τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἀρμόζοντα | τῷ καιρῷ. καὶ οὕτως προθυμοποιήσας τὸν
 στρατὸν ἀποκινήσεις, αἰσίου πνεύματος συμπνέοντός σοι καὶ μὴ ἐναντίου.

κε'. Οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχεν πάντων τῶν δρομώνων πορευομένων, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσεις
 αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντας, ἢ κατὰ πέντε ἢ κατὰ τρεῖς δρόμοντας ἕνα τὸν λεγόμενον
 150 κόμητα, ὅστις ναυάρχος τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν δρομώνων ὑπάρχων,
 φροντίζει προσεχέστερον περὶ πάντων εὐκόλως, καὶ διατάξει πρὸς ἕκαστα.

κς'. Οἱ δὲ εἰρημένοι ἄρχοντες ὑπὸ σε τελοῦντες ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τὰ παραγγέλ-
 ματα δέξονται, καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς μεταδώσουσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλι-
 κοῦ λεγομένου πλωῖμου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θεματικῶν δρομώνων καὶ δρουγγάριοι
 155 ἐπιστήσονται, καὶ τουρμάρχαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ ὑποταγήσονται, καὶ τοῖς
 ἐκείνου παραγγέλμασιν εἴξουσιν.

κζ'. Οὐκ ἄγνωστος δὲ ὅτι περ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλωῖμου καὶ οἱ
 τῶν ἄλλων θεμάτων πλωῖμοι στρατηγοὶ δρουγγάριοι ἐκαλοῦντό ποτε τοῖς ἄνω
 χρόνοις, καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς κόμητες μόνον καὶ κένταρχοι. ἀλλὰ νῦν εἰς στρατηγι-
 160 δα ἢ ἐκάστου τῶν δρουγγαρίων ἀρχὴ ἀναβέβηκεν, καὶ οὕτω καλουμένη ταῖς
 στρατηγικαῖς καταμερίζεται τάξεσιν.

143 ad θείας des. W

132 ἔχουσιν A ἔχουσι M ἔχουσιν W 139 καλέσοι MW καλέσει A 140 ἐπιρριφήν MW
 ἐπιρρίπτειν ὥστε A 140–141 τινῶν καβαλλαρίων MW καβαλλαρίους A 141 ἐξαρτύσας
 MW ἀπαρτίσας A 143 ἐκάστου MW om. A 147 αἰσίου...σοι M ἐπιτηδείου ἀνέμου
 πνεύσαντος A 148 πάντων M ἀπάντων A 149 αὐτοῖς M αὐτοὺς A 153 μεταδώσουσι
 M μεταδώσουσιν A 153–154 ἐπὶ...δρομώνων M om. A 156 εἴξουσιν M ὑπακούουσιν
 A 157 περ M om. A 158 ἄνω M πρώην A

of bravery? Do not hunters find out what each one of their dogs is best suited for so they can make use of it to attain their goal?

22. You will, therefore, arrange everything according to what you consider sufficient for the expedition you are undertaking. This means the dromons and the soldiers on board, as well as the weapons and supplies. You must locate the rest of the equipment in the other ships, like a baggage train, in safe places whenever the time of battle approaches.

23. Moreover, if such a need arises, see that you have horses in the horse transports for a cavalry assault on enemy territory. Finally, after having made all the preparations, you will set out in proper fashion.

24. First, before moving out, let all the standards of each dromon be blessed by the sacred rites of the priests, together with prayers of intercession to the God of all things for the safe voyage of the army against the enemy. After that you should address all the troops, and the officers separately, saying what is necessary and suitable for the occasion. Thus, arousing the courage of the army, you will sail out with a favorable wind accompanying you, not an adverse one.

25. The fleet of dromons should not sail on in a haphazard way. Set officers over them, one called count for <each group of> either three or five dromons. As ship captain and leader of the dromons under his command, he will bear responsibility for all the details and will make arrangements for everything.

26. The aforementioned officers serving under you will receive their orders from you and will transmit them to the men under them. This applies to the so-called imperial fleet.⁶ In the case of the thematic dromons, both droungarioi and tourmarchs will be put in charge; they will be ranked below the general and will obey his commands.

27. I am not unaware that, after the manner of the imperial fleet, the fleet commanders of the other themes were, some time ago, called droungarioi and their subordinates only counts and kentarchs. But now the command of each of the droungarioi has been elevated to the level of general and this title now has its place among the ranks of general officers.

6. The imperial fleet was stationed in Constantinople and always ready for service; the thematic fleet was provided, when needed, by themes such as that of the Aegean Sea and Kibyrraiotai.

κη'. Γυμνάσεις δὲ διαφόρως τοὺς τε πλωῖμους στρατιώτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς δρόμωνας, ποτὲ μὲν καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κατὰ πλείους, ὥστε ἄντις ἀλλήλων ἐπέρχεσθαι σπαθίοις καὶ σκουταρίοις χρωμένους. καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ
 165 ὅλους δρόμωνας κατ' ἀλλήλων ὡς ἐπὶ παρατάξεως ἐπερχομένους καὶ ποτὲ δεσμοῦντας, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπολύοντας καὶ διαφόρως κατ' ἀλλήλων προσβάλλοντας, ποτὲ δὲ ἀκοντίοις ὠθοῦντας τὰ πλοῖα τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥστε μὴ πλησιάζοντας δεσμεῖν. οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸ διὰ καμάκων σιδηρῶν δεσμεῖν ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἀντιπολε-

170 μούοντας χρήσιμον διὰ τοὺς ἀφύκτους καὶ ἀναγκαίους κινδύνους.
 κθ'. Καὶ ἐτέρως δὲ γυμναζέσθωσαν ὡς ἂν ἐπιβάλῃ ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐνδεχομένης ἐπινοίας, ὡς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν ἐθίζωνται πρὸς τοὺς κτύπους καὶ τὰς βοὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κίνησιν τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ μὴ θροῶνται ὡς ἀγυμνάστωες καὶ ἀθρόον καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐρχόμενοι.

λ'. Οὕτως οὖν γυμνασθέντες καὶ διατεθέντες πλεύσουσιν ἐν τάξει συνηγ-
 175 μένοι τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀλλήλοις μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἐν τε ταῖς ἐλασίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ θάλασσαν ὑπὸ | τῶν ἀνέμων βίαις. ἀλλ', οἷονεῖ τις παράταξις γεγυμνασμένη, οὕτω πορευέσθωσαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁρμησίαις δὲ τῶν ἀπλίκτων <καὶ> εὐτάκτως τὸν κατάπλουν ποιεῖτωσαν, καὶ καταγέτωσαν ἐνορδίνως ἐξορ-
 180 μῶντες πρὸς τὴν ξηρὰν ἢ εἰς λιμένα πάντως ἢ εἰς ὕφορμον τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ζάλῃς συμβαινούσης οὐ κλυσθήσονται.

λα'. Δεῖ δὲ σε καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου τὴν ἐπιφορὰν προειδέναι διὰ τῶν σημείων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν. καὶ πρὸς ταύτην καὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς ὁρμησίας ἐκλέξασθαι. καὶ εἰ μὴ τις κατεπείγει ἀνάγκη, μὴ ἄνευ πνεύματος αἰσίου καὶ γαλήνης, καὶ ἀσφα-
 185 ὕφορᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς λεγομένας παρὰ τῶν ναυτικῶν παρασημασίας τῶν ἄστρων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα συμφέροντα, καὶ οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν.

λβ'. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπλίκτοις, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὁρμῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ μηδὲνα φόβον ἔχεις ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ οὕτω μετ' εὐταξίας ἀναπαύεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μηδὲνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βλάπτοντας ἢ ἀδικοῦντας ἢ καρ-
 190 πούς ἀρπάζοντας ἢ φθειρόντας.

28. You shall exercise the soldiers of the fleet and the dromons themselves in different ways, sometimes each man by himself, sometimes in larger groups, so they may confront one another using swords and shields. Also exercise entire dromons by themselves in attacking one another and in pretending to attack in battle formation, sometimes closing tightly, sometimes breaking away, and setting upon one another in various ways, and sometimes repelling enemy ships with spears to avoid getting close and linking up. It is not always helpful for adversaries to use iron shafts to link up with one another because of unavoidable and compelling dangers.

29. Let them also be exercised in other ways, by putting plans that seem feasible, such as Your Excellency might devise, into action against the foe. As a result, they will become accustomed to the noise and the shouting and the rest of the turbulence of war and they will not be terrified as though they had no training but suddenly and unexpectedly ran into all this.

30. Therefore, after they have been so trained and equipped, have them sail in formation, in unison, just far enough apart to avoid getting in each other's way, as they set out and face the likely force of the winds at sea. Let them advance like a well-trained battle line as they sail forth from their bases and let them make the return voyage in good order. Let them also put into shore in good order, sailing toward land or, at least, toward a harbor or anchorage, so that, if a storm should arise, they will not be swamped.

31. You must be able to forecast the direction of the wind by certain seasonal signs and, depending on <what you learn>, select your place to anchor. Unless there is some compelling urgency, do not launch yourself into sailing when conditions are not right, that is, without a favorable wind, a calm sea, and a secure hope of safety. Study carefully what sailors call the indications of the stars, as well as other helpful elements. Then begin your voyage accordingly.

32. If you drop anchor at a base in your own country and you have no fear of enemy activity, then you may rest your army in good order night and day, not harming any of the inhabitants or treating them unjustly or seizing or destroying their crops.

189 ad τῶν de novo inc. W

162 δὲ M om. A 163 καὶ M om. A | πλείους M πλείονας A 164 ἄντις M κατενάντια A 169 ἀφύκτους M ἀφεύκτους A | ἀναγκαίους M 170 ἐπιβάλῃ M νοήση A 172 θροῶνται M τὰρᾶσσονται A 173 παρὰ δόξαν M παραδόξη A 178 καὶ¹ ci. De om. codd. 181 τὴν M om. A 183 ἀνάγκη M ἀνάγκην A 185 παρὰ M om. A 188 οὕτω μετ' M οὕτως μετὰ A

λγ'. Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ πλησιάζεις ἢ πολεμίους παρεῖναι που ἐλπίζεις, πάντως χρεὼν σε καὶ βίγλας ἔχειν μακρόθεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. καὶ ἀγρύπνως διατελεῖν καὶ κατησφαλισμένον καὶ ἑτοιμον εἶναι πρὸς παράταξιν. πολλὰ γὰρ αἱ τῶν πολέμων ἐπιβουλαί, καὶ γὰρ ἢ κατὰ γῆς εὐρόντες σε ὁ-
 195 μούντα βιάσονται, εἰ τύχοι δὲ εὐπορήσαντες, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐμπρήσουσιν· ἢ διὰ θαλάσσης ἀναφανέντες, προσβολὴν ποιήσονται νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. καὶ ἐὰν ἀνέτοιμος ἐν ἑτοιμοῖς εὐρεθῇς, προτερήσουσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι κατὰ σοῦ. εἰ δέ σε ἑτοιμον εὐρήσουσιν, ἄπρακτος αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ γενήσεται.

λδ'. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων συμμέτρως ἐμνήσθημέν τε καὶ διεταξάμεθα, φέρε λοιπὸν
 200 καὶ ὅπως παρατάξεις καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς τὰς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ποιήσεις, ὥς ἐν συνόψει διορισώμεθα· καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ γῆν πολεμικαῖς προσβολαῖς ἄνω που διεταξάμεθα.

λε'. Ὅταν τοίνυν ἐλπίζεται σοι πολέμου καιρὸς, ὃ στρατηγέ, συνελθόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὰς τάξεις, ἐκάστων διηρημένων ὑπαναγνωσθήσεται
 205 αὐτοῖς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐπιτίμια, ἅπερ ἡμῖν | ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν στρατιωτικῆς γυμνασίας εἴρηται· καὶ ἐπιρρώσεις αὐτοὺς λόγοις προσήκουσι παρορμῶν καὶ ἐπαλείφων πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἵνα, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἐπιτιμίων, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότητος παραίνεσιν, ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ εὐτολμοὶ γένωνται, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκ χειρὸς ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

λς'. Χρὴ δέ σε μᾶλλον δι' ἐφόδων μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων τε καὶ στρατηγημάτων μεθοδεύειν κατὰ τῶν πολέμων ἢ δι' ὅλου τοῦ ὑπὸ σε πλωῖμου στόλου ἢ διὰ μέρους αὐτοῦ. μὴ μέντοι χωρὶς ἀνάγκης μεγάλης ἐπὶ τοῦτο κατεπειγούσης εἰς δημόσιον πόλεμον σεαυτὸν ἐπιρρίπτειν. πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ τῆς λεγομένης τύχης ἀντίρροπα καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου παράδοξα.

215 λζ'. Διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ σε αἰεὶ παραφυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς δημοσίας, ὥς εἴρηται, παρατάξεις ἀποθρασύνεσθαι, μάλιστα ἐν πλοίοις. ὅπου δεσμοῦντων ἀλλήλους ἄφυκτος ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς γίνεται καὶ βιαία ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπιλήψεσθαι.

215–216 Demos. 61.20.

191 δὲ MA δ' W 192 χρεὼν MW χρῆ A | θάλασσαν M θάλατταν WA 193 πρὸς MW εἰς A 195 εὐπορήσαντες MW om. A 196 ποιήσονται MW ποιήσουσιν A | καὶ¹ M ἢ WA 197 ἀνέτοιμος WA ἑτοιμος M 202 ἄνω που MW om. A 204 ἐκάστων διηρημένων A ἐκάστην διηρημένως MW 206 αὐτοὺς MW αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνισχύσεις A 210 χρῆ MW δεῖ A 212 μέρους MW μέρος A 214 ἀντίρροπα MW ἐναντιώματα A 217 ἄφυκτος...μάχη MW ἄφευκτος καὶ βιαία ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς μάχη γίνεται A 218 ἐπιλήψεσθαι MW ἐπιλαβέσθαι A

33. But if you approach enemy territory or if you expect the enemy to be in the vicinity, it is absolutely necessary for you to station scouts at some distance, both on land and on sea. You must persevere in your vigilance, remain secure, and be ready to get into formation. For the schemes of the enemy are many. If they are on land and find you lying at anchor, they will overpower you and, if they find the opportunity, they will burn your ships. If they should appear at sea, they will launch an attack by night or day. If the enemy finds that you are not as well prepared as you should be, they will have the advantage over you. But if they find you prepared, their scheme will end up accomplishing nothing.

34. Now that we have done our duty in reminding you of these things and have set down the above regulations, we come to prescribe, in summary fashion, the manner in which you should form the battle line and launch attacks in combat. We will do this as we did earlier when giving orders about combat operations on land.

35. Well then, general, when you expect that the time has come for battle, assemble the soldiers by ranks and have the military punishments read clause by clause to each rank separately, just as we have stated in the section about military training on land.⁷ With appropriate words you will then encourage them, arousing and stimulating them for their struggles. Thus, both because of fear of punishment and because of the encouragement given by Your Excellency, they will be brave and courageous, even as they face the dangers of fighting hand-to-hand.

36. It is necessary for you to take action against the enemy more by sudden attacks and by other methods and stratagems, whether with the entire naval force under you or only with part of it. Certainly, apart from some urgent necessity forcing you to do so, you should not throw yourself into a pitched battle. For many are the reversals of so-called fortune. What happens in battle is not what one expects.

37. For this reason, you must always be on your guard. Do not be so absolutely daring, as has been said, to form up for a pitched battle, especially in ships.⁸ When they become linked together, a fierce hand-to-hand battle is inevitable and it is not possible to obtain any real advantage.

7. See Const. 8.

8. Demosthenes 61.20.

λη'. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι εἰ μὴ ἄρα θαρρεῖς καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν
220 δρομώνων, καὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ὀπλίσει καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καθυπέρ-
τερος εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων.

λθ'. Οὐτε γὰρ πλήθος πλοίων οὔτε μέγεθος κατορθώσει πόλεμον εἰ μὴ τοὺς
ἐν αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦντας ἔχουσιν εὐψύχους καὶ ῥωμαλέους καὶ προθύμους εἰς τὴν
κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐγχείρησιν, καὶ πρό γε τούτων εἰ μὴ τὴν θείαν εὐμένειαν καὶ
225 συμμαχίαν ἔχωσι διὰ καθαρότητος βίου καὶ δικαιοσύνης πρὸς τε τοὺς συντελε-
στάς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἥτις ἐστί, τὸ μηδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις
διαπράττεσθαι ἢ αἰσχρὸν ἢ ἀφιλάνθρωπον. καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικούμενον μὴ ἀδικεῖν,
τοὺς δὲ ἀδικούντας μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας ἀνταμύνεσθαι.

μα'. Ἐὰν δὲ πάντως ἀπαιτεῖται καὶ μάχης καιρὸς, διατάξεις τοὺς δρόμωνα
230 ποικίλως καὶ διαφόρως, καθὼς ἂν ὁ τε καιρὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος ἀπαιτῇ. ὥστε ἐὰν
θαρρῆς καθυπέρτερος εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς μοι εἴρηται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς
μάχην συμβαλεῖν, ὥς ἐλπίζων αἰρήσειν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σου γῇ πλησίον
ποιήσης τὴν μάχην ἐν ᾗ ἐλπίσουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, καταξυλῶ-
σαντες σωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ | μᾶλλον πλησίον τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων γῆς, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τὴν
235 σωτηρίαν ἐλπίσαντες ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γῇ τὴν φυγὴν παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας προτιμήσω-
νται. στρατιώτης γὰρ εἰς δειλίαν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ πολέμου περιπίπτων τὴν σωτηρίαν
διὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐλπίζει, καὶ ταχέως ρίψει τὰ ὄπλα καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῆς προτιμῆσεται.
ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ ἐν καιρῷ παρατάξεως τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδόξως φυγεῖν
προκρίνοντας, εἴτε ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις εἴπῃς εἴτε ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

240 μα'. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας χρή σε βουλευέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σε
ἀρχόντων τί δεῖ πράξαι. καὶ ὅπερ ἀναφανῇ διὰ τῆς κοινῆς γνώμης χρήσιμον,
τοῦτο στοιχήσαι καὶ παραγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν δρομώνων, ὥστε αὐτοὺς
εἶναι ἐτοιμοὺς ἐκτελέσαι τὰ βουλευθέντα. εἴ γε ἄρα μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ γνώμῃ ἐναν-
τία ἐκ τῆς ἐφόδου τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι πάντας ἀφορών-
245 τας εἰς τὸν σὸν δρόμωνα, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν σημεῖόν τι, εἰ ἄρα πράξαι δεῖ,
καὶ τούτου δοθέντος ὀξέως γενέσθαι τὸ ὑποδειχθέν.

μβ'. Πάντως γὰρ δεῖ σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, δρόμωνα ἔχειν τὸν ἴδιον ἐξ ἅπαντος
τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιλέκτους ἔχοντα τοὺς στρατιώτας, μεγέθει καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ

38. You must indeed observe this unless you are confident that the number
of your dromons as well as the bravery, condition, and eagerness of your soldiers
are vastly superior to those of the enemy.

39. For neither the number of ships nor their size will assure success in
battle unless they carry fighting men who are robust, stout of heart, and eager to
engage the enemy. Above all this, they must have the divine benevolence and
alliance. That depends on their purity of life and their justice in relating to
property owners, as well as to the enemy, that is, doing nothing unholy, shame-
ful, or inhumane to the prisoners. If you have not been treated unjustly, do not
act unjustly; with the help of God, ward off those acting unjustly.

40. If the time for battle is definitely upon you, line up the dromons in a
varied and diverse manner, as both the time and the place may call for. Thus, if
you are confident that you are far superior to the enemy, as I have said, and, for
this reason, ready to advance into battle in the hope of overpowering them, do
not engage in fighting close to your own country. There the soldiers will hope to
be saved by making wooden rafts, as they say. Instead, do battle close to the
country of the enemy. Soldiers who had hoped for safety in their own country
will prefer flight to combat. A soldier who, under pressure of battle, falls into
cowardice will hope for safety in flight and he will quickly toss away his arms
and value nothing more than flight. When the time comes for forming up for
battle, few judge it better to die than to flee ingloriously, whether you are
speaking of the barbarians or of the Romans.

41. Before the day of battle you, together with the officers under you, must
make plans about what you have to do. Whatever this common counsel judges
advantageous should be presented in detail and announced to the officers of the
dromons so they may be prepared to put those plans into action. In the event of
an enemy attack, of course, a contrary plan may have to be adopted. Everyone
will then be prepared to look toward your dromon in order to receive a signal
about what they must do. When this has been given, they will promptly carry
out your orders.

42. By all means, O general, it is necessary for you to have your own dro-
mon. The soldiers on board are to be the elite from among the entire army, men

220 ὀπλίσει Dain κλίσει codd. 223 ῥωμαλέους MW γενναίους A 224 γε MW om. A
225 ἔχωσι MW ἔχουσι A 226 ἐστί MA ἐστιν W 230 ποικίλως MW ποικίλους A
231 καθυπέρτερος MW ἐπικρατέστερος A 236 περιπίπτων MA περιπίπτων εἰ W
238 ὑπὲρ MW om. A 243 ἐκτελέσαι MW ἐκπληρώσαι A 243-244 γε...ἐναντία MW
περ μὴ ἐναντίον τι ἀπαντήσῃ A 244-245 ἀφορώντας MW ἀποβλέποντας A 245 εἰ MW
om. A | πράξαι δεῖ MW ποιῆσαι προσήκει A 246 δοθέντος MA δειχθέντος W

καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πανοπλίᾳ διέχοντας· καὶ τὸν δρόμωνα δὲ μεγέθει καὶ ταχύτητι τῶν
 250 ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαφέροντα, ὡς ἄτε κεφαλὴν τινα τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπάσης· καὶ
 καταστήσαι τὸν τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότητος τοιοῦτον δρόμωνα, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον
 πάμφυλον.

μγ'. Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπὸ σε ἄρχοντας, ὅσοι ἔχουσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦς
 τινες δρόμωνα, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξασθαι ἄνδρας, καὶ ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὥστε
 255 καὶ αὐτοὺς διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τούτους δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸς
 τὸν σὸν ἀποβλέπειν δρόμωνα, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ῥυθμίζεσθαι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέ-
 μου καιρὸν, εἰ μὴ γε ἄρα ἕτερόν τι παράδοξον τῶν βεβουλευμένων ἀναφανῇ,
 καὶ δέηται μεθόδου ἐτέρας.

μδ'. Εἶναι δὲ σημεῖον ἰστάμενον ἐν τῷ σῷ δρόμῳ, εἴτε βάνδον εἴτε φλάμου-
 260 λον εἴτε τι ἕτερον, εἰς τόπον περίοπτον, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντός σου τί δεῖ
 πράττειν, εὐθὺς ἐπιλαμβάνωνται τοῦ δόξαντος ἔργου οἱ λοιποί, εἴτε συμβάλ-
 λειν εἰς πόλεμον χρή εἴτε ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπὸ πολέμου εἴτε ἐξελίσσειν εἰς κύκλωσιν
 κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων εἴτε εἰς βοήθειαν καταπονουμένου μέρους συνδραμεῖν εἴτε
 ἀργῆσαι τὴν ἑλάνην εἴτε | ἐπιδοῦναι εἰς τάχος τὴν κίνησιν εἴτε ἔγκρυμμα δέον
 265 γενέσθαι εἴτε ἀπὸ ἐγκρύμματος ἐξελθεῖν ἢ ἄλλα τινὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἀπὸ σημείων
 τοῦ σοῦ δρόμωνος ἅπαντα ὑποδέχεσθαι ἀφορώντας ὅπως δέον ποιεῖν.

με'. Οὐ γὰρ δύναται τις ἐν τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἢ βουκίνου παραγγέλ-
 λειν τὰ δέοντα διὰ τε τὸν θροῦν καὶ τὸν τάραχον καὶ τὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἤχον
 καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κτύπον τῆς τε συγκρούσεως καὶ κωπηλασίας τῶν δρομώνων, καὶ
 270 πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῆς βοῆς τῶν πολεμούντων.

μς'. Τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ὑποσημαίνετω ἢ ὀρθὸν ἰστάμενον ἢ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἢ ἐπὶ
 ἀριστερὰ κλινόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάλιν ἢ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ μεταφερόμενον ἢ
 τινασσόμενον ἢ ὑψούμενον ἢ ταπεινούμενον ἢ ὅλως ἀφαιρούμενον ἢ μετατιθέ-
 μενον ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κεφαλῆς ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φαινομένης ἀλλασσόμενον ἢ
 275 διὰ σχημάτων ἢ διὰ χρωμάτων.

249 διέχοντας MW διαφέροντας A | ταχύτητι MW γοργότητι A 250 ἄτε MW om. A
 253 ἔχουσιν MA ἔχουσιν W 256 ῥυθμίζεσθαι MW ῥυθμίζεται καὶ κανονίζεσθαι A
 258 δέηται MW δέεται A 260 περίοπτον MW ὑψηλὸν A 264 ἐπιδοῦναι...κίνησιν MW
 ταχύτερον ἐλαύνειν A 265-266 σημείων...δρόμωνος MA τοῦ σου δρόμωνος καὶ τῶν ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ σημείων ἅπαντα W 266 δέον MW δεῖ A 268 θροῦν MW θόρυβον A 269 τὸν...
 κτύπον MA τῶν ἄλλων κτύπων W 270 μᾶλλον MW πλεον A 271-272 ἢ³...κλινόμενον
 MW κλινόμενον ἢ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ A 272 πάλιν MW πάλιν μεταφερόμενον A |
 μεταφερόμενον M om. WA 273 ταπεινούμενον...ἀφαιρούμενον MW χαμηλούμενον ἢ
 παντελῶς ἐπαιρούμενον A

outstanding for their size, bravery, virtue, and special armament. The dromon
 should be superior to all the others in its size and speed as a sort of head of the
 entire battle line. You should make ready such a dromon, called pamphylian, for
 Your Excellency.⁹

43. Your subordinate officers, who also have some dromons under their
 command, should do likewise. They should select men from those dromons and
 enroll them among their personal troops, different from the others. All of these
 and all the rest should look toward your dromon and pattern their movements
 on it in time of battle, unless, of course, something else, quite different from
 what had been planned, should impose itself, and require another way of pro-
 ceeding.

44. A standard that can be seen all around should be flown on your dromon:
 a flag, a pennant, or something else, so that when you give the signal for each
 action that needs to be taken, the other ships may quickly carry out the order,
 whether it be to engage in battle, to retreat from battle, to form a circle around
 the enemy, to hasten to assist a section that is hard pressed, to slow down their
 movement, to increase their speed, to set up an ambush or charge out from an
 ambush, or to take some other action. Looking to all of the signals from your
 dromon, they find out how they are to proceed.

45. At such a time it is impossible for a person to issue the necessary com-
 mands by voice or by trumpet because of the shouting, the confusion, the
 roaring of the sea, the rest of the din caused by the collision and movement of
 oars on the dromons and, much more, the cries of the combatants.

46. Let signals be given by raising the standard up straight or inclined to the
 right or to the left, transferred again to the right or to the left, shaken or raised
 high or lowered, completely taken down, or altered by making its head appear
 different at different times by changing its shape or its colors.

9. Leo defined the pamphylian as a larger, faster ship for the commander of the entire
 fleet. They soon became more plentiful and smaller. On the expedition to Crete, in 949, the
 imperial fleet included sixty dromons with 230 rowers each and forty pamphylians, twenty
 with 160 men and twenty with 130 men. The thematic fleets had the same number of men per
 ship. Ouranos, reflecting the word's etymology, πᾶν φύλον, uses it in the sense of a ship's full
 complement: ποιῆσαι τὸν πάμφυλον, παμφυλεύση τὸν δρόμωνα (*Taktika*, 6.41). Its relation-
 ship with the Asian province of Pamphylia is not clear. See Pryor-Jeffreys, index, s.v.

μζ'. Οἷόν ποτε τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπράττετο. ἐν γὰρ πολέμου καιρῷ σημεῖον εἶχον τῆς συμβολῆς αἶροντες τὴν λεγομένην φοινικίδα. ἣν δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον καμελαύκιον, ἐπὶ κονταρίου ὑψούμενον, μέλαν τὴν χροιάν, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὁμοιό-
 280 σημεῖα ὑποδεικνύμενα. ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ τάχα διὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ χειρὸς τὰ σημεῖα ὑποδειχθήσεται.

μη'. Καὶ οὕτως ἔστω σοι ἡ ἐνέργεια, ὦ στρατηγέ, τῶν τοιούτων σημείων γεγυμνασμένη, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ σε ἄρχοντας, ὅσοι δρομώνων ἡγοῦνται, ἔχειν τὴν πείραν ἀσφαλῆ τῶν τοιούτων ὑποδειγμάτων, καὶ διὰ τί γίνεται ἔκα-
 285 μενοι, ἐν καιρῷ χρεῖας ἔτοιμοι γένωνται πρὸς τὸ διαγινώσκειν αὐτὰ καὶ πράτ-
 τειν τὰ δι' αὐτῶν κελεύμενα.

μθ'. Τὴν δὲ τῶν δρομώνων παράταξιν ἐν καιρῷ προσβολῆς, εἴ γε ἄρα, ὡς εἴρηται, τοσαύτη ἀρεστὴν ἀνάγκη ἢ κατὰ χεῖρας τὴν νίκην ἐλπίζεις, ποιήσεις καθὼς ἂν συνείδῃς ἀρμόδιον τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων
 290 παρασκευὴν καὶ παράταξιν. οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐστὶ λέγειν ἀσφαλῶς περὶ τῶν τότε μελλόντων ἀπαντήσεσθαι.

ν'. Ποτὲ μὲν μηνοειδῶς οἷον ἡμικυκλίου τάξιν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους δρόμοντας ἔνθεν κάκειθεν, οἷον τινα κέρατα ἢ χεῖρας καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ προάγοντας τοὺς ἀλκιμωτέρους καὶ μείζονας. ἐν δὲ τῷ κοίλῳ τοῦ ἡμικυκλίου, οἰοῖν τινα
 295 κεφαλὴν, τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα, ὥστε πάντα | περισκοπεῖν καὶ διατάττειν καὶ
 διοικεῖν καί, εἴ που δεῖ καὶ βοηθείας, ἐπικουρεῖν μεθ' ὧν ἂν βούλῃ ἐπὶ τούτῳ εὐκαιροῦντων. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τὸ μηνοειδὲς γινέσθω ὥστε τοὺς ἐμπύπτοντας πολεμίους ἐντὸς ἀποκλείεσθαι τῆς κυκλώσεως.

να'. Ποτὲ δὲ παρατάξεις κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπ' εὐθείας ὥστε, χρεῖας καλούσης,
 300 ἐπιπίπτειν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ πρῶραν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν σιφῶνων ἐμπρή-
 ζειν τὰς ἐκείνων ναῦς.

276 ἐπράττετο MW ἐγίνετο A | πολέμου A πολέμω MW 277 αἶροντες MW αἶροντες εἰς ὕψος A 278 μέλαν A ἐρυθρὸν MW | χροιάν MA χροάν W 278-279 ὁμοιότρόπως MW κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον A 279 σεαυτοῦ MW σῆς A 280 ὑποδειχθήσεται WA ὑποδεχθήσεται M 284 διασφάλλεσθαι MW σφάλλεσθαι A 285 διαγινώσκειν MW γνωρίζειν A 285-286 πράττειν MW πράττειν συντόμως A 287 εἴ... ἄρα MW εἶπερ A 288 ἢ MA καὶ W | κατὰ χεῖρας MW εὐκόλως A 289 καιρῷ... τόπῳ MW εἶναι πρὸς τε τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ A 291 ἀπαντήσεσθαι MW συμβήσεσθαι A 292 οἷον MW οἷον σιγματοειδῶς εἰς A 293 τινα κέρατα MW trsp. A 294 ἀλκιμωτέρους MW ισχυροτέρους A | κοίλῳ MW βάθει A 296 εἴ W ἢ M δ A | καὶ M om. WA | βοηθείας MA ἐπικουρίας W | ἐπικουρεῖν M καὶ βοηθείας W ἐπιβοηθεῖν A | ἐπὶ τούτῳ MW εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ A 298 ἐντὸς MW ἔσωθεν A 299 κατὰ μέτωπον MW ἰσομετώπους τὰς ναῦς A 300 ἐπιπίπτειν MW ἐμπύπτειν A 300-301 ἐμπρήζειν MW κατακαίειν A

47. This sort of thing was sometimes done by the ancients. For in the time of combat they used to raise the signal for battle, called the red flag. There was also the so-called kamelavkion, black in color and raised on a spear.¹⁰ And there were other <ways of signaling> of that sort. The signals will quickly and more securely be transmitted <when given> by your own hand.

48. You should devote yourself, O general, to being proficient in the use of such signals, so that all your officers in command of dromons may become thoroughly acquainted with signals of this type. What does each one mean? When and how <are they to be used>? And so they will not be led astray. Thus, they should be very well practiced in using these signals and, in time of need, be prepared to recognize them and to carry out the orders transmitted by them.

49. If indeed, as was said, you are under very great pressure or you expect that victory is at hand, then you will line up the dromons in time of battle as you deem appropriate to the time and place, and corresponding to the armament and battle line of the enemy. At this moment, it is not possible to speak with any assurance about what one may run up against at some future date.

50. Sometimes <adopt> a crescent-shaped or semicircular formation, with the dromons on one side and on the other, somewhat like horns or hands, with the stronger and better dromons leading them, especially at the extremes. But in the concave space of the semicircle, as a sort of head, should be Your Excellency, so that you may carefully observe, arrange, and manage everything. If there should be need of assistance somewhere you may attend to it with whatever means you think most opportune. The crescent-shaped line should be formed so as to cut off the enemy who have fallen into the encirclement.

51. Sometimes <you will form> the front in a straight line so that, when necessary, you may fall upon the enemy with your prow first. Then, with the fire from the siphons, you can set their ships ablaze.

10. The kamelavkion originally meant a head covering, a turban perhaps, so that, unrolled, it resembled a flag. Although black, it incorporated various colors and designs to make it effective in giving signals. The Arabic adaptation of ibn Mankali (ed. A. Shboul, in Pryor-Jeffreys, 653) suggests changing red to blue or some other color. See Pryor-Jeffreys, 397-399; E. Piltz, *Kamelavkion und Mitra* (Stockholm, 1977).

νβ'. Ποτὲ δὲ καὶ εἰς διαφόρους μερίζεσθαι παρατάξεις, ἤτοι δύο ἢ τρεῖς, κατὰ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ὑπὸ σε δρομώνων. καὶ τῆς μιᾶς παρατάξεως συμβαλλούσης, ἢ ἄλλη εἰσπεσεῖται κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἤδη ἐμπεπλεγμένων, ἢ ὀπισθεν
305 ἢ κατὰ πλευράν, καὶ διὰ τῆς βοηθείας τῆς ἐπελθούσης κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπείπωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῦ τόνου.

νγ'. Ποτὲ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐγκρύμματος. ἀποπλανωμένων γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐμπιπτόντων, ὥς ὀλίγοις ἀναφανέν ἀθρόως τὸ ἔγκρυμμα καὶ θροῶσαν αὐτούς, ἐκλύσει τὸν τόνον τῆς ἐνστάσεως.

310 νδ'. Ἄλλοτε δὲ δι' ἐλαφρῶν καὶ ταχινῶν δρομώνων συμβαλλόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ προσποιοῦμένων φυγεῖν· κάκεινων ἐν τῇ διώξει κοπούμενων καὶ βιαζομένων μὲν, μὴ καταλαμβανόντων δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἢ καὶ τινων τῆς συνεχείας ἀποτεμνομένων, ἕτεροί σου δρόμωνες ἄκοποι καὶ ἀναπεπαυμένοι κατὰ τῶν κεκοπωμένων ὀρμήσαντες αἰρήσουσιν αὐτούς ἢ, εἰ καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
315 πλοῖα παρελθεῖν ἰσχύσας τις τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐπιτεθῇ.

νε'. Ποτὲ δὲ συμβαλὼν καὶ ἱκανῶς ἐκ χειρὸς πολεμήσας ταῖς ἐναντίαῖς ναυσὶ μέχρι ἄκρας κοπώσεως, ἀπολύσεις μὲν τοὺς δρόμωνας, ἑτέρους δὲ πάλιν ἐπαφήσεις τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐρώστους τοῖς κεκοπωμένοις καὶ ἐκλυθεῖσι τὸν τόνον ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ οὕτως τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν νίκην περιποιήσῃ· μάλιστα δὲ
320 τοῦτο γίνεται ὅταν περιττεύῃς αὐτὸς τῷ πλήθει τῶν δρομώνων ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους.

νς'. Ποτὲ δὲ φυγὴν προσποιοῦμενος μετὰ δρομώνων ταχινῶν πρὸς διώξιν ἐκκαλέσῃ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ πρύμναν ἔχων αὐτούς. κάκεινοι ὀρμήσαντες διώκειν διαλύσουσι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν. καὶ οὕτως ἀνθυποστρέψας τάχος διεσπαρ-
325 μένοις τοῖς διώκουσι, μάλιστα καὶ πλέον ἐκείνων δρόμωνας ἔχων, ἐπέλθῃς

308 ad ὡς des. W

304 εἰσπεσεῖται MW ἐμπεσεῖται A | ἐμπεπλεγμένων MA πεπληγμένων W 305 κατὰ πλευράν MW ἐκ πλαγίου A | ἀπείπωσιν MW ἀπαγορεύουσιν A 306 τόνου MW μάχεσθαι A 308 ὀλίγοις M πρὸς ὀλίγους A | θροῶσαν M ταραξαν A 309 ἐνστάσεως M ἐνστάσεως αὐτῶν A 310 ταχινῶν M ταχυτάτων A 311 προσποιοῦμένων... κάκεινων M σχηματιζομένων φυγὴν ἐκείνων δὲ A 312-313 τῆς... ἀποτεμνομένων M ἀποκοπομένων ἀλλήλων τῆς συνεχείας A 314 κεκοπωμένων A κατασκοπῶν M | αἰρήσουσιν M νικήσουσιν A 317 ἄκρας κοπώσεως M τοῦ τελείως κοπωθῆναι τοὺς ἐναντίους A | ἀπολύσεις Du ἀποπλήξεις codd. 318 ἐπαφήσεις M ἐπιπέμψεις A | εὐρώστους M ἀκοπιάτους A 318-319 ἐκλυθεῖσι... τόνον M ἐκλυθεῖσιν A 319 περιποιήσῃ M ἐργάσῃ A 320 περιττεύῃς... δρομώνων M περισσοτέρους αὐτὸς ἔχῃς δρόμωνας A 324 οὕτως M οὕτως συντόμως A | τάχος M om. A 325 πλέον M πλείονας A

52. At times, divide your formations in different ways, either two or three, depending on the number of dromons under your command, and while one battle line is attacking, the other will fall upon the enemy, already heavily engaged, either from the rear or from the side. Such an auxiliary force coming upon them will cause the enemy to lose their fighting spirit.

53. Also sometimes <you will arrange them> into ambushes. When the enemy are attacking and in some disorder, the ambush suddenly appears before a few and confuses them. This will cause the force of the enemy impact to slacken.

54. At other times, have light and fast dromons attack them and then pretend to flee. As the enemy pursue, they will grow weary and feel the pressure because they are failing to overtake the fleeing ships; some will also be cut off from the rest <of their fleet>. Other dromons of yours, then, whose <crews> are rested and not weary, will charge out against the exhausted foe and overpower them. Or, if one <of your dromons> has been able to slip past the more powerful enemy ships, it should then set upon the weaker ones.

55. At other times, when you have attacked and for some time engaged the enemy ships at close quarters until you are absolutely worn out, have your dromons sail away and, in turn, set other strong ones upon the enemy, now exhausted and whose eagerness for battle has slackened. In this way you will be victorious over them. This will surely come about when you have more dromons than the enemy.

56. Sometimes, in pretending to flee with your swift dromons, you will provoke the enemy at your stern and, as they charge out in pursuit, they will break up their formation. In this case, especially if you have a larger number of dromons, you will quickly turn around against your pursuers, who will be in

αὐτοῖς κατὰ πρόωρον καί, ἢ καθ' ἓνα ἢ κατὰ δύο, ἐπάγων τοὺς σοὺς δρόμωνα·
τῷ ἐνὶ πλοίῳ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰρήσεις | τὴν νίκην κατ' αὐτῶν.

νζ'. Προσβάλλειν δὲ πολεμίους χρεὼν ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ, καὶ ὅταν τύχη αὐτοὺς
ναυαγήσαι καὶ ὅταν ἀπὸ ζάλης διαταραχθέντες ἀτονήσουσιν, ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπελ-
330 θόντα ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς ἐκείνων ναῦς ἢ ἐν τῇ χέρσῳ ἀσχολουμένων ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεῖα
καλέσοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπινοήσεις καὶ ποιήσεις τὰς προσβολάς.

νη'. Ποικίλης γὰρ οὐσῆς τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γνώμης, ἀδύνατόν τινα τὰ
μέλλοντα ἐμπίπτειν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις παρατάξεσιν ἢ προγινώσκειν ἢ προλέγειν
ἅπαντα. διὸ οὐδὲ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν μεθοδεύειν ἀντιπαρατάξεις ἐν τῷ παρόντι
335 λόγῳ δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας ἅπαντα ταῦτα προνοίας ἀναρτᾶν, καὶ δέεσθαι
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἵνα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀξέσι καιροῖς καὶ βουλευέσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι
δύναται τις καὶ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα.

νθ'. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις
ἐπενοήθη κατὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν πλοίων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων. οἷον τό
340 τε ἐσκευασμένον πῦρ μετὰ βροντῆς καὶ καπνοῦ προπύρου διὰ τῶν σιφῶνων
πεμπόμενον, καὶ καπνίζον αὐτά.

ξ'. Καὶ τοξοβολίστραι δὲ ἐν τε ταῖς πρύμναις καὶ ταῖς πρόωραις καὶ κατὰ τῶν
δύο πλευρῶν τοῦ δρόμωνος ἐκπέμπουσαι σαγίττας μικρὰς τὰς λεγόμενας μύιας,
καὶ θηρία ἕτεροι ἐπενόησαν ἐν χύτραις κεκλεισμένα, καὶ κατὰ τῶν πλοίων τῶν
345 πολεμίων ῥιπτόμενα, οἷον ὄφεις καὶ ἐχίδνας καὶ σαύρας καὶ σκορπίους καὶ τὰ
ὅμοια τούτων ἰοβόλα, ὧν συντριβομένων τὰ θηρία δάκνουσι καὶ συμφθείρουσι
διὰ τοῦ ἰοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔσωθεν τῶν πλοίων.

ξα'. Καὶ χύτρας δὲ ἄλλας ἀσβέστου πλήρεις, ὧν ῥιπτομένων καὶ συντριβο-
μένων, ὁ τῆς ἀσβέστου ἀτμός συμπνίγει καὶ σκοτίζει τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ μέγα
350 ἐμπόδιον γίνεται.

ξβ'. Καὶ τρίβολοι δὲ σιδηραῖ ῥιπτόμεναι ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις τῶν πολεμίων οὐ
μικρὰ λυπήσουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐμποδίσουσιν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ὀφείλον-
τα ἀγῶνα.

327 αἰρήσεις...αὐτῶν M νικήσεις αὐτοὺς A 328 χρεὼν M χρῆ A 331 καὶ ποιήσεις A
ποιήση M 334 μεθοδεύειν M om. A 335 ἀλλὰ...ἀναρτᾶν M μεθοδεύειν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν
θεῖαν πρόνοιαν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀνατιθέναι A 336 καιροῖς M καιροῖς δύναται τις A
337 δύναται τις M om. A 338 νεωτέροις M νέοις A 340 ἐσκευασμένον M ἐσκευαστὸν A
| προπύρου Dain προσπείρου M προπείρου A 341 καπνίζον M κατακαίοντα A
352 ἐμποδίσουσιν M ἐμποδίσουσι A

disarray. Attack them from the prow, positioning one or two of your ships
against one of the enemy's, and you will achieve victory over them.

57. It is necessary to move forward against the enemy in naval battle when
they happen to have suffered shipwreck and when, after having been tossed
about by a storm, they will have lost their effectiveness. Or come upon them by
night and set their ships on fire, or <attack> when they are occupied on shore,
or you yourself will devise and carry out the assaults as the situation demands.

58. The human mind is very complex. It is impossible for a person to discov-
er what will happen in these battle formations or to foresee or foretell
everything. In the present treatise, therefore, it is not possible to devise a way for
our battle lines to counteract theirs, but to make all these things dependent on
divine providence and to pray to God that in such critical moments one is able
to take counsel, to think things through, and to accomplish what is needed.

59. The ancients, as well as more recent authorities, devised many weapons
for use against enemy ships and against the fighting men in them, such as
prepared fire with thunder and fiery smoke discharged through the siphons,
blackening them with smoke.

60. Or catapults <placed> in both the prow and the stern and on the two
sides of the dromon, discharging small arrows that are called flies.¹¹ Still others
conceived of animals shut up in pots to be hurled against the enemy ships.
Among these would be snakes, vipers, lizards, scorpions, and other such
venomous creatures. When the pots are shattered, the animals bite and by their
poison wipe out the enemy on board the ships.

61. And other pots filled with unslaked lime. When these are hurled and
shattered, the vapor from the asbestos chokes and blinds the enemy and proves
to be a huge annoyance.

62. Iron caltrops hurled onto the enemy ships will cause them no little an-
noyance and will keep them from dutifully engaging in the battle at hand.

11. See *supra*, Const. 5, n. 3.

355 ἔγ'. Ἡμεῖς δὲ κελεύομεν καὶ πυρὸς ἐσκευασμένου πλήρεις ἀκοντίζεσθαι καὶ
 χύτρας κατὰ τὴν ὑποδειχθεῖσαν μέθοδον τῆς αὐτῶν σκευασίας. ὣν συντριβο-
 μένων ἐμπρησθήσεσθαι ῥαδίως τὰ πλοῖα τῶν πολεμίων.

360 ἔδ'. Χρησασθαι δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ μεθόδῳ τῶν διὰ χειρὸς βαλλομένων μικρῶν
 σιφώνων ὀπισθεν τῶν σιδηρῶν σκουταρίων παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν | κρατου-
 μένων, ἅπερ χειροσίφωνα λέγεται, παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας ἄρτι κατεσκευασ-
 μένα. ῥίψουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ ἐσκευασμένου πυρὸς κατὰ τῶν προσώπων τῶν
 πολεμίων.

365 ἔε'. Καὶ τρίβολοι δὲ μείζονες σιδηραὶ ἢ ἐν σφαιρίοις ξυλίνοις ἥλοι ὀξεῖς
 ἐμπεπηγμένοι, στυππίοις δὲ καὶ ἐτέρα ὕλη ἐνείλημμένοι ἐμπυρισθέντα καὶ κατὰ
 τῶν πολεμίων βαλλόμενα, εἴτα πίπτοντα ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διὰ πολλῶν μερῶν
 ἐμπρήσουσιν αὐτά.

365 ἔς'. Ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ διὰ τὸ σβέσαι οἱ πολέμιοι πατήσουσι τὴν αὐτῶν φλόγα οἱ
 πλείστοι τοὺς πόδας πληγήσονται κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ οὐ
 μικρὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμπόδιον.

370 ἔζ'. Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ διὰ τινων γερανίων λεγομένων, ἢ τινων ὁμοίων ἐπιτη-
 δευμάτων γαμματοειδῶν κύκλῳ περιστρεφομένων ἢ πίσσαν ὕγρὰν πεπυρω-
 μένην ἢ σκευὴν ἢ τινα ἐτέραν ὕλην ἐπιχύσαι τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πλοίοις διὰ τῶν
 δρομώνων δεσμουμένοις, καὶ τοῦ μαγγάνου στρεφομένου κατ' αὐτῶν.

375 ἔη'. Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ ἀνατρέψαι ὁλόκληρον τὴν ναῦν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν
 πλευρὰν παρὰ πλευρὰν δήσας αὐτὴν τῷ δρόμῳ, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφ' ἑν
 μέρος, ὡς εἰώθασι, πρὸς τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς μάχην συνδραμόντων, καὶ δοκούντων
 ἐπερείδεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ναῦν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἐπέλθῃ μὲν ἕτερος δρόμων κατὰ τῆς
 πλευρᾶς ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ τῆς πολεμίας καὶ ταύτην ὠθήσῃ σφοδρῶς τῇ συγκρού-
 σει, καὶ ὁ μὲν δρόμων δυνηθῇ λύσας ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δεσμοῦ ὑποχωρῆσαι μικρόν,
 ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ὡς ἔρεισμα τῆς πολεμίας, βαρήσῃ δὲ ὁ ἕτερος δρόμων πάσῃ
 380 δυνάμει <καὶ> πάντως ἀνατρέψει αὐτανδρον τὴν πολεμίαν ναῦν. δεῖ δὲ
 κανονίσαι τὸν δεσμὸν μὴ πάντως κατ' ἰσότητα γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἀφεῖναι

354-355 ἐσκευασμένου... χύτρας M σκευαστοῦ γεγεμισμένας χύτρας ἐπιρρίπτεσθαι κατ'
 αὐτῶν A 356 ἐμπρησθήσεσθαι... πολεμίων M εὐκόλως τὰ πλοῖα τῶν πολεμίων
 κατακαήσεται A 362 ἔε' A ἔς' M 363 ἐνείλημμένοι Dain ἐνείλημμένη codd. 366 ἔς' A
 ἔζ' M | πατήσουσι... φλόγα M τὴν αὐτῶν φλόγα πατήσουσι A 367 ἀκμὴν M συμβολὴν A
 369 ἔζ' A ἔη' M 370 γαμματοειδῶν M γαμματοειδῶς A 371 ἐτέραν ὕλην M trsp. A
 372 καὶ M om. A 373 ἔη' A ἔθ' M | ἀνατρέψαι... ναῦν M ὁλόκληρον τὸν ναῦν ἀνατρέψαι
 A 374-375 ἐφ'... εἰώθασι M ἐπὶ ἑν μέρος ὡς ἔθος ἔχουσι A 376 ἐπερείδεσθαι... ναῦν M
 ἐπακουμβίζειν τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλοῖον A 377 πλευρᾶς M πλευρᾶς τῆς A 378 δυνηθῇ A
 συνηθῇ M 379 ἔρεισμα M ἀκουμβίσημα A 380 αὐτανδρον M σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι A

63. But we command that pots full of the prepared fire, according to the
 prescribed method of their preparation, should be hurled; on shattering they
 easily burn up the ships of the enemy.

64. Make use also of the other method, that is, of the small siphons thrown
 by hand from behind the iron shields held by the soldiers.¹² These are called
 hand siphons and have been fabricated recently by Our Majesty. These too will
 throw the prepared fire into the face of the enemy.

65. Also larger iron caltrops or sharp nails hammered into wooden spheres,
 then wrapped in hemp or some other substance, set on fire, and thrown against
 the enemy. Falling in various places, they will set the ships aflame.

66. However, in order to extinguish the flames, the enemy will stamp on
 them and very many will injure their feet at the very height of battle and this
 will be no small hindrance to the enemy.

67. It is possible to use the so-called cranes or similar gamma-shaped
 contrivances that revolve in a circle. When the enemy ships are bound to your
 dromons, turn the machine around against them and pour on them either
 burning liquid pitch or a net or some other material.

68. It is possible to overturn an enemy ship completely if you tie it up
 side-by-side to your dromon. The enemy will race to one side, as they usually
 do, to engage in hand-to-hand fighting and they will seem to pit the whole force
 of their own ship against the dromon. Then another dromon should come up
 against the side of the enemy ship toward the stern and crash into it, giving it a
 strong push. <Our first> dromon then, having gotten itself loose from the chain,
 will be able to pull back a little, so it will not provide support for the enemy ship.
 The other dromon will then bear down with all its might and completely
 overturn the enemy ship with all hands. It is necessary to make sure that the
 chains are not absolutely equal but should allow for a little more space on the

12. A hand siphon is illustrated in cod. Vat. Gr. 1605, fol. 36, reproduced in Sullivan,
Siegecraft, and Pryor-Jeffreys.

γυμνά τινα πλευρὰ κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς πολεμίας, δι' ὧν ἐμπεσῶν ὁ δρόμων ὠθήσει πρὸς τὴν ἀνατροπὴν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ναῦν.

ξθ'. Πρὸς τούτοις, καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐπινοηθέν, μήτε ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω τοῦ δρόμωνος
385 ἐλασίας διὰ τῶν ὁπῶν τῶν κωπίων ἐξαγόμενα μέναυλα κατασφάττειν τοὺς
πολεμίους τῶν λίαν μοι ἀναγκαίων δοκεῖ.

ο'. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον τούτων ἀναγκαιότερον, εἴ γε χειρῶν εὐφυῶν ἐπιτύχοι
τὸ διὰ τῆς κάτωθεν τοῦ δρόμωνος ἐλασίας τῇ ὑποδειχθείσῃ μεθόδῳ, δι' ὅπῃς
παρασκευάσει πλησθῆναι ὕδατος τὴν ναῦν τῶν πολεμίων.

390 οα'. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τοῖς | ἀρχαίοις ἐπινοηθέντα ἐν τῷ πλωίμῳ πολέμῳ
ἐπιτηδεύματα, καὶ ἔτι δὲ ἐπινοηθῆναι δυνάμενα· ἅπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τεύχει
γράφειν διὰ τὴν συντομίαν ἀνοίκειον. τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσύμφορον διὰ τὸ μὴ πουβλι
κίζεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν. τὰ γὰρ
στρατηγήματα ἅπαξ κατανοηθέντα, ἀντιστρατηγεῖσθαι καὶ καταμεθοδεύεσθαι
395 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύναται· ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τὸ ἐπινοηθέν μέχρι τῆς πράξεως
ἔχειν ἐν μυστηρίῳ.

οβ'. Ἐν δὲ τῷ συνειλημμένῳ τῶν τε ἀρχαίων τακτικῶν καὶ στρατηγημάτων
βιβλίῳ ζητῶν τις εὐρήσει καὶ τὰ τούτων πλείονα. οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν, ὥς εἴρηται,
πρὸς ἕκαστα τὰ ἐμπίπτειν μέλλοντα διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον αὐτῶν γράφειν τὰ ἱκανά.

400 ογ'. Πλὴν κεφάλαιον εἰπεῖν, ἔστωσαν οἱ δρόμωνες ἐξωπλισμένοι τελείως
ἀπὸ τε στρατιωτῶν ἀνδρείων καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι δυναμένων, καὶ τῷ τῆς
ψυχῆς παραστήματι τολμηρῶν, καὶ πεπαιδευμένων καὶ γεγυμνασμένων. οὗτοι
δὲ ἔστωσαν καθωπλισμένοι ὅπλοις ὁποῖοις καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ στρατιώτης ὅπλι
σθῆναι διώριται, δηλονότι κατάφρακτος. καὶ οὕτω πάντες οἱ τῆς ἄνω ἐλασίας
405 ὀπλισθήσονται.

οδ'. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ποιότητα καὶ ποσότητα τῶν πλοίων, καὶ αὐτὸς,
ὁ στρατηγέ, διασκεύασεις τοὺς δρόμωνας, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἐλάττονα στρατὸν ἔχη ὁ
ἡμέτερος δρόμων τοῦ πολεμίου, ὅστις μάλιστα εἰς ἰσόπαλον ἐλθεῖν εὐτρεπίζεται

400 ad πλὴν de novo inc. W

384 ξθ' A om. M | μήτε M ὥστε A 385 ὁπῶν M ὁπῶν ἦτοι τρυπημάτων A | ἐξαγόμενα M
ἐκφερόμενα A 386 λίαν M πάνυ A 387 ο' A om. M | τούτων M τούτου A 390 οα' A
οβ' M 391 τεύχει M om. A 392–393 πουβλικίζεσθαι M φαυλικίζεσθαι A 393 ἐκείνους...
χρῆσθαι M ἐκείνοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς A 394 κατανοηθέντα M κατανοηθέντα δύναται A
395 δύναται M om. A 397 οβ' A ογ' M | συνειλημμένῳ... τε M om. A 399 γράφειν M
γράφειν ἀλλὰ A 400 ογ' A οδ' M 406 οδ' A οε' M om. W 407 ὥς ἂν MW καὶ
καθοπλίσεις ὅπως A 408 ἰσόπαλον MW ἴσην μάχην A | εὐτρεπίζεται MW ἐτοιμάζεται A

side of the enemy ship toward the rear so the dromon can make its impact in that place and capsize the enemy ship.¹³

69. In addition to these, it strikes me as very important—this is how we think about it nowadays—not to stick large spears out through the holes for the oars in the lower rowing bench to kill off the enemy.¹⁴

70. There is, however, something else that may prove more effective. If you come upon men with natural manual dexterity, follow the prescribed method in preparing to fill the enemy ship with water through the holes for the oars in the lower rowing bench of the dromon.

71. There are also other contrivances devised by the ancients to use in naval warfare and still more possibilities are conceivable. But it is not practical to write about these in the present volume because of its summary nature. It may, moreover, be harmful, for some matters should not be made known to the enemy lest they turn around and employ them against us. Once stratagems have been invented, it is possible for the enemy to take countermeasures and strategies against them. Each invention, then, should be kept secret until put into action.

72. If one searches through the encyclopedic volume of ancient tactics and stratagems, he will find more than these.¹⁵ Because of their unlimited number, as already noted, it is not possible to address fully in writing each one of the future eventualities.

73. Nonetheless, to sum it up, let the dromons be arrayed completely armed, with brave soldiers, able to engage in close combat, emboldened by courage of soul, well-instructed and well-trained. Arm them with weapons similar to those prescribed for soldiers on land, that is, they should be heavily armed. All those in the upper bank of rowers should be armed in this way.

74. You should personally see, O general, to the arrangement of the dromons, with a view to the quality and number of enemy ships. Our dromon should not have fewer fighting men than that of the enemy, but more if possible,

13. On the impracticality of this maneuver see Pryor-Jeffreys, 204–208.

14. The meaning of this and the following paragraph is not clear. M writes: “important ... not to” (μήτε), whereas A has “important ... to” (ὥστε). See Pryor-Jeffreys, 405–406.

15. “Encyclopedic volume” must refer to the *Sylloge tacticorum*. See *supra*, Const. 18, n. 16, and Pryor-Jeffreys, 176.

μάχην, διὰ τοῦ εἰς ἀλλήλους δεσμοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν καὶ πλείονα. ἀμφοτέρων

410 γὰρ ἀνδρείως, εἰ τύχοι, μαχομένων, οἱ πλείονες προτερήσουσιν.

οἷ'. Ἐὰν γὰρ συνορᾷς ἔχειν τοὺς πολεμίους πολυανδρούμενα πλοῖα καὶ πλείονα στρατὸν ὑποδεχόμενα, οὓς ἰσώσεις καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς σοὺς δρόμοντας ἐν πλήθει. ἐκλέξῃ δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξοπλίσῃς τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν δύναμιν διὰ δρομώνων τελείων καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτων ὥστε, εἰ οὕτω

415 τύχοι, ἢ τῶν δύο τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἓνα ἐμβιβάσεις ἢ ἐκ πάντων ἐπιλέξῃ τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ γενήσονται ἄχρι καὶ διακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἢ καὶ πλείω κατὰ δρόμωνα ἓνα, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ τῶν τε δρομώνων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καθυπέρτερος τῶν πολεμικῶν πλοίων γενόμενος, σὺν Θεῷ τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπολήψῃ νίκην.

420 οἷ'. Δεῖ δέ σε καὶ μικροτέρους ἐξοπλίζειν δρόμοντας καὶ ἐλαφροτέρους τῶν | συνήθων, ὥστε καὶ διώκοντας καταλαμβάνειν τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ διωκομένους μὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι, | καὶ τούτους ἔχειν ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης αὐτοῖς | χρείας, ὥστε δύνασθαι αὐτούς, ἢ δρᾶσαί κακόν τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἢ μὴ παθεῖν κακόν τι παρ' αὐτῶν.

425 οἷ'. Μικροὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους δρόμοντας κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα τῶν πολεμίων ἐθνῶν κατασκευάσεις. οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν στόλος τῶν πλοίων τῶν τε Σαρακηνῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Βορείων Σκυθῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σαρακηνοὶ κουμβάριοις χρῶνται μείζοσι καὶ ἀργότεροι, οἱ δὲ οἷον ἀκατίοις ἐλάττοσι καὶ ἐλαφροτέροις καὶ ταχίνοις οἱ Σκύθαι. διὰ ποταμῶν γὰρ εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἑμ-
430 πίπτοντες πόντον οὐ δύνανται μείζοσι χρῆσασθαι πλοίοις. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν περὶ παρατάξεων εἰρήσθω.

οἷ'. Ὅταν δὲ ἀπαλλαγῇναι βούλῃ τῆς μάχης, μηνοειδῶς, ὡς εἴρηται, τὴν παράταξιν τῶν δρομώνων ποιήσας, οὕτως ὑποχωρήσεις διὰ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὸ

420 ad τῶν des. M

409 δεσμοῦ MW δεσμούς A 410 εἰ τύχοι MW om. A | προτερήσουσιν MW ὑπερνήσουσιν A 411 οἷ' A οἷ' M | πολυανδρούμενα...καὶ MW om. A 412 οὓς ἰσώσεις De οὐσιάσεις codd. 413 ἐξοπλίσῃς MA καταστήσεις W 414 ἀλκιμωτάτων MW ὀχυροτάτων A 415 τὸν στρατὸν MA τῶν στρατῶν W 417 πλείω MW πλείονες A | ἓνα A om. MW 417-418 καὶ³...καθυπέρτερος MW τῶν δρομώνων καὶ τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπικρατέστερος A 419 ἀπολήψῃ νίκην MW νίκην ἀπολάβῃς A 420 οἷ' A οἷ' MW 423 δρᾶσαί...ἐχθροῖς W κακόν τι ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς A 423-424 παθεῖν...τι W παθεῖν τι κακόν A 425 οἷ' A om. W 426 ἐστιν W ἐστι A 427 βαρβάρων W om. A | λεγομένων W λεγομένων ῥῶς ἡγουν A | σαρακηνοὶ A om. W 428 οἱ δὲ A οἱ βάρβαροι οἱ θεῖ W | ἐλάττοσι W μικροῖς A 429 ταχίνοις W γοργοῖς A 430 μείζοσι...πλοίοις W μείζονα ἔχειν πλοῖα A 431 παρατάξεων W τάξεων A 432 οἷ' A om. W

especially if one is getting set for an evenly matched battle with <the ships> bound to one another. When both forces are brave, if it comes to fighting, the more numerous will prevail.

75. Now if you should observe that the enemy has ships with a large number of men and a larger army on board, you should make your dromons equal in number. Select the best from among all of your men and arm a sufficient force of them on fully equipped and strong dromons. In such a situation, either put the soldiers from two ships aboard one or else, as was said, from your whole force select the very best so they will add up to two hundred soldiers or more for one dromon. The result will be that, in the number and size and enthusiasm of the dromons and of the soldiers you will be superior to the ships of the enemy. With God's help you will gain victory over them.

76. You must also equip smaller and lighter dromons than usual that can pursue the enemy and catch up to them but if pursued themselves will not be caught. You should have these at a time when they are particularly useful either to cause some harm to the enemy or not to suffer any harm from them.

77. Get large and small dromons ready that match the kind used by hostile ethnic forces. For the fleet of ships of the barbarian Saracens is not the same as that of those called Northern Scythians.¹⁶ For the Saracens make use of larger and slower <ships called> koumbaria, whereas the Scythians use ships that are smaller, lighter, and faster. Because they come into the Euxine Sea from rivers, they cannot use larger vessels. These are enough remarks about battle formations.

78. When you wish to withdraw from battle, form the line of your dromons in a crescent shape, as we said. Make your retreat in this manner because such a

16. Saracens: see *supra*, Const. 18. Koumbaria is from the Arabic; see Pryor-Jeffreys, 513, n. 61. Northern Scythians, in this case, designates the people known as Rhos who sailed down the Dnieper to the Black Sea in small ships. The later manuscript, A, as well as the paraphrase of Ouranos, specifically calls them Rhos (Ρῶς). Their route is recorded in *DAI*, 9, pp. 56-62; see *DAI Commentary*, 16-31. Cf. Const. 14, n. 10.

τοιοῦτον σχῆμα ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις | καὶ προόδοις καὶ ὑποχωρήσεσιν, ὥς τινες, W III
 435 τῶν παλαιῶν μαρτυροῦσι τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ χρησάμενοι.

οθ'. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν λύσιν τοῦ πολέμου δέον σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, τά, ὥς εἰκός,
 κερδθέντα ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα ἐξ ἴσου διαμερίζειν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ
 ἀριστοποιεῖν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ πανδαισίαν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ εὐωχίαν
 εἰς αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστεύσαντας καὶ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιώσαι, τοὺς δὲ
 440 τι ἀνάξιον στρατιώτου ποιήσαντας ἐπιτιμῆσαι δεόντως.

π'. Ἴσθι δέ, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὅτι πλῆθος δρομώνων ἀνάνδρους ἐχόντων στρατιώ-
 τας οὐδὲν ἰσχύει, οὐδ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγους μαχήσωνται τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀνδρεί-
 οὺς καὶ εὐψύχους. οὔτε γὰρ πολυπληθία ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ὀλίγων ἰσχύσει, εἰ μὴ καὶ
 τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὀπλίσει στρατιώται ἀληθεῖς ἀποδείκνυνται. τί γὰρ οὐκ
 445 ἐργάσονται δεινὸν καὶ ὀλίγοι λύκοι πρὸς πολλὰς | χιλιάδας ποιμνίου; W III

πα'. Διὸ χρὴ σε ὁρᾶν ἅπαντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἀπάσης τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὥς
 διάκεινται, καὶ οὕτως τὴν τε τῶν δρομώνων κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν ὀπλίσιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτηδεύματα
 ἀρμοδίως κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων παρασκευάζειν. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ μικροὺς δρόμοντας
 450 καὶ ταχεῖς, οὐ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξωπλισμένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς βίγλας καὶ τὰ
 μανδάτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπαντώσας ὁμοίως χρειᾶς, καὶ ἔτι τὰ τε μονήρια λεγό-
 μενα καὶ τὰς γαλαίας, πλὴν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνόπλους διὰ τὰ τυχερῶς συμπίπτοντα.

πβ'. Καί σε δὲ αὐτὸν διὰ πάντων εἶναι δεῖ σπουδαῖον καὶ γενναῖον καὶ
 ἀτάραχον καὶ ὀξὺν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις μάλιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγχειρήσεσιν τε
 455 καὶ πράξεσιν ἵνα καὶ Θεῷ εὐάρεστος καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλείᾳ | εὐχρη- W III
 στός τε καὶ δόκιμος ἀναφανείς στρατηγός, ἀμφοτέρωθεν κερδήσης τὰς ἀξίας
 τῶν πόνων ἀμοιβάς, ἐκ Θεοῦ μὲν μισθοὺς ἀθανάτους ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ κληρο-
 νομίας ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἐξ ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ τιμὰς τὰς προσηκούσας, μὴ
 ψευδόμενος τὴν κλῆσιν, ἀλλ' ἀληθὴς στρατηγὸς καὶ ὢν καὶ καλούμενος.

460 <πγ'.> Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ ναυμαχίας ὥς ἐν συνόψει μετρίως εἰρήσθω.

formation is safe in these circumstances both for advancing and retreating, according to the testimony of the ancients who have made use of this method.

79. After the conclusion of the battle, it is necessary for you, O general, to divide up the spoils likely to be taken from the enemy equally among the soldiers. Provide special dinners for them, give them favors, prepare a banquet and festivities for them. Bestow honors and gifts on those who have distinguished themselves and inflict the appropriate punishment on those who have acted in a way unworthy of a soldier.

80. Realize, O general, that a large number of dromons with unmanly soldiers on board accomplishes nothing, not even if they should be fighting against a small number of the enemy who are brave and courageous. Nor will a large number of men against a few accomplish anything unless they show themselves by their enthusiasm and armament to be true soldiers. What terrible things will a few wolves not wreak against many thousands of sheep?

81. Therefore, it is necessary for you to observe with total accuracy the disposition of the enemy, and so prepare the outfitting of your dromons and the armament of your soldiers, their number and size and the rest of the equipment in proper fashion against the enemy. Also have small and fast dromons, not equipped for battle, but for scouting, <conveying> orders, and other needs that may occur, and still others called monoremes and galleys, which are armed for situations that arise by chance.

82. In everything you yourself must be serious, high-minded, calm, and sharp-witted in your endeavors and actions, especially under the pressure of events, in order that, having shown yourself to be well pleasing before God and having shown yourself before Our God-given Majesty as a most capable and proven general, you may gain from both the deserved rewards of your labors: from God immortal rewards for your struggles on behalf of his inheritance, and from us appropriate honors and gifts, because you have not made false your title, but you are a true general and are called such.

<83.> As in a summary, let this be enough said about naval warfare.

434-435 τινες...τούτω W μαρτυροῦσί τινες τῶν παλαιῶν τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ A 436 οθ' A om. W 437 διαμερίζειν W διαμερίζειν ἐν A 438-439 καὶ²...καὶ¹ W om. A 440 τι ἀνάξιον W trsp. A 441 π' A om. W | ἴσθι W γίνωσκε A 443 πολυπληθία W πλῆθος A 446 πα' A om. W | ὁρᾶν W συνορᾶν A | ἀπάσης W πάσης A 449-450 δρόμοντας...ταχεῖς W καὶ ταχεῖς δρόμοντας A 450-451 τὰ μανδάτα A τὰς δαπανὰς W 452 τυχερῶς συμπίπτοντα W ὥς εἰκός καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἐμπίπτοντα A 453 πβ' A om. W ante 455-456 εὐχρηστός scr. titulum const. xx W 458 δωρεὰς...τιμὰς W trsp. A 459 ἀληθῆς A ἀληθῶς W 460 πγ' ci. De om. codd.

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Κ'

Περὶ διαφόρων γνωμικῶν κεφαλαίων

α'. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰρημένας παραγγελίας τε καὶ διατάξεις, ὦ στρατηγέ, χρὲν
τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι καὶ ταῖς ἤδη ῥηθησομέναις ἐγκύψαι γνώμαις, ὥς ἐκ πολλῶν
5 παλαιῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν συνταγμάτων ἀναλεξάμενοι, συνόψεως χάριν τῶν
εἰρημένων ἐνταῦθα παρατεθείκαμεν. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς μείζονας πράξεις,
τῆς τακτικῆς θεωρίας ἀναβῆναι δυνήσῃ, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν παροιμιστὴν βασι
λέα· σοφῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἀφορμὴ διδομένη σοφώτερον ἀπεργάζεται.

β'. Ἐν πρώτοις μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν μέλλων ἀναγκαίων πραγμάτων, ὦ στρατηγέ, μὴ
10 χῳρίζε σεαυτὸν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις πονούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἀπάρχου τῶν τοιούτων ἐγχειρήσεων καὶ συμπόνει τοῖς ἔργοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν
σοι, εἴτε τράφους ὀρύσσεις εἴτε προσχωννύεις εἴτε πολιορκίας ἐπιβάλλεις εἴτε
ὀπλων κατασκευαῖς εἴτε μηχανημάτων εἴτε φρουρίων ἀλώσεις, πρὸς εἴ τι ἔργον
χρειῶδες ἐπινοήσεις καὶ κοινωφελὲς ἢ πόλει ἢ στρατεύματι πραχθησόμενον,
15 τούτου χερσὶν ἰδίαις πρώτος ἀπάρχου. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ ὥσπερ αἰδοῦμενοι καὶ οἱ
στρατιῶται θερμότερόν σοι ὑπακούσονται καὶ τὸ πραττόμενον εὐχερέστερον
τελεσθήσεται. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνις ἐνοχλήσῃ, πρώτος αὐτὸς τῆς
ἐγκρατείας τὴν καρτερίαν ἐπίδειξον, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα κούφῃ καὶ εὐκολώ
τέραν τὴν ὑπομονὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐργάσῃ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὰς μάχας παραβού
20 λοις ἐκ χειρὸς συμπλοκαῖς φύλασσε σεαυτὸν, ἵνα τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ διατάξει
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις διευθετήσεσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὀξεῖ τοῦ καιροῦ συμπαρῆς μὲν, καὶ
τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων ἐφάπτη, μὴ μέντοι ἀφυλάκτως οὕτω καὶ ἐπικινδύνως, ὅτε
μὴ τούτου χρεῖα καλῇ, διὰ χειρῶν ἐμπλέκη τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ τοσοῦτον γάρ,

M W A PG 107:1013 1 ad πολεμικῶν de novo inc. M

8 Prov. 1:5. 9–29 Strat., 8.1.1; cf. Polyæn. 4.3.3.

1 κ' W ἡ' M ἰθ' A 3–4 χρὲν... ἐνδοξότητι MW χρῆ τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα A 9 ἀναγκαίων
πραγμάτων MW ἀναγκαίους πράγμασιν A 13 ἀλώσεις M ἀλώσειν WA 13–14 ἔργον
χρειῶδες MW trsp. A 16 θερμότερόν MW εὐκολώτερον A 17 ἐπιτηδείων MW χρεῶν A
18 ἐπίδειξον MW ἐπίδειξαι A 19–20 παραβούλοις MW παραβόλοις A 21 αὐτῷ... ὀξεῖ
MW αὐτῇ τῇ ὀξύτητι A | συμπαρῆς MW συνυπάρχης A | μὲν MW om. A 22 ἐφάπτη MW
μετέχης A | οὕτω MW οὕτως A 22–23 ὅτε... καλῇ MW om. A 23 ἐμπλέκη MW
συμπλέκη A | τοὺς πολεμίους MW τοῖς πολεμίους ὅτε μὴ τούτου χρεῖα καλεῖ A

PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONSTITUTION XX

About Various Concise Sayings

1.¹ After the commands and the constitutions given above, O general, Your Excellency ought to familiarize yourself with the sayings presented here, which we have gathered from many ancient authorities and military treatises. We lay these before you as a way of summarizing what is written in this book. These will enable you to move on to greater applications of tactical theory. According to the wise king, compiler of proverbs: a starting point given to a wise man results in his becoming more wise.²

2. First, if you intend to carry out critical operations, O general, do not set yourself apart from the multitude of men laboring at their tasks. But you should take the lead in such operations and toil along with them in the work as best you can, whether you are digging trenches or piling up mounds of earth or undertaking siege operations or preparing weapons or machines or capturing forts. Moreover, if you think that some work that is useful and beneficial to the city or the army should be done, then, with your own hands, be the first to get it started. The soldiers, as though put to shame, will end up obeying you more fervently and will complete the project more readily. If a scarcity of supplies causes a problem, you be the first to show your patient endurance and self-control, in order that you may bring the men under your command to deal

1. Among the many forms of word play enjoyed by the Byzantines was the acrostic. In a literary composition the initial letters of each paragraph or verse were combined to form a phrase or epigram. By taking the first letter of each of the 221 paragraphs (except the first) in Const. 20, J. Grosdidier de Matons ("Trois études sur Léon VI," *TM* 5 [1973], 181–242) has deciphered the following: ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ προσκυνητῆς τριάδος τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν λέων ὁ εἰρηνικὸς ἐν χριστῷ αὐτοκράτωρ πιστὸς εὐσεβὴς εὐμένης ἀεισέβαστος αὐγουστος καὶ τοοθπννιοα βασιλεὺς ῥωμαίων. (In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the holy, consubstantial, and worshipful Trinity, our one and only true God, Leo, peaceful autokrator in Christ, faithful, pious, kindly, ever revered Augustus and ***** emperor of the Romans.) He has shown that the underlined letters, which make no sense, replaced the name of Leo's brother and co-emperor, Alexander, ἀλέξανδρος, by order of Leo's son, Constantine VII, whom Alexander had tried to have castrated.

2. Proverbs 1:5.

ὥς μοι καὶ ἄνω που εἴρηται, συμπλεκόμενος ὡς εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὠφελήσεις.
25 ὅσον εἶγε συμβῇ τι τοιοῦτον πεσὼν βλάψεις. τὸ γὰρ μέλλον ἀόρατον.

γ'. Νόμος γινέσθω τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς στρατηγέ, ὁ τρόπος ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ περὶ
τὰ πρακτέα σπουδὴ σου. οὕτως γὰρ τῆς τοῦ οἰκείου ἄρχοντος ἀρετῆς ὁ ὑποχεί
ριος μεμνημένος καὶ τὸν Θεὸν θεραπεύσει καὶ τοῖς κελευομένοις ὑπακούσεται
καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ταῦτα δεχόμενος τελέσει.

30 δ'. Ὅταν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ ἓνα τόπον συναχθῇ, τότε δεῖ σε τὰ
παρ' αὐτῶν ἀμαρτανόμενα μακροθύμως φέρειν καὶ μὴ τὰς ἐπεξε|λεύσεις καὶ
κατακρίσεις ἀπαραιτήτους ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἡ κοινὴ λύπη εἰς σύναρσιν καὶ
ἀταξίαν συνάψῃ αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον μᾶλλον κατὰ τῶν προκαταρξάντων
τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παιδευσιν.

35 ε'. Νήφειν καὶ ἐγρηγορεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κελεύομέν σοι, ὡς στρα
τηγέ, τὸ δὲ πλεόν, ὥστε σε εἶναι ἀπλοῦν ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ διαίτη
μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σε στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πατρικὴν σε ἔχειν στοργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ
πραότητος καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον, εἰ μὴ τις ἀναγκαία
χρεία καὶ συμφέρουσα πρὸς τραχύτητά σε καλέσῃ. χρὴ δὲ καὶ συνεχῶς διὰ
40 σεαυτοῦ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτοῖς παραινέειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι. φροντίσεις
δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀπαθείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης διοικήσεως καὶ ἀποτροφῆς. ἐκτὸς γὰρ
τούτων οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι κρατῆσαι στρατοῦ κατὰ στάσεως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δικαίαις
ἐπεξελεύσεσι κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων δέον σε φοβερὸν εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς,
μάλιστα τῶν ἀταξιῶν, ἐκκόπτειν καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν, ὥστε ἐπὶ μείζονα ταῦτα
45 προκόπτειν. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοῦ προτέρημα ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκατάπληκτον αὐτὸν τοῖς
στρατιώταις φαίνεσθαι καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
ἐνορίας ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἀμύνασθαι καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους τοὺς τε
στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς συντελεστὰς ἐν πᾶσι διατηρεῖν.

ζ'. Οὕτε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἀκαίρως οὕτε τὸ ἀπηνὲς ἄξιόν ἐστι στρατηγοῦ.
50 ἀλλὰ τὸ σταθμίζειν ἐν καιρῷ τὰ πάντα, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανόμενοις
ἐπάγειν τὰς τιμωρίας, ἐπιβλέποντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πράξαντος διάνοιαν καὶ τὸν
καιρὸν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ διὰ ποίου τρόπου ἐπράχθη καὶ διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν καὶ

more readily and easily with the crisis. But in the hazardous hand-to-hand engagements of battle, protect yourself so that, while you, at the height of the crisis, are standing by with your mind intent on managing and setting the other things in order, and you are focused on such struggles, you do not leave yourself unprotected and subject to danger by engaging the enemy in close combat (as long as there is no compelling need). For, as I remarked earlier, you will not so much help matters by engaging in close fighting, as one of the soldiers, as you will cause harm, if something such as your falling should happen. For what is to come is unseen.³

3. Let your manner, O general, as well as your zeal for the task at hand, be as a law to the soldiers. The subordinate is thus mindful of the good qualities of his officer and he will reverence God and obey orders and he will carry them out as though he had received them from God.⁴

4. When the multitude of soldiers has been assembled in one place, then you must be magnanimous in dealing with their offenses. Do not be unmerciful in your judgments and punishments. Widespread resentment might draw them all together and discipline would suffer. Be more lenient, rather, and punish <only> the men who have initiated such crimes.

5. In addition to everything else, we order you to be sober and alert, O general. Even more, let your way of life be simple; share the life of the soldiers under you. Show a fatherly affection toward them. Be mild in manner when you speak and when you take action, unless expediency and compelling need require you to act more harshly. You must always make sure to give advice and to discuss essential matters with your men in person. You must be concerned about keeping them from harm, about other administrative matters, and about their food. Without these it is impossible to maintain discipline in an army. In justly punishing offenders you must inspire fear. At the first sign of a disciplinary problem, put an end to it without delay before it becomes more serious. The superiority of a general is shown by his appearing to his soldiers unshakeable and just, by eliminating injustice from his territory, turning away persons who act unjustly, and keeping the soldiers and the taxpayers free from all harm.⁵

6. It does not become the general to be tenderhearted in dealing with the men when it is not appropriate; neither should he be harsh with them. But he

25 Isoc. *Ad Demonicum*, 29.3. 30–34 *Strat.*, 8.1.2. 35–48 *Strat.*, 8.1.3; Onas. 1.4. 49–54 Onas. 1.4.

34 παιδευσιν MW ἐπεξέλευσιν A 35 πάντα A om. MW 37 σε² MW om. A 42 ἐστι M ἐστὶν WA 43 ἐπεξελεύσεσι MA ἐπεξελεύσεσιν W 45 ἐστι M ἐστὶν WA 50 τὰ A om. MW

3. *Strat.* 8.1.1; cf. Polyaeus 4.3.3; Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*, 29.3.

4. For §§3–4 see *Strat.* 8.1.1–2.

5. *Strat.* 8.1.3; Onasander 1.4.

αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ποιότητα, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς δεούσας τιμωρίας ἐρχεσθαι.

55 ζ'. Μέγα προτέρημα στρατηγοῦ τὸ συμμέτρως διαιτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ ἐν ταῖς νυξὶ μᾶλλον βουλευέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ γὰρ εὐχερῶς ἐν νυκτὶ τελειοῦται βουλή, ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν θορύβων ἡρεμῇ.

ἡ'. Ἀλλὰ φήμιζε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἕτερα πράττε, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων κρύπτεσθαι δέοντα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀνατίθου, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτέροις
60 σου μᾶλλον. τὸ γὰρ οὕτως ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναγκαῖον ἀπεδείχθη πολλάκις.

θ'. Τὸ βουλευέσθαι βραδέως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ὅσα δόξει τῇ βουλῇ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τοὺς καιροὺς διὰ τινὰ ὄκνον ἢ δειλίαν ἀναγκαιότατόν ἐστιν. ἡ γὰρ δειλία οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς πράγμα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ ἐναντιώ
65 σεως ἐπίνοια.]

ι'. Ἴσθι ὅτι τὸ μῆτ' ἐπαίρεσθαι ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις μῆτε πάλιν καταπίπτειν ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις ἐρρωμένον ἐστὶ λογισμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρείας, καὶ δυναμένης ἀσφαλῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πάντοτε πράγμασιν ἐπιβάλλειν.

ια'. Τὸ διὰ βουλῆς μᾶλλον καὶ στρατηγίας κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀσφαλὲς ἐμοὶ
70 δοκεῖ καὶ ὠφέλιμον ἢ τὸ χειρὶ βιάζεσθαι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ πρὸς τὰς κατὰ πρόσωπον μάχας ἀποκινδυνεύειν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἐκουσίου γνώμης γίνεται, καὶ ὥς ἂν ὁ προσβαλὼν τὸ συμφέρον γινώσκῃ, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τινος ζημίας πάντως ἔχειν τὴν ἑκβασιν.

ιβ'. Οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὥς ἡ πείρα δείκνυσιν, τὸ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐγχειρήσεσθαι
75 κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνεχῶς κεχρῆσθαι, κἂν πολλάκις δόξης ἐν αὐταῖς εὐτυχεῖν. διὰ γὰρ τῆς συνεχείας προσεπινooύντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ ἐναντία καὶ κανονίζοντες συμφορὰς πολλάκις προσάγουσι ταῖς τοιαύταις κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβολαῖς.

ιγ'. Ὑπερτίθεσθαι ἢ ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὰ φημιζόμενα κακὰ ἢ δολερὰ καὶ ἐπίβουλα οὐ δίκαιον οὐδὲ πρέπον οὐδὲ καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν κἂν τε περὶ τῶν
80 ἐχθρῶν λέγωνται κἂν τε περὶ ιδίων. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν σε χρή, ὦ στρατηγέ.

69 paragr. ια' et ιβ' trsp. M

55–57 *Strat.*, 8.1.4. 58–61 *Strat.*, 8.1.9. 62–65 *Strat.*, 8.1.5. 66–68 *Strat.*, 8.1.6. 69–73 *Strat.*, 8.1.7. 78–82 *Strat.*, 8.1.10.

53 αὐτοῦ...ποιότητα MW αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁποῖόν ἐστι A 56 ταῖς νυξὶ MW νυκτὶ A 62–63 ὅσα...καιροὺς MW ἀδόξαντα εἶναι συμφέροντα μὴ ὑπερτίθεσθαι καὶ παρακμάζειν A 66 μῆτε A μηδὲ MW 69 paragr. ια' et ιβ' trsp. M 71 μεθ' A μετ' MW 74 δείκνυσιν MA δείκνυσιν W 79 τῶν A om. MW

ought to take into account the proper time for everything. Thus, he should inflict punishment upon malefactors after considering the attitude of the offender, as well as the occasion, the place, and the manner in which he did the deed. What caused him to do it? How serious was the offense? Then, he may proceed to a fitting punishment.⁶

7. That general is truly outstanding who is temperate in his way of life and vigilant. He prefers to deliberate about critical problems at night, for it is more productive to finalize plans during the night when one's soul is free of external disturbances.⁷

8. Spread rumors among the enemy <about one thing>, then do something else. When it comes to essential matters, share what ought to be kept secret not with many but rather with your more intimate circle. It has often proved necessary to deceive the enemy in this way.⁸

9. It is essential to be cautious and to take your time in making plans and, once you have come to a decision, it is even more essential not to put it off to another time because of hesitation or timidity. Timidity, after all, not only is not a safe way of acting but also brings about the opposite of the good.⁹

10. Be aware that a healthy mind is not unduly elated by good fortune or overly depressed by ill fortune, and that a valiant spirit is always able to engage safely in critical activities.

11. I believe that it is safer and more advantageous to overcome the enemy by planning and generalship than by physical force and power and the hazards of a face-to-face battle. One engages in the first of his own volition and, on taking the initiative, knows what is to his advantage, whereas the other always results in something harmful.

12. It is not necessary, as experience shows, always to employ the same modes of operation against the enemy, even though they frequently appear to be successful. Because they are used constantly, the enemy will adapt to them and devise contrary measures and, in return for such attacks against them, they will often bring misfortune upon us.

13. When it comes to rumors of impending evil or traps or treachery, it is not right to postpone or defer action—but it is wrong to pay no heed to such rumors, whether they relate to the enemy or to our own forces. Instead, you

6. Onasander 1.4.

7. *Strat.* 8.1.4.

8. *Strat.* 8.1.9.

9. For §§10–12 see *Strat.* 8.1.5–7.

γέ, μεθοδεύειν καὶ καταπαύειν αὐτὰ πρὶν εἰς ἔργον ἔλθωσιν, ὅτε τάχα οὐδὲ ἀναστέλλειν ταῦτα δύνασαι.

ιδ'. Ποιήσει θάρσος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἀγγελία ἐρχομένη ὅτι ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τοὺς πολεμίους νενικήκαμεν. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ τὰ δειλὰ φρονήματα διαναστήσονται, καὶ τὰ ἀνδρεῖα μᾶλλον θαρσήσουσιν, ἀγαθὸν σύμβολον τὸ τῆς νίκης ὄνομα καὶ τὴν πράξιν ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ δεξάμενοι.

ιε'. Ἀπατήσεις μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐὰν διὰ προσφύγων ἀπὸ σου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐναντία φημίσης ὣν σὺ βουλευῇ ποιῆσαι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· ἢ γὰρ ἀπιστήσαντες ἀμελήσουσιν ἢ πιστεύσαντες ἀστοχήσουσιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σὰ βουλεύματα τελεσθήσονται, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων ἄπρακτα ἀποβήσονται.

ις'. Τὸ κρύπτειν τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα ἀτυχήματα ὅσα συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν πλήθει στρατοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἀληθῶν ποιεῖν ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι, στρατήγημά ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος καὶ ἀνιστᾶν φρονήματα στρατιωτῶν καταπίπτοντα δυναμένου.

ιζ'. Ῥώμην ἐντίθησι στρατηγὸς ἡττηθέντι στρατῷ, ἐὰν ποικίλοις τρόποις καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς διὰ τε λόγων καὶ δι' ἔργων μεθοδεύσῃ αὐτούς· τὸ γὰρ κατονεῖ διζεῖν καὶ ἐπικεῖσθαι τῶν ἡττωμένων τῷ πλήθει καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἄγειν σφαλερόν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ λίαν ἐπιβλαβές.

ιη'. Ὅταν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁμαρτήματα γίνωνται, δέον προσποιεῖσθαι σε ἄγνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τέως αὐτὰ παρορᾶν. | μετὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ πολέμου λύσεως τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν στάσεων ὅσον συγγινώσκῃς τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεξέρχου.

ιθ'. Συγκαλύπτειν σοι προσήκει τὰς δειλίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μὴ προχειρῶς ἐλέγχειν, ἵνα μὴ καταπίπτῃ τὰ φρονήματα αὐτῶν παντελῶς καὶ ταπεινότεροι ἐαυτῶν ἀποδειχθῶσιν.

κ'. Κατασκευάσεις ἀθυμίαν τοῖς πολεμίους ὅταν ἐν καιρῷ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ποιῆσαι δυνήθῃς τὴν ταφὴν ἀφανῶς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σου στρατοῦ πεσόντων, τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν πεσόντων πολεμίων ἐάσης.

83–86 *Strat.*, 8.1.12; *Onas.* 23.1. 87–90 *Strat.*, 8.1.11; cf. *Polyaen.* 2.1.3. 91–94 *Strat.*, 8.1.13. 95–98 *Strat.*, 8.1.14. 99–102 *Strat.*, 8.1.15. 103–105 *Strat.*, 8.1.16. 106–108 *Strat.*, 8.1.16.

86 σύμβολον MW ἔργον A 93 ἔμφρονος MW συνετοῦ A 97 τῶν...πλήθει MW trsp. A | τούτων MW τοῦτο A 100 παρορᾶν MW παραβλέπειν A 101 τῆς MW τῆς συμπληρώσεως A | λύσεως MW om. A | στάσεων MW πταισμάτων A 101–102 ἀν...δίκαιον MW trsp. A 101 ὅσον Du ὡς ἂν MW καθὼς ἂν A 102 ὑπεξέρχου MW ἐπεξέρχου A 103–104 προχειρῶς MW προφανῶς A 104 καταπίπτῃ MW καταπίπτωσι A

must take steps to deal with them, O general, and put a stop to them before they become realities, when you may not be able to hold them in check.¹⁰

14. During combat, spreading the report that we have defeated the enemy in some other place will arouse courage in the soldiers. They will dispel cowardly thoughts and will stir up manly ones, taking the very word, victory, as a good omen, and expecting to receive the reality from God.¹¹

15. You will successfully deceive the enemy if you make use of defectors from you to them, for they can report just the opposite of what you are planning to do against the enemy. Either they will not believe it and become careless or they will believe it and take the wrong action. Your intentions, therefore, will be accomplished, whereas theirs will end up achieving nothing.¹²

16. While reverses are quite likely to occur, an intelligent man employs the stratagem of keeping reports of them secret from the multitude of the army and causes reports stating the opposite of the truth to be circulated. Thus, he is able to raise the low morale of the soldiers.¹³

17. The general instills strength in a defeated army by handling them in various ways and with good hopes both in words and in deeds. To reproach and threaten the multitude of the defeated will cause them to fall further into despair, and strikes me as dangerous and extremely harmful.

18. When offenses are committed by the soldiers in time of combat, you must pretend ignorance of them and overlook them for the time being. But after the conclusion of the battle, subject to justice those whom you know to be guilty of sedition.

19. It behooves you to keep quiet about the cowardice of our soldiers and not condemn them publicly so they may not become utterly dejected and their morale sink even lower.¹⁴

20. You will contribute to poor morale among the enemy if, in the period after battle, you are able to provide burial secretly for the fallen in your own army, but leave the bodies of the fallen enemy <without burial>.¹⁵

10. *Strat.* 8.1.10.

11. *Strat.* 8.1.12; *Onasander* 23.1.

12. *Strat.* 8.1.11; cf. *Polyaenus* 2.1.3.

13. For §§16–18 see *Strat.* 8.1.13–15.

14. *Strat.* 8.1.18.

15. *Strat.* 8.1.16.

κα'. Ακινδύνως φεύξη, εἴ ποτε καιρός σοι τοιοῦτος γένηται τοὺς πολεμίους
 110 λαθεῖν, ἐὰν πυρὰ πολλὰ ἀλλαχοῦ ἀνακαύσης καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ ἡσυχάσης. οἱ
 γὰρ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ τὰ πυρὰ χωρήσαντες ἀπατηθήσονται, καὶ σὺ τὸ πρακτέον
 διανύσεις, καθὼς σοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὑπεθέμεθα.

κβ'. Ἵνα δὲ διχόνοϊαν καὶ ὑπόνοϊαν κατασκευάσης κατὰ τῶν ἐπισήμων
 ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὅταν κατατρέχης τὴν πολεμίαν σου χώραν, τὰ ἐκεῖ
 115 ὧν χωρία μὴ ἐμπύριζε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα σημεῖα φιλίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ διὰ
 γραμμάτων ἢ δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου καταλίμπανε. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ ἐὰν διὰ
 τῶν κρατουμένων παρὰ σου αἰχμαλώτων κρυφαίως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύσης δηλο-
 ποιεῖν περὶ τινῶν ἀπορρήτων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλάκις τὰ τοιαῦτα γεγονότα φανε-
 ρὰν ἀπάτην δοκεῖ τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ δόλον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὖν εἰς ὑποψίαν καὶ
 120 διχόνοϊαν τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων πάντως ἐμπέσωσιν.

κγ'. Τρόπον εὐπειθείας ὑποδείξω σοι ὥστε τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις διὰ βελῶν
 τῶν ἀπὸ τόξου πεμπομένων ἐπιστολὰς ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ
 ἀπάθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ποιήσεις δηλοποιῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ δι'
 αἰχμαλώτων ἀφέσεως.

125 κδ'. Οὔτε ταῖς φιланθρωπίαις τῶν πολέμων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι σε δέον οὔτε ἐὰν
 ποτε προσποιοῦνται ἀναχώρησιν· δολερὰ γὰρ αἰεὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰ βουλευμάτα,
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον συμφέρον ὁ ἐναντίος τὰ πάντα ἐπινοεῖ, ὥστε τὸ ἐκείνου
 συμφέρον ἀσύμφορόν σοι ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀπάτης ἐμπούησαι
 σοι βλάβην.

130 κε'. Ὑφορᾶσθαι σε προσήκει τὰς διώξεις τὰς ἀγούσας εἰς χωρία ἐπιτήδεια
 πρὸς ἐγκρύμματα. διὸ καὶ τὸ ἀναχωρεῖν εὐκαίρως τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ πάλιν
 σφοδροτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπέλευσιν κατὰ τῶν πολέμων μάλιστά ἐστι στρα-
 τηγικόν.

κς'. Ὑπόνοια δειλίας ἐστὶν ὄκνος καὶ ὠχρίασις. ὅταν οὖν τοιούτους ἴδῃς
 135 τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, χώριζε αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀναγκαίας

122 ad πεμπομένων des. W

109–112 *Strat.*, 8.1.27; Onas. 10.12; cf. 1α'.118. 113–120 *Strat.*, 8.1.20. 121–124 *Strat.*,
 8.1.21. 125–129 *Strat.*, 8.1.23. 130–133 *Strat.*, 8.1.22. 134–137 *Strat.*, 8.1.24.

109 φεύξη MW φύγης A 110 πυρὰ πολλὰ MW πυρκαϊὰς πολλὰς A 111 τὰ πυρὰ MW
 τὰς πυρκαϊὰς A 112 διανύσεις MW τελειώσεις A 114 κατατρέχης MW κατατρέχης καὶ
 πραιδεύεις A 114–115 ἐκείνων MW ἐκείνων καὶ μεγάλων A 115 ἐμπύριζε MW κατακαίει
 A 119 δοκεῖ... γίνεσθαι MW καὶ δόλον γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις A 120 ἐμπέσωσιν A
 ἐμπέσωσι MW 134 οὖν M οὖν τινὰς A 135 τινὰς M om. A | τῆς! A om. M

21. Whenever the time is right for you to elude the enemy, you may escape
 without danger by setting many fires in one place and by lying low in another
 place. The enemy will be deceived and head toward the fires and so, as we
 explained to you elsewhere, you will attain your objective.¹⁶

22. You may sow dissension and suspicion against the distinguished men
 among the enemy. When you conduct raids in enemy territory, do not burn the
 estates of those men; instead, leave behind some sign of friendship with them,
 either in writing or in some other way. You will obtain the same results if you
 secretly make use of captives held by you to make known certain secret matters
 to those men. For if this sort of thing happens frequently, the enemy will look
 upon it as obvious deception and trickery, with the result that they will certainly
 fall into dissension and become suspicious of those men.¹⁷

23. I will show you a way of convincing <them>. Send letters to the people
 under siege, by arrows shot from bows, promising them freedom and immunity.
 You can also convey the same messages to them by releasing captives.¹⁸

24. You ought not to be deceived by humane acts of the enemy, not even
 when they pretend to retreat. The intentions of the enemy are always treacher-
 ous. Your adversary devises everything for his own benefit. What benefits him
 does not benefit you, and by contrary deceit he will cause you harm.¹⁹

25. You ought to be cautious about pursuits leading to locations suitable for
 ambushes. It is a particular characteristic of a good general to turn back at the
 right moment so he can come back and attack the enemy more effectively.²⁰

26. Hesitation and a pale countenance are indications of cowardice. When-
 ever you see soldiers like this, even before interrogation, remove them from the

16. *Strat.* 8.1.27; Onasander 10.12; cf. Const. 11 §21.

17. *Strat.* 8.1.20.

18. *Strat.* 8.1.21.

19. *Strat.* 8.1.23.

20. *Strat.* 8.1.22.

ἐγχειρήσεως τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ δεόντως αὐτοῖς ἐπίτρεπε τὰ ἀρμόζοντα | πρᾶτ
τειν τῷ τοιούτῳ καιρῷ.

κζ'. Ἰσθὶ λίαν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τάχα φιλίας ἔνθα ἂν ὑπάρχῃς πλησίον
πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύων περιβάλλειν φοσσάτον δι' ὀρύγματος ἢ κτίσματος
140 λίθου ἢ πλίνθου ἢ χάρακα διὰ ξύλων καὶ οὕτως περίξ ὀχυροποιῆσαι τὸν στρα-
τόν. ἂν γάρ τι συμβῇ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ λέγῃς ὅτι "τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπενόουν," οὐκ
ἔστι στρατηγικόν.

κη'. Ὅταν, Θεοῦ διδόντος, πόλις παρά σου τῶν πολεμίων ἀλίσκεται, ἀνοίγε-
σθαι συγχῶρει τὰς πύλας ὥστε φεύγειν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν εἰς ἀπό-
145 γνωσιν. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ φοσσάτου ἀλικομένου τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρά σου ποιήσεις·
ἀναγκαῖα γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀλικομένων κατα-
κράτησιν.

κθ'. Ὑπόρασιν προδοσίας καὶ ὑπόνοιαν δώσεις τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τῶν
προσφευγόντων ἀπὸ σου πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἢ ἀπιστεῖν ἢ ἀποκτείνειν,
150 ἂν γράμματα πέμπῃς καὶ ὡς δῆθεν ἐκπεσόντα ἀπὸ τῶν διακομιζόντων τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἐγχειρισθῶσιν· ἐν οἷς ὡς ἐν τάξει ὑπομνήσκεις τοῖς προσφύγοις
καιροῦ προδοσίας συντεθειμένου καὶ πραγμάτων τινῶν πιθανῶν. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ
ἢ κατασχεθῇσονται οἱ προσφυγόντες ἢ ἀπιστηθήσονται, καὶ φοβηθέντες πάλιν
ὑποστρέψουσι πρὸς τὰ ἴδια.

155 λ'. Καὶ ἐτέρως δὲ τὴν τῶν δειλῶν διάκρισιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καὶ αἰφνιδίοις
ἐγχειρήμασι ποιήσεις, ἂν τοὺς ἀρρώστους ἢ τοὺς κεκτημένους ἵππους ἀδυνά-
τους προστάξεις χωρίζεσθαι ἰδίως. οἱ γὰρ δειλοὶ ἢ ἀρρωστῖαν προσποιούμενοι ἢ
τῶν ἵππων ἀσθένειαν, εὐθέως χωρισθήσονται τῶν ἀναγκαίων τοῦ πολέμου
ἐγχειρήσεων. τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ἢ εἰς παραφυλακὴν κάστρου, ὡς ἂν ἄνω που
160 εἴρηται ἡμῖν, ἢ εἰς ἄλλων ὀχυρωμάτων ἢ εἰς ἐτέρας ἀκινδύνους χρεῖας διατάξας
ἐκπέμψεις, ἵνα μὴ τῇ δειλίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους μολύνωσιν. εἰ δέ, τῆς παρατάξε-
ως ἰσταμένης πρὸς μάχην παρατά, κηρύξεις· "ὁ βουλόμενος πρωτοστάτης
ὑποχωρεῖτω καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀντ' ἐκείνου εἰσίστω," οὐ μόνον τοὺς δειλοὺς τότε

138–142 *Strat.*, 8.1.26; cf. Polyæn. 3.9.17; Polyb. *Hist.*, 10.32.11–12; et al. 143–147 *Strat.*,
8.1.25. 148–154 *Strat.*, 8.1.28. 155–166 *Strat.*, 8.1.29.

140 περίξ M κύκλω A 143 ἀλίσκεται M κρατηθῇ A 144 χωρεῖν M om. A
144–145 ἀπόγνωσιν M ἀπόγνωσιν ὀρμᾶν A 145 καὶ... ποιήσεις M ποιήσεις καὶ φοσσάτου
τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρατουμένου A 146–147 τῶν... κατακράτησιν M trsp. A 148 ὑπόρασιν M
ὑποψίας A 149 ἀποκτείνειν M φονεύειν A 150 ἀπὸ A om. M 150–151 τοῖς πολεμίοις
M εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπέσωσιν τῶν πολεμίων A 151 ὑπομνήσκεις... προσφύγοις M
ὑπομνήσκεις τοὺς πρόσφυγας A 156 κεκτημένους M ἔχοντας A 160 εἴρηται ἡμῖν M trsp.
A

essential tasks of combat and assign them to engage in more suitable chores at
that time.²¹

27. Be aware that, even during a period of friendship, security is paramount.
If you happen to be encamping in the vicinity of the enemy, construct a fortifi-
cation of earth or one built with stones or brick or a wooden palisade. In this
way, make the army secure all around. For, if the enemy attempts something,
you may <find yourself> saying: "I did not expect that." But that is not the mark
of a general.²²

28. When, with God's favor, an enemy city is taken by you, allow the gates to
be left open so that most of the people can escape and not be driven to despera-
tion. Be sure to do the same when you take a fortified camp of the enemy. In
occupying captured places this is essential and less dangerous.²³

29. You will furnish the enemy with cause to suspect betrayal and to distrust
deserters from you to them so they will either not believe them or will kill them,
if you send letters by such conveyance that they will fall into the enemy's hands.
In those letters you will, as though it is all set, remind the defectors of the
prearranged time for the betrayal and of some other plausible matters. As a
result, either the defectors will be caught or they will not be believed. They will
be frightened and return to their own people.²⁴

30. When it comes to critical and surprise operations, you will, in another
way, form a judgment about cowards. Give an order that the sick or those whose
horses are too weak are to go off separately. The cowards will then pretend to be
sick or claim that their horses are weak. You can then easily keep them away
from the essential operations of combat. Send such men off to garrison a
fortified town, as we have suggested some time earlier, or some other fortifica-
tion or you can assign them to other less hazardous duties. In this way, the brave
soldiers will not be contaminated by their cowardice. Just before combat, as the
battle line is forming, if you proclaim: "Any man who wishes may withdraw
from the front ranks," and, "Anyone who wishes may move up in his place," not

21. *Strat.* 8.1.24.

22. *Strat.* 8.1.26; cf. Polyænus 3.9.17; Polybius, *Histories* 10.32.11–12; et al.

23. *Strat.* 8.1.25.

24. For §§29–31 see *Strat.* 8.1.28–30.

νοήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους ἀναμάθης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δειλοὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν
 165 προδώσουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρεῖοι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ
 συγκινδυνεύειν αἰρήσονται.

λα'. Ἀκμὴν καιροῦ ἐπιτηρεῖν σε δέον μὴ παρούσης ἀνάγκης, καὶ οὕτως
 ἐκστρατεύειν κατὰ τῶν πολέμων, ἵνα καὶ σὺ περὶ τὴν δαπάνην μὴ στενοῦσαι,
 καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πλέον λυποῦνται τῶν καμάτων αὐτῶν ληϊζομένων.

170 λβ'. Ἰκανὴν σε χρὴ φυλακὴν περιποιεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν πολέμων σου
 νίκην καὶ μὴ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἐπελεύσεις τῶν
 ἡττηθέντων. οὐ γὰρ ἡρεμεῖ τὸ | ἀντίπαλον αἰεὶ, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἤτταν πολλὰ
 κίς ἀναμαχήσασθαι προθυμότερον γίνεται.

λγ'. Τῶν ἐναντίων τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑβρίζειν οὐ δίκαιον, οὐδ' ἂν πολὺ προ-
 175 ἔχωμεν τῇ δυνάμει. φιλίας γὰρ τρόπῳ παραγίνονται, καὶ λόγῳ ἀτρέπτῳ ὑπὸ τὰς
 χεῖρας ἑαυτοὺς τὰς σὰς καταπιστεύουσιν, εἰ καὶ παρὰ πολέμων ἀποστέλλονται.
 τὰ οὖν ὅσα ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ καὶ πρέποντα παραφυλακτέον. εἰ μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο φυλά-
 τηται, ἀπιστοῦντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκάστου ἔθνους τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν οὐδέποτε
 πρεσβεύουσιν καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἔθνεσι γινομέ-
 180 νων ἐκάστοις ἀποστέρησις ἔσεται.

λδ'. Ὅταν πολλῇ δυνάμει πόλιν ἢ φρούριον πολιορκῆς, οὐ δεῖ σε ποιεῖν
 ἀφύλακτον τὴν στρατοπέδειαν, οὐδὲ μόνῳ τῷ χάρακι ἢ ταῖς φόσσαις ἀρκεῖσθαι
 εἰς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίγλας ἔχειν ἀσφαλεῖς, καὶ παρὰ τὰς πόρτας τῆς
 πόλεως στρατὸν ἐγκαθίζειν διὰ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν πορτῶν καταδρομάς.
 185 μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξωθέν ποθεν ὑφορωμένας προσβολάς.

λε'. Ὑποπεύονται τινες προδοταὶ καὶ παρὰ σοι πολλάκις ὄντες, ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν τοιούτων ὠφέλειαν σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ, τὰ ἐναντία ὧν βουλεύῃ λέγε πρὸς
 αὐτούς, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν ἐξαπατωμένων τῶν πολέμων εὐχερέστερον κατορθοῦν-
 ται τὰ σὰ βουλευμάτα.

172 ad ἡρεμεῖ de novo inc. W | fol. 363 et 364 trsp. M

167–169 *Strat.*, 8.1.30. 170–173 *Strat.*, 8.1.32. 174–180 *Strat.*, 8.1.33. 181–185 *Strat.*,
 8.1.34. 186–189 *Strat.*, 8.1.35.

165 τοῦ! Du τὸ codd. 169 ληϊζομένων M ἀφανιζομένων A 170 περιποιεῖσθαι M
 ποιεῖσθαι A 172 ἀντίπαλον MW πολέμιον A 174 ὑβρίζειν...δίκαιον MW trsp. A
 177 οὖν ὅσα MW trsp. A | ἐπὶ...πρέποντα MW trsp. A 180 ἔσεται MW ἔσται A
 182 μόνῳ...φόσσαις MW μόνοις τοῖς σταβάροις ἢ τοῖς ὀρύγμασιν A 185 ποθεν MW οἴ.
 A 186 καὶ!...πολλάκις MW πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ σοι A 188 εὐχερέστερον MW
 εὐκολότερον A

only will you then see who are the cowards but you will also find out who are
 the brave men. For the cowardly will surrender the first place in order to avoid
 danger, whereas the brave will choose to be in the forefront and to face danger.

31. When there is no urgency, you ought to observe the most convenient
 time to go on campaign against the enemy to avoid running short of provisions.
 And the enemy will suffer more damage as their possessions are plundered.

32. You must take sufficient measures to protect yourself, even after a victory
 over the enemy, and do not become careless. Be on your guard against surprise
 attacks by the defeated army. Your adversary is not always without resources but
 often enough he becomes more eager to make good his own defeat.²⁵

33. It is wrong to be disrespectful to envoys from our adversary, even when
 our forces are much stronger. They come in the guise of friendship and with
 unwavering assurance entrust themselves to your hands, even though they have
 been sent by the enemy. What is sacred and proper must be observed in each
 case. Unless this is observed, the envoys of each nation will not be assured of
 their own safety and will never come as ambassadors, and each nation will be
 deprived of the many good results brought about by embassies.

34. Whenever you besiege a city or a fortified place with a strong force, you
 must not leave your encampment unguarded. Do not rely on a palisade only or
 a ditch to protect it, but also arrange for secure patrols and have some troops
 take up positions at the gates of the city to guard against any sallies from within,
 especially against any suspected attacks from outside forces.

35. Be suspicious of traitors who may frequently be in your company. In
 order to make use of them to acquire some advantage for yourself, tell them the
 opposite of what you intend to do so that, by means of them, the enemy will be
 more easily deceived and you will have achieved what you intended.

25. For §§32–35 see *Strat.* 8.1.32–35.

190 λς'. Ἄνευ ὠφελείας ἢ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τινὶ πράγματι οὐ δέον παρακινδυνεύειν. οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοις ἐπιχειροῦντες κινδύνους οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀπάτῃ χρυσοῦ δελεαζομένων, καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν εὐχροίαν μόνον ὁρᾶν τὴν κτήσιν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἀγωνιζομένων.

195 λζ'. Γίνου πάντοτε νήφων καὶ ἐργηγορῶς πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἀντικαταστάσεις, ὥστε μὴδὲ τὸν τῆς ἀνοχῆς τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν ποιεῖσθαι ἀμελείαν, καιρὸν, μὴδὲ πρὸ καιροῦ εἰρήνης βεβαίας γενομένης καταμελήσης, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλὰς φυλάττου, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς κατανοεῖ τὸ τούτων ἄπιστον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν ἢ μεταμέλεια οὐδεμίαν τίκτει ὠφέλειαν.

200 λη'. Ἴκανοὶ μὲν ἴσως καὶ οἱ προσφεύγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παρασχεῖν οὐκ πίστιν περὶ τῶν ἐρωτωμένων αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀσφαλέστερον ἀναμάθους τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀθρόως κρατουμένων λεγόμενα, καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἀμφότερα τὰ τε παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λεγόμενα συμφυλῶν διακρίνης, τότε τὸ ἀληθὲς μᾶλλον γνώσῃ περὶ ὧν ἐπιζητεῖς.

205 λθ'. Οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οὐδὲ οἰαδήποτε προφάσει τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὅρκον παραβῆσθαι ποτέ. μέγα γὰρ κακὸν ἐπιπορκίας ἔγκλημα. ἐν οἷς γὰρ Θεὸς μεσιτεύει, βέβαια χρὴ μένειν | τὰ συντιθέμενα. αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ μάλιστα Χριστιανοῖς, τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων τὰς οἰκείας πίστεις τηρούντων, τοῦτοιοῦ ἀπίστους περὶ τὰ συμφωνούμενα ὑπὸ Θεῷ μεσίτῃ ἐλέγχεσθαι.

210 μ'. Ὑπὸ χάρακός ποτε ἢ φοσσάτου περιφρουρούμενος, ὅτε καλέσει καιρὸς, μὴ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μόνον ὀχυρώματι τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας καταπίστευε, ὡς ἐτοίμῳ ὄντι πρὸς παράληψιν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Θεὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχε τὴν πεποιθήσιν, καὶ μὴ τούτων ἀμέλει διὰ τὴν ἄλλην φρουράν, εἶγε Ῥωμαῖος ὑπάρχεις ἀληθῆς. πρώτη γὰρ σωτηρία καὶ τελευταία τῷ ἀληθινῷ στρατιώτῃ ἢ τῶν ὅπλων ἐστὶν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ μεταχείρισις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς χυδαίοις τῶν ὀχλῶν

36. Unless there is some advantage or urgency in taking some action, you must not place yourself at risk. Those who undertake such dangers do not differ from men who are caught when gold is used as bait; looking only at the beautiful color, they struggle to gain possession of it.²⁶

37. Always be vigilant and alert against confrontations with the enemy. Do not let a period when hostilities have ceased lull you into a period of carelessness. Do not become negligent before the conclusion of a firm peace. Always be on guard against the machinations of the enemy. Be careful and watch out for their unfaithfulness. After you have been injured, regret is not of much help.²⁷

38. Perhaps you are able to place some trust in the answers given to your questions by defectors from the enemy, but it is much safer to obtain such information from prisoners taken in raids. Form your judgment after you have checked both reports, that from the defectors and that from the prisoners. In this way you will learn the truth of what you are seeking.²⁸

39. By no means and on no pretext whatever should you ever break a sworn agreement with the enemy. The crime of breaking an oath is a great evil. Inasmuch as God has been invoked, it is essential that what has been agreed on should remain firm. When other nations keep their own promises, it would be shameful for the Romans, especially for Christians, to be accused of being unfaithful to what they have agreed to with God as their witness.

40. When you are protected round about by a palisade or fortification, as the occasion may require, do not entrust your hopes of safety to such a fortification alone, for it may readily be taken. But, after God, place your confidence in your weapons. Just because you have that other protection, do not neglect these, if indeed you are a true Roman. For the genuine soldier safety is found first and last in the care and handling of his weapons, even though ordinary people attribute it to other things. Instead of a wall, the ancient Romans are said to have

190–193 *Strat.*, 8.1.40. 194–198 *Strat.*, 8.1.32. 199–203 *Strat.*, 8.1.36. 204–208 *Strat.*, 8.1.37. 209–216 *Strat.*, 8.1.38.

190 δέον MW χρὴ A 192 ἀπάτῃ MW ὄψει A 194 ἐργηγορῶς MW ἐργηγορῶν A 195–196 ποιεῖσθαι...καιρὸν MW ἐν ἀμελείᾳ διάγειν A 198 ἢ...ὠφέλειαν MW οὐδεμίαν τίκτει ὠφέλειαν ἢ μεταμέλεια A 199 πολεμίων MW πολεμίων πίστιν A 200 πίστιν MW om. A | ἀναμάθους τὰ MW μάθη ἐξετάζων τὰ λεγόμενα A 201 ἀθρόως MW καὶ αἰφνιδίως A | λεγόμενα...ὅταν MW ὅταν δὲ A 202 αὐτομόλων MW προφύγων A 203 διακρίνης MW συγκρίνης A | μᾶλλον MW om. A 206 συντιθέμενα MW συμφωνούμενα A 206–207 Ῥωμαῖοις...μάλιστα MW om. A 208 μεσίτῃ MW μάρτυρι A 209 χάρακός...φοσσάτου MW σταβάρων ποτέ ἢ σοῦδας A 210–211 ὡς...παράληψιν MW εὐκόλως γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων χειροῦται ἀπαιτεῖ A

26. *Strat.* 8.1.40.

27. *Strat.* 8.1.32.

28. For §§38–41 see *Strat.* 8.1.36–39.

215 ἐπινοεῖται πολλάκις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀντὶ τειχῶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ φόσσαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα χρηματίζειν λέγεται. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ποτὲ στρατιώτῃ ἐρωτώμενῳ· “ποῦ οἱ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν ὅροι;” λέγεται εἰπεῖν· “ᾧδε,” δείξας τὸ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ κατεχόμενον δόρυ.

μα'. Παρακελεύου τοῖνυν τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὕτως εἶναι παρεσκευασμένους.
220 αἰεὶ ὥς καὶ ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ ἐν ὄμβρῳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὅταν ἡ χρεῖα καλέσῃ, μέλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐξιέναι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον καιρὸν οὐδ' ἡμέραν αὐτοὺς δεῖ προλέγειν ὠρισμένην, διὰ τὸ ἐτοίμους αὐτοὺς εἶναι διὰ παντός.

μβ'. Νίκης σοι παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐν δημοσίᾳ μάχῃ παρεχομένης, ἐὰν συμβῇ τοῖς
225 ἀντιπάλους ἢ ἐν χάρακι ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ὀχυρῷ τόπῳ καταφυγεῖν, μὴ ἐνδώσης αὐτοῖς καιρὸν ἀνέσεως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φόβου νεάζοντος αὐτοῖς ἐπέρχου καὶ ἐπιτίθου, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἐνδόσει ἀσφαλέστεροι γενόμενοι θαρρήσωσι τὴν ἡτταν αὐτῶν ἀναμαχήσασθαι.

μγ'. Ἐάν τινες ἰκέται προσφεύγωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς σε, μὴ ὥς ἔτυχεν
230 τούτους προσδέχου· πολλάκις γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πέμπονται δόλῳ ὥς ἰκέται καὶ τινων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὕτως τοῖς δεξαμένοις ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.

μδ'. Ὑπονοεῖν δεῖ καὶ παραφυλάττειν ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς προσρυσμένους ταῖς
πολιορκουμέναις ἡμῶν πόλεσι παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν τινα βλάβην ὑποστήναι· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμπρησμοὺς ποιοῦσιν, καὶ τῶν ἔσωθεν ἀνθρώπων
235 πῶν περὶ τοὺς ἐμπρησμοὺς ἀσχολουμένων, ἔξωθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἀδεέστερον ἐπιτίθενται.

με'. Μάχης προκειμένης ἐὰν ἄρα δοκιμάζης ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὁ
στρατηγέ, ἐν τῇ ἐκεῖνων χώρα τὴν μάχην ἐπιτηδεύσης. τοῦτο γὰρ μᾶλλον ἀρμόδιον ἢ περ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ μαχομένων καὶ τὰ φρονή-
240 ματα μείζονα γίνονται, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἔστι ὥς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔθνους μόνου· πρόκειται αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας. καὶ γὰρ

originally made use of a ditch and their arms to <protect> Rome. When a Lacedaemonian soldier was asked: “Where are the borders of your land?” he is said to have replied: “Here.” And he showed the spear he was holding in his hand.²⁹

41. Give orders to the soldiers that they should at all times be prepared to march out against the enemy: on a holiday, in the rain, by day or by night, and whenever it is necessary. For this reason on such occasions you must not tell them the scheduled day beforehand, so they may always be prepared.

42. When God has granted you victory in open battle and your adversaries manage to find refuge within a palisade or some other fortified place, do not allow them a moment of relaxation, but while their fear is still fresh, move up and fall upon them. If you allow them <to relax> they might feel more secure and gain enough confidence to reverse their defeat.³⁰

43. If some suppliants from the enemy seek refuge with you, do not receive them casually. Often enough they are sent by the enemy deceptively as suppliants and begging certain favors. In this way, they conspire against their hosts.³¹

44. You ought to be suspicious and very much on your guard against deserters approaching one of our cities under enemy siege, so you will sustain no damage from them. Frequently they set fires and, when the men on the inside are busy extinguishing them, the enemy more readily attack from the outside.³²

45. When battle is imminent, if you believe, O general, that you are prepared to face the enemy in combat, get set to do the fighting in their country. This is more advantageous than in your own. Men waging war in a foreign land become more aggressive. The struggle of war no longer lies before them as though it were only on behalf of their nation but also of their own safety. They are aware

216–218 Plut. *Mor.*, 3; *Apophtegm. Lac.*, 210E; 219–223 *Strat.*, 8.1.39. 224–228 *Strat.*, 8.1.43. 229–231 *Strat.*, 8.1.41. 232–236 *Strat.*, 8.1.42. 237–247 *Strat.*, 8.1.44.

215 ἐπινοεῖται πολλάκις MW trsp. A 215–216 τῇ...λακεδαιμονίῳ MW ὀρύγματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπάρχειν A 219 παρεσκευασμένους MW παρασκευασμένους καὶ ἐτοίμους A 221 μέλλειν MW om. A | αὐτοὺς De αὐτὸν MW om. A 222 οὐδ' A οὐδέ MW 225 ἀντιπάλους...χάρακι MW ἐναντίους ἢ ἐν φοσάτῳ σταβαρωμένῳ A 226 ἀνέσεως MW μηδὲ ἄνεσιν A | αὐτοῖς MW καὶ ἐγκειμένου αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ A 229 ἔτυχεν A ἔτυχεν MW 232 προσρυσμένους MW προσφεύγοντας A 233 πόλεσι A πόλεσιν MW 235 ἀδεέστερον MW ἀδεῶς A 237 ἀξιόμαχος...ἐχθρῶν MW ἀπαντὰν τοὺς ἐχθρούς A

29. Plutarch, *Moralia* 3, *Sayings of the Spartans*, 210E.

30. *Strat.* 8.1.43.

31. *Strat.* 8.1.41.

32. *Strat.* 8.1.42.

οἶδασιν ὥς, ἐὰν μὴ στερρῶς ἀντικαταστάντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ
 τραπῶσιν, ἀνέλπιτος αὐτοῖς ἡ σωτηρία γίνεται, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γῇ πολεμοῦν
 τῶν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγόντες ἐλπίζουσιν ἀκινδύ-
 245 νως σωθῆναι καὶ ὀχυρωμάτων ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἐν οἷς σωθήσονται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 γενναίως ἀντιστῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις οἱ στρατιῶται, μὴ συγχωροῦμενοι εἰς φυγὴν
 ἀκίνδυνον συνωθοῦνται ἐλθεῖν.

μς'. Αἰεὶ τι πραττέτωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, ὅταν μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνοχλῇ, καὶ μὴ
 ἀργεῖτωσαν· ἡ γὰρ ἀργία στρατιώταις συντρεφομένη ταραχῆς ὑπάρχει γεννη-
 250 τική.

μζ'. Τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον διὰ παντὸς χρεὼν ἐστίν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο
 θεραπεύσεις, ὃ στρατηγέ, τῶν πολεμικῶν κινδύνων ἀπάρχεσθαι μέλλων. ἐὰν
 γὰρ γνησίως τότε τὸν Θεὸν θεραπεύσης, τάχα θαρρήσεις ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὥς
 πρὸς φίλον σοι τοῦτον τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν μετὰ παρρησίας
 255 ἐπιζητεῖν.

μη'. Ὁ συναγρυπνῶν τῷ στρατεύματι στρατηγὸς καὶ πλεον πονῶν ἐν τῇ
 γυμνάζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἥττονα κινδυνεύσει κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

μθ'. Στρατιώτας ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνους οὐ δέον, ὧν μὴ πρότερον
 εἴληφας τὴν πείραν ἱκανὴν ἐπὶ ἀνδρείαν τυγχάνουσιν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ σε γινώσκειν ἐ-
 260 δυνάτον ἕκαστον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ποίῳ πράγματι καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τάγματι ἐστὶν
 ἀρμόδιος, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς διατάττειν.

ν'. Ταῦτα μόνον καλῶς βουλευσόμεθα κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὅσα πρὶν ἢ πράξαι
 μὲν ἠγνόησαν ἐκεῖνοι. ἐὰν δὲ τούτων τὴν γνῶσιν λάβωσιν, ταχέως κατὰ τῶν
 βουλευμάτων ἡμῶν μεθοδεύουσιν.

265 να'. Ἡ δόλοισι ἢ ἐπιδρομαῖσι ἢ λιμῷ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτειν καλὸν ἐστίν, καὶ
 λυπεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μακρὸν διὰ συχνοτέρων ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεων. οὐχὶ
 δὲ πάντως ἐπὶ δημόσιον ἐγκαλεῖσθαι πόλεμον, ἔνθα πολλάκις τὸ πλεον ὀρώμεν
 τῆς τύχης προτέρημα ἢ τῆς ἐπιδεικνυμένης ἀνδρείας.

242 ad αντι- des. W

248–250 *Strat.*, 8.2.15; Polyæn. 3.9.35. 251–255 *Strat.*, 8.2.1; Onas. 5.1. 256–257 *Strat.*,
 8.2.2. 258–261 *Strat.*, 8.2.3. 262–264 *Strat.*, 8.2.5. 265–268 *Strat.*, 8.2.4.

249–250 στρατιώταις... γεννητική M ταραχῆς ὑπάρχει γεννητική στρατιώταις συντρεφομένη
 A 251 χρεὼν A χρεός M 252 θεραπεύσεις M θεραπεύεις A 257 ἥττονα M ὀλίγα A
 258 τὴν A om. M 259 εἴληφας M ἔλαβε A 266 ἐπαγωγῶν M ἐπιθέσεων A

that, unless they put up a stiff resistance, they will turn to flight in a foreign land
 and will have no hope of saving themselves. When waging war in their own
 land, though, this is not critical. If they turn to flight, they still hope to avoid
 danger and be saved by reaching some fortified place in which they will be
 secure. The soldiers bravely stand up to the foe and, without yielding, they rush
 into a flight without risk.³³

46. Whenever war does not intrude let the soldiers always be doing some-
 thing. Let them not be idle. Idleness nurtured among soldiers gives birth to
 confusion.³⁴

47. It is necessary to worship the Divinity at all times. Especially, O general,
 should you offer worship when you plan to enter upon the dangers of war. If, at
 that time, you genuinely worship God, then, when the time is full of terror, you
 will be confident that you can offer your prayers to him as to a friend and you
 can seek your salvation with utter confidence.³⁵

48. The general who remains vigilant together with his army, and who works
 harder in drilling his troops, runs fewer risks <in fighting> the enemy.³⁶

49. You must not lead into battle those soldiers of whose courage you have
 not previously had sufficient experience. You must know what duty each one of
 the soldiers can perform and what unit he best fits into, and you should so
 assign him.³⁷

50. Our plans against the enemy will be successful only if they are unaware
 of them before we put them into action. If they come to know our plans, they
 will quickly take steps to counter them.³⁸

51. It is well to harm the enemy by deceit, by raids, by hunger, and to hurt
 them for a long time by means of very frequent assaults and other actions. You
 should never be enticed into a pitched battle. For the most part, we observe that
 success is a matter of luck rather than of proven courage.³⁹

33. *Strat.* 8.1.44.

34. *Strat.* 8.2.15; Polyænus, 3.9.35.

35. *Strat.* 8.2.1; Onasander 5.1.

36. *Strat.* 8.2.2.

37. *Strat.* 8.2.3.

38. *Strat.* 8.2.5.

39. *Strat.* 8.2.4.

270 νβ'. Στρατιώται πρὸς πόνους γυμναζόμενοι προκόπτουσιν εἰς ἀνδρείαν. ἀργούντες δὲ νωθοὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς μᾶλλον γίνονται. διὸ φροντίσεις μὴ ἀργεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς γυμνασίας πονεῖν, καθὼς σοι καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις διαταξάμεθα.

νγ'. Ἄδολον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι διαζῆν σε παρακελεύομεθα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον στρατηγήμασι μόνοις καὶ δόλος ὠφελήσῃ πολλάκις, ὅταν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους ἐξαπατᾶν μέλλῃς δι' αὐτοῦ.

275 νδ'. Γίνωσκε καὶ σύγκρινε τὰς τε σὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὅπως ἔχουσι. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀνακρίνων κατὰ μέρος τὰς τε τῶν οἰκείων καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἀρετάς, δυσκόλως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις σφαλῆσεται.

νε'. Ἴσθι ἀκριβῶς, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὅτι ἀνδρεία μᾶλλον | καὶ τάξις στρατηγικὴ 161 οἶδασιν ἐν πολέμῳ εὐεργετεῖν ἢ πλῆθος τῶν μαχομένων ἀνανδρον καὶ ἄτακτον.

νς'. Αἱ τῶν τόπων θέσεις πολλάκις μεγάλα τοὺς μαχομένους ὠφέλησαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐνίοτε καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους καλλίονας ἔδειξαν· διὸ χρή σε μάλιστα τοιοῦτοις τόποις ἀρμόζεσθαι πρὸς μάχην, ἐν οἷς ἂν γινώσκῃς τὸν μὲν σὸν στρατὸν προτερῆσαι, τὸν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαττωθῆναι.

285 νζ'. Στρατηγοῦ ἀγχίνοια γενναίους τοὺς στρατιώτας ποιεῖ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ὀλίγους ἀνδρείους ἀπογεννᾷ, ἡ δὲ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ γυμνασία μετὰ στρατηγοῦ φρονήσεως γινομένη πολλοὺς χρησίμους ἀποδεικνύει.

νη'. Καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου. ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικήσασιν ἀνταμυνόμενος οὗτος δίκαιός ἐστιν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν ἔχει δικαιοσύνην 290 βοηθόν τε καὶ σύμμαχον κατὰ τῶν ἀδίκων ἐκστρατευόμενος. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος κατάρξας ἀδικίας παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς θείας δίκης ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν νίκην.

νθ'. Ἀσφαλῶς δίδωκε τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ νίκην, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ μὴ διασπαρμένως ἐπέρχου, μάλιστα συντεταγμένοις ἐκείνοις. ὁ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην τοῖς πολεμίοις προδίδωσι. καὶ γὰρ ἀντιστρέψαντες μετὰ συντάξε- 295 ως οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατὰ σου ἀσυντάκτως καὶ διεσπαρμένως διώκοντος, ῥαδίως σου περιγέγονται καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον ἀντιπνεύσουσι τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν μάχην.

269–271 *Strat.*, 8.2.9; Polyæn. 3.9.35. 272–274 *Strat.*, 8.2.6. 275–278 *Strat.*, 8.2.7. 279–280 *Strat.*, 8.2.8. 281–284 *Strat.*, 8.2.8. 285–287 *Strat.*, 8.2.9. 288–291 *Strat.*, 8.2.12. 292–296 *Strat.*, 8.2.11.

276 ἔχουσι M ἔχουσιν A 286–287 στρατηγοῦ φρονήσεως M trsp. A 289 ἀδικήσασιν ἀνταμυνόμενος M ἀδικήσοντας ἀμυνόμενος A 295 ῥαδίως M εὐκόλως A

52. Soldiers who become habituated to work improve in courage, whereas the idle ones become sluggish and weak. For this reason, you must take care that they are not idle. Make them work at their exercises, as we have prescribed elsewhere.⁴⁰

53. We enjoin upon you to lead a guileless life in every other respect, but with the sole exception of the stratagems of war. Deception is often very advantageous when you intend to use it to trick the foe and the enemy.⁴¹

54. Know and evaluate the condition of your own forces and those of the enemy. The general who does this and who analyzes in detail the strong points of his own men and those of the enemy will not be tripped up by the actions of war.

55. Know for a certainty, O general, that courage and military discipline contribute more to success in war than does an unmanly and undisciplined multitude of warriors.

56. The condition of the terrain has often proved greatly advantageous to the men engaged in combat. There have been times when it enabled the weaker side to become the stronger. For this reason, you must accommodate your battle plans to such terrain in which you know that your army has an advantage and the enemy are at a loss.

57. A shrewd general makes for brave soldiers. Nature produces but few brave men, whereas care and training, as well as the general's intelligence, result in many efficient soldiers.

58. I feel strongly that the initiation of hostilities must be just. A person defending himself against others who are acting unjustly is truly just himself. He has divine justice for support and as an ally in campaigning against the unjust. The person who first begins injustice has his victory taken away by divine justice itself.⁴²

59. After victory, O general, pursue the enemy in a safe manner. Do not advance in a scattered fashion, especially if they have maintained their formation. A man acting in this way surrenders the victory that should be his to the enemy. If, while you are pursuing in a disorderly and scattered manner, the enemy wheels about in good order, they will easily overcome you and, like the wind changing direction, they turn the assault against them to the opposite.⁴³

40. *Strat.* 8.2.9; Polyænus 3.9.35.

41. For §§53–57 see *Strat.* 8.2.6–9.

42. *Strat.* 8.2.12.

43. *Strat.* 8.2.11.

ξ'. Ἰσχύσεις μᾶλλον, ὦ στρατηγέ, κατὰ τῶν σῶν πολεμίων, ὅταν ἀφορᾷς πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ τῶν ἀντιμαχομένων ἐχθρῶν καὶ οὕτως πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου χρεῖαν ταῖς οἰκείαις τέχναις καὶ μεθόδοις συγκέ-

300 χρησαι.

ξα'. Οὐτε συνάγειν ὁμοῦ βουλῆς ἔνεκα τὸ στράτευμα πρέπον ἐστὶν οὔτε συνεχῶς καλεῖν τὸν στρατηγὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀργοῦντας καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀσχολουμένους ἕτερον· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκαίρου μελέτης καὶ στάσεως αἷτια τοῖς στρατεύμασι γίνεται.

305 ξβ'. Μεγάλη σύνεσις στρατηγοῦ, ὅταν χρῆται μὲν συμμάχοις μετρίοις εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλεόν της οἰκείας δυνάμεως, τούτους εἰσάγων μάλιστα, δυσμενεῖς ποτε τοὺς τοιούτους ἔσεσθαι ἐλπίζομένους, μήποτε συμφρονήσαντες, ἀντάρωσι καὶ τῆς χώρας κρατήσωσιν, δι' ἣν εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐκλήθησαν. οἱ γὰρ ἔνεκεν χρημάτων ὑπὲρ σου κινδυνεύειν ἐλόμενοι, τάχα καὶ πλειόνων χρημάτων

310 πορισμοῦ ἔνεκεν καὶ κατὰ σου παρακινδυνεύουσιν.

ξγ'. Ὅταν μὴ τοῖς στρατεύμασι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τροφὰς προευνεπίσης, τότε καὶ πολεμίων χωρὶς ἡττηθήσῃ. ἡ γὰρ σπάνις καὶ ἔνδεια τῆς δαπάνης καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους | ἐκλυθῆναι παρασκευάσει.

ξδ'. Ὅταν τοῖς ἰδίοις καβαλλαρίοις θαρρῆς καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς μετὰ κονταρίων
315 πολεμοῦσιν, τοὺς στενοὺς καὶ ἀνωμάλους τόπους ἔκφυγε, ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ τόπους ὁμαλοὺς καὶ ἴσους· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι τοῖς οὕτω παρατασσομένοις ἀρμόδιοι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα συγκρότει τὸν πόλεμον. εἰ δὲ πεζικαῖς θαρρεῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀνωμάλους καὶ δασεῖς καὶ τραχυτέρους ἐπιλέγου τόπους, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπιτέλει τὴν μάχην.

ξε'. Ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ ἂν τι βουλευσῇ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ
320 τὴν τοιαύτην βουλήν ἀκούσης προεδομένην αὐτοῖς, καθόλου τὰ βεβουλευμένα, εἴτε ἐν παρατάξει εἴτε ἐν ἄλλαις παραγγελίαις ἢ σχήμασιν ἐναλλάσσειν ὀφείλεις.

ξς'. Σὺν πλείοσι μὲν περὶ ὧν μέλλεις πράττειν βουλευού, τί δὲ πράξεις σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ τούτοις πιστοῖς. τὸ δὲ συμφέρον σου ἤγουν τὴν πασῶν καλλίονα
325 βουλήν κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος κάτεχε.

297–300 *Strat.*, 8.2.13. 301–304 *Strat.*, 8.2.14. 305–310 *Strat.*, 8.2.16. 311–313 *Strat.*, 8.2.19. 314–318 *Strat.*, 8.2.20. 319–322 *Strat.*, 8.2.22. 323–325 *Strat.*, 8.2.23.

299 τέχναις... μεθόδοις M trsp. A 299–300 συγκέχρησαι M κέχρησαι A 305 μετρίοις M συμμετρίοις A 307 δυσμενεῖς M ἐχθροὺς A | ἔσεσθαι M γενέσθαι A | συμφρονήσαντες M συμφρονήσαντες καὶ ὁμονήσαντες A 309–310 πλειόνων... ἔνεκεν M πορισμοῦ ἔνεκεν πλειόνων χρημάτων A

60. You will be stronger, O general, against your enemies if you carefully observe the nature of the seasons and the places and the enemy you are fighting. In doing this, you apply your own skill and methodology to deal with each situation.⁴⁴

61. It does not help to assemble the army together in council or for the general constantly to invite into his presence men who are idle and not occupied with anything else. This is evidence of misplaced concern and can cause discord among the troops.⁴⁵

62. The general <must> display great prudence when employing an allied force in his own country; it must be of moderate size, no larger than his own army. In particular, one may expect the forces he brings in to be ill disposed at times, and conspire, rise up, and occupy the country into which they were invited as allies. Such men have chosen to endure dangers on your behalf for the sake of money. For the sake of more money, they will quickly face dangers in fighting against you.⁴⁶

63. When you do not provide your army with necessary supplies and food, then, even without the enemy <attacking>, you have been defeated. Scarcity and lack of food prepares both soldiers and horses to fall apart.⁴⁷

64. When you rely on your own cavalry, especially lancers, steer clear of narrow and uneven locations. Seek out level and even places—for these are more suitable for formations of that sort—and there force the battle. If you rely on infantry, select uneven, wooded, and rugged places and there engage in battle.⁴⁸

65. If you make some plans for yourself and your troops against the enemy and you hear that those plans have been betrayed to them, you absolutely ought to make changes in your battle formation or in other commands or signals.⁴⁹

66. For what you intend to do seek the advice of many, but for what you will actually do take counsel with only a few, trustworthy people. For the most helpful plan, better than all the others, make your decision by yourself and keep it to yourself.

44. *Strat.* 8.2.13.

45. *Strat.* 8.2.14.

46. *Strat.* 8.2.16.

47. *Strat.* 8.2.19.

48. *Strat.* 8.2.20.

49. For §§65–68 see *Strat.* 8.2.22–25.

ξζ'. Ἴνα δέ σοι ἡ ἐκστρατεία ἄλυπος διατηρῇται καὶ ἐρρωμένη, δέον σε ἢ πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῆς χρείας τὸ στράτευμα ἀπάγειν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα μετακομίζειν.

ξη'. Οὐ διὰ σκοπῶν δεῖ μόνον προερευνᾶν τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόν, εἰ
330 δυνατόν, τὸν στρατηγὸν λαθραίως τοῖς οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς μετὰ ἀκριβείας ταύτας κατανοεῖν, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἀλλ' εἶγε δυνατόν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν διδασκόμενος δύναται καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα ἐπινοεῖν καὶ μεθοδεύειν.

335 ξθ'. Ὑψηλὴ διανοία τὴν ἐμπεσουμένην ποτὲ δειλίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνακα-
λοῦ, καὶ τέχναις διαφόροις εἰς θάρσος τούτους ἐπάναγε, ποτὲ μὲν λόγοις, ποτὲ δὲ δώροις, ἀνακτώμενος, καὶ πρὸς εὐθυμίαν μεθέλκων τὴν ἀθυμίαν.

ο'. Καλὸν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τιμᾶν καὶ σέβεσθαι τοὺς ἱεροὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ ναοὺς, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσύλους αὐτοὺς διατηρεῖσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς προσφεύ-
340 γοντας, διὰ τοῦτο παραφύλαττε, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ μήτε σὺ αὐτὸς μήτε εἰς τινα ἕτερον καταδέξῃ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ναοῦ ἀποσπᾶσαί τινα ἱκέτην καθημένον ἕως ἂν τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῦ ἐπιτύχῃ. τοὺς δὲ τι τοιοῦτον τολμώντας ὡς ἀσεβεῖς κόλαζε, ἵνα μὴ τὰ θεῖα καταφρονοῦνται.

οα'. Ἀγγαρείας ἀπάσης ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀδικίας ἐλεύθερον φύλαττε τὸν ὑπὸ σε
345 τεταγμένον λαόν, ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰσι καὶ ὅσοι τῆς λεγομένης ἐξατορίας. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τελεῖν τοὺς τε δημοσίους φόρους καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα αὐτοῖς ἀερικὰ καὶ μηδὲν πλέον καταβαρεῖσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἡ καστροκτισία γένηται ἢ караβοποιῖα ἢ γεφύρας | ἀνάκτισις ἢ ὁδοῦ κατάστασις ἢ ἀνάγκη τις ἑτέρα τῶν
δημοσίων διοικήσεων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαρκῇ τὸ κατὰ τὸν τόπον δημόσιον διὰ μισθοῦ
350 ταῦτα ἐργάζεσθαι, τότε μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου λόγου καὶ τῆς ἰσότητος ἅπαντες δουλευέτωσαν, καὶ μηδεὶς παρὰ τινος ἐξκουσενέσθω, μήτε διὰ δώρων μήτε διὰ φιλίαν τῆς τοιαύτης δουλείας ἀπολιμπανέσθω, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος, καὶ πλούσιος καὶ πέννης, τὴν δημοσίαν δουλείαν ἐπιτελείτωσαν.

355 οβ'. Ἱερὰ εἰσι τὰ τῶν τελευτώντων ἐν πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν σώματα, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀριστευσάντων ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν μάχῃ. καὶ ταῦτα χρεὼν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τιμᾶν ὁσίως καὶ ταφῆς ἀξιοῦν καὶ μνήμης ἀειμνήστου. ἀλλὰ

326–328 *Strat.*, 8.2.24. 329–334 *Strat.*, 8.2.25. 335–337 *Strat.*, 8.2.30. 355–362 Cf. *id.* 204–208; *Onas.* 3.6.

331 εἶγε M εἰ A 335 ἐμπεσουμένην ποτὲ M ἐμπίπτουσαν πολλάκις A 339 εἰς M om. A 342 τι... τολμώντας M *trsp.* A 355 εἰσι M ἔστιν A 356 χρεὼν M *χρή* A

67. To preserve your expeditionary force in good condition and free from harm, you must either lead the army to the supplies they need or transport the supplies to the army.

68. Do not rely only on scouts to reconnoiter the roads but the general himself, if he can do so, should, under cover, carefully observe them with his own eyes, not only the roads but, if possible, the size of the approaching enemy force and its formation. With this information he will be able to figure out what actions he can safely take against them as well as protect himself.

69. Whenever the morale of the soldiers sinks, raise them up again to lofty thoughts and restore them to courage by various arts, winning them over sometimes by words, sometimes by gifts, thus converting their poor spirits to good spirits.⁵⁰

70. At all times, it is good to honor and revere the holy temples of God, especially to preserve them inviolate for those taking refuge in them. For this reason, O general, be on your guard and do not allow yourself or any other person to expel from the holy temple any suppliant staying there until he obtains justice. Punish those bold enough to do such an impious thing, and keep them from contemning divine things.⁵¹

71. Keep the troops serving under your command free of all individual impressments and injustice.⁵² It is sufficient for those who belong to the army, as well as those exempt from military service, to pay both the public taxes and the aerikon imposed on them, and not to be burdened with anything more. But if a fortress is to be constructed, a ship to be built, bridges to be raised, a road to be laid out, or something else required by the state administration, and the public funds of that locality do not cover the payments to complete the work, then let everyone contribute his services on a fair and equal basis. Let nobody be excused and let nobody be released from such service because of gifts or friendship, but let each person, in proportion to his abilities, rich and poor, carry out that public service.⁵³

72. The bodies of the soldiers who have been killed in battle are sacred, especially those who have been most valiant in the fight on behalf of Christians.

50. *Strat.* 8.2.30.

51. See E. Herman, "Zum Asylrecht im byzantinischen Reich," *OCP* 1 (1935): 204–238; R. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum and the Law in Byzantium," *Speculum* 63 (1988): 309–338.

52. On mistreatment of soldiers by imperial officials, see *Skirmishing*, 216–17; *CampOrg*, 318–23.

53. See *ODB*, s.v. taxation, aerikon.

καὶ τὰ τέκνα τούτων καὶ τὰς γαμετὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅλους οἴκους αὐτῶν δέον τῆς
 παρά σου προνοίας ἀπολαύειν, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως.
 360 οὕτως γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ εὐψυχοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς
 κινδύνους γενήσονται, ἐν ἐκείνοις βλέποντες τί αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται μετὰ τὸ
 τέλος, ἐὰν προθύμως ἀριστεύσαντες ἀγωνίζονται.

οὔ'. Παρασκευῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμοις ὀφειλοῦσης μὴ ἀμέλει, ὦ στρατηγέ, κατὰ
 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπιγινομένου ἀνυστερήτως καὶ ἀνεμπο-
 365 δίστως τὴν στρατείαν ἐξάγῃς.

οδ'. Ῥήμασι πειθηνίοις ὁμίλει συνεχῶς τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥστε
 ὁμονοεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης, καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτοὺς διακεισθαι ἐπιτή-
 δευε, ἵνα ἡδέως ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων συναγωνίζονται.

οε'. Ὅταν δημοσίως παρατάξῃς σύμμικτον στρατόν, ἤγουν πεζῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ
 370 καβαλλαρίων, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς δέκα πλασίον κατὰ τὸ βάθος ἤγουν ἐπὶ δέκα τὸ
 πάχος ποιήσεις τοὺς ὀρδίνους· τοὺς δὲ καβαλλαρίους ἐκτάξεις ὥσπερ δύο
 κέρατα ἔνθεν ἀκείθεν πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως.

ος'. Στρατιωτῶν γενναίων δοκιμασία γίνεται, ἐὰν ἀγνοοῦντων αὐτῶν
 ἀθρόον κτύπον τινὰ ἦτοι ἤχον μέγαν ἢ τυμπάνου ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς ἐξαισίου
 375 προσφέρῃς ἀπροσδοκῆτως. τότε γὰρ τοὺς μὴ καταπλησσομένους, ἀλλ' ἀτρε-
 μούντας πρὸς τὸν ἐξαισιον κτύπον, ἐκλέγου ὡς σταθεροὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους, ἐξ ὧν
 καὶ ἄρχοντας καταστήσεις.

οζ'. Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πολέμου δεῖ μὲν εὐχὰς πρὸς Θεὸν καταβαλέσθαι
 καὶ σύμμαχον ἐκείνον καλεῖν, μὴ μέντοι τῶν προκειμένων ἀγώνων καταμελεῖν ἢ
 380 τῶν ὀφειλομένων πράξεων κατολιγρεῖν. σὺν Θεῷ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
 σαλεύειν καὶ ὡς ὄργανα παρέχειν ὑπηρετοῦντα. οὔτε γὰρ τοξότης, ἐὰν μὴ ῥίψῃ
 τὸ βέλος, εὐστοχήσῃ ποτὲ οὔτε ὁ μὴ μένων, ἀλλὰ φεύγων, κρατήσῃ τῶν ἐχ-
 θρῶν, οὔτε ὅλως ὁ μὴ πράξεως ἀρξάμενος εὐπραγήσῃ· ἀλλ' εὐχεσθαι μὲν δεῖ
 τὴν νίκην λαβεῖν τοῦ πολέμου παρὰ Θεοῦ, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα κατέχειν, καὶ
 385 μαχόμενον σύμμαχον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον.

οη'. Ὑπὸ τίνος συνηθείας πολλάκις ὁ στρατὸς ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἢ σημείων
 τινῶν εἰς δειλίαν εἴωθε τρέπεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἴποτε τοιοῦτόν τι γένηται, ἀναζητήσεις
 αὐτός, καὶ εὐρῶν ἀντιμεταλλάξεις αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγχινοίας

386-390 Cf. ιδ'. 703-709.

366 ῥήμασι M ῥήμασιν A | στρατιωτῶν M στρατιωτῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις πείθειν αὐτοὺς A
 368 συναγωνίζονται M ἀγωνίζονται A 370 πλασίον κατὰ M πλασίονα κατὰ τὸ πάχος
 ἤγουν ἐπὶ δέκα A 370-371 ἤγουν... πάχος M om. A 378 καταβαλέσθαι M ποιείσθαι A

By all means, it is necessary to honor them reverently and to dignify them with
 burial and eternal memory. You must, moreover, O general, by your foresight,
 your concern, and your support, provide assistance to their children, their
 wives, and their whole household. The soldiers will thus be in good spirits and
 eager to face the dangers of war, as they look upon the treatment of the dead as
 something that will happen to themselves after their end, if they are courageous
 and valiant in the struggle.⁵⁴

73. During the period spent in winter quarters, O general, do not neglect the
 preparation of the things needed in combat, so that, with the arrival of spring,
 you may lead your army out without delay and without obstacles.

74. On a regular basis, address the assembled soldiers with words conducive
 to obedience so they will all be of the same mind at the time of battle. Deal with
 them in such a manner that they will be kindly disposed and will gladly support
 one another in combat.

75. When you draw up a mixed army, that is, infantry and cavalry together,
 for a pitched battle, make the infantry columns ten deep to ten thick and form
 the cavalry as two horns on either side in front of the battle line.

76. One test of a brave soldier is this. If, without their knowledge, you unex-
 pectedly produce some sort of sudden crashing sound or the heavy beating of a
 drum or some other unusually loud instrument, then <notice> which men are
 not struck dumb with fear but are unperturbed by the unusual banging, and
 from their number select those men as solid and brave and commission them as
 officers.

77. In time of war it is necessary to offer prayers to God and to invoke him
 as an ally. Nevertheless, do not completely neglect the struggles before you and
 do not think lightly of the tasks incumbent on you. With God, you must move
 your hands and offer them as instruments in his service. The archer will never
 hit the target if he does not shoot the arrow nor will that man ever overcome the
 enemy who does not stay in position, but runs away. To sum it up, a person who
 does not begin a task will not be successful at it. It is certainly necessary to pray
 to God to obtain victory in battle, but, at the same time, hold on to your
 weapons and, while you fight, invoke the Divinity as an ally.

78. Under the influence of certain customary practices, the army frequently
 used to succumb to cowardice because of symbols or certain signs. If something
 of the sort ever occurs, however, you will personally look into it. After investi-

54. Cf. Const. 14 §31; Onasander 3.6.

μεθερμηνεύων τὰ σύμβολα ὡς ἐνδέχεται, ἵνα δι' ὧν εἰς δειλίαν κατέπεσον, διὰ
390 τούτων εἰς θάρσος αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς διαναστήσεις.

οθ'. Νίκης φημιζομένης προθυμότερον πρὸς τὰς μάχας τὸ στράτευμα
γίνεται. ἐὰν τοίνυν διὰ μὲν τοιαύτης φήμης θάρσος ἐμποιήσης τοῖς στρατιώταις,
μετ' εὐψυχίας δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπιμελῶς ἐγχειρήσης τῆς μάχης, ἔλπιζε σὺν Θεῷ
τὴν φημιζομένην νίκην παρέσεσθαι.

395 π'. Ἦν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε Σκιπίων Ῥωμαίων ἡρέθη ἀπὸ ψήφου κοινῆς στρατη-
γὸς καὶ ἡλικίας ἦν ἐτῶν τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα στρατηγικῶν ἀπαρχόμενος ἔργων.
παρευθὺ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπέμπεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ κραββάτους
καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ διάφορα ἐκπώματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκευὴ πάντα, πλὴν χύτρας
χαλκῆς καὶ σουβλίου σιδηροῦ καὶ ποτηρίου, τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὲν ἀργύρου, τοῖς δ'
400 ἄλλοις ξυλίνου. μὴ λούεσθαι δέ τινα μήτε ἀλείφεσθαι μύρον ἐκέλευσε τὸ
οἰονοῦν. ἀριστᾶν δὲ ὀρθρου ἄπυρον βρῶσιν, δειπνοῦντας δὲ προσφέρεσθαι
κρέας ἢ ὀπτὸν ἢ ἐψητὸν, ἀνακλίνεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ μικρᾶς σκέπης τοὺς ἄρχοντας. καὶ
οὕτως τὸν ὅλον χρόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατηγίας διανύσας, περιβόητος ἐν ταῖς
στρατηγίαις καὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐγένετο. ἀπεσείετο δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας καὶ μαντείας
405 καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἢ σημείων δηλώσεις καὶ ὀρνεοσκοπίας καὶ δι' ὀνείρων
μαντείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τοιαύτας προγνώσεις τε καὶ κρίσεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τῆς
ὀφειλομένης προνοίας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναστέλλουσι. τοῦτον οὖν ἐὰν μιμήσῃ, ὡς
στρατηγέ, καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ὁμοίας δόξης ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν νικητικῶν ἐπιτεύξῃ
τροπαίων.

410 πα'. Τὰ τόξα ὅπλα εἰσὶν εὐπόριστα, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ χρειᾶς μεγάλην ἔχει τὴν
ὠφέλειαν. παρακελυόμεθα οὖν σοι διατάξασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ σε καὶ κάστροις
καὶ χωρίοις καὶ κωμοπόλεσι καὶ ἀπλῶς ἅπασιν ὥστε, εἰ δυνατόν, ἕκαστον ἄνδρα
ἴδιον τόξον ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μήγε κατ' οἶκον ἐν τόξον καὶ σαγίττας μέχρι τεσσαρά-
κοντα, καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς δυσχωρίας καὶ εἰς ὁμαλοὺς τόπους καὶ
415 εἰς κλεισούρας καὶ εἰς δάση. οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρατιῶται ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τούτοις
χρήσονται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις, εἰ ἄρα τύχη τῶν ἐχθρῶν αἰφνίδιος
ἐπιδρομὴ κατ' αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πετρῶν ἀκροτόμων ἰστάμενοι ἄνδρες καὶ

395-409 Polyæn. 8.16.1-2.

395 ἡρέθη...κοινῆς M προεκρίθη A 396 καὶ...ὀκτωκαίδεκα M ἀπὸ ψήφου κοινῆς καὶ
ἐτῶν ἦν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν A 397 ἀποπέμπεσθαι ἐκ M ἐκβάλλεσθαι A | στρατοῦ M στρατῷ
τούς τε A 398 τὰς A om. M 399 ἄρχουσι M ἔχουσι A 400-401 ἐκέλευσε...οἰονοῦν M
ἐκέλευσεν οἰωδήποτε A 401 ἄπυρον...προσφέρεσθαι M βρῶμα ἐσθίων μὴ δεόμενον πυρὸς
πρὸς ἔψην δειπνοῦντας δὲ ἐσθίειν A 407 ἀναστέλλουσι M ἀναστέλλουσιν A
410 εὐπόριστα M εὐπορίας ταῦτα δὲ A 413 ἐν A ἐνα M

gating it, bring the minds of your men around to the opposite, as best you can,
by a clever interpretation of the symbols. By taking the very thing that caused
them to fall into cowardice, you will raise them up again to courage and good
hopes.⁵⁵

79. The rumor of victory makes the army more enthusiastic in fighting. By
making use of such a rumor, you can instill courage in your soldiers. In good
spirits and with bravery, you will carefully enter into combat. With God's help,
you must hope that the rumor of victory will become a reality.

80. There was once a time when Scipio was chosen by common vote of the
Romans as general. He was eighteen years old when he began his service as
general. As soon as he took office, he ordered that the army should get rid of
beds and tables, the variety of drinking cups, and all other such utensils except
for bronze pots and iron spits. The officers could have silver drinking cups and
the others wooden ones. He gave orders that nobody at all should bathe or
anoint himself with perfumed oil. They should breakfast on cold food in the
morning, although for dinner they could be served roasted or boiled meat. And
the officers could recline under small shelters. He spent the entire term of his
generalship in this manner and became very famous because of his strategy and
his victories. He rejected astrology and divination and the meanings of symbols
and signs and the auguries from birds and divination through dreams and other
such modes of prophecy and judgments, as well as all those other things that
distract a person from the foresight incumbent on a general. If you imitate him,
O general, you too will obtain a glory similar to his, as well as the trophies of
victory.⁵⁶

81. Bows are weapons that are easily obtained and are extremely helpful in
critical moments. We command you, therefore, to issue orders that, in the for-
tresses, towns, villages, and, in general, every place under your command, every
single man, if possible, should possess a bow, but if not, then one per household
and up to forty arrows. He should practice with them in difficult country as well
as in level places, in defiles, and in wooded areas. For the soldiers will make use
of these in combat and the other men in their own localities, if they happen to
be subject to a sudden attack by the enemy. Men stationed amid rocky cliffs,

55. Cf. Const. 14 §101.

56. Polyænus 8.16.1-2.

ἐν στενοῖς τόποις καὶ εἰς δάση ὕλης, πολλὴν ἐμποιήσουσι | τὴν βλάβην τοῖς
 420 ἐχθροῖς τοξεύοντες, καὶ οὐ ταχέως θαρρήσουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀδέως ἐπελθεῖν οἱ
 πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνάλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα χωρία καὶ ἀβλαβῇ διαφυλαχθήσονται,
 φοβουμένων τῶν πολεμίων τὰς ἐκ τῶν βελῶν πληγὰς.

πβ'. Ἡνίκα Θεὸς παράσχη σοι μαχομένῳ τρέψασθαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, μὴ ἐάσης
 τοὺς στρατιώτας λύσαντας τὴν τάξιν διαρπάζειν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ τὰ σκεύη τῶν
 425 πολεμίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀντιστραφέντες βλάβην ποιήσωσι κατὰ τῶν διωκόντων οἱ
 διωκόμενοι. ἡττηθέντες μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰ ἴδια σκεύη κερδήσομεν, νικήσαντες δὲ
 καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔξομεν.]

πγ'. Στρατηγὸς δωρολήπτης πρᾶγμα δεινὸν καὶ ὀλέθριον τῷ στρατεύματι.
 δύο γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα ἐντεῦθεν συμβαίνει κακά· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται πλε-
 ονέκτοι ἄποροι γίνονται, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄνανδροι προχειρίζονται, ἀπὸ τῶν
 430 πρῶτων ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀφορίζοντος τοῦ τῆς δωροληψίας κακοῦ, ἐξ οὗ
 στράτευμα κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἀνδραγαθεῖν οὐ δύναται.

πδ'. Τοὺς κατασκόπους ἐπιλέγου σταθεροὺς καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ
 σπουδαίους, δόξαν μᾶλλον καὶ τιμὴν ἢ χρήματα ἀγαπῶντας. οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι
 ὄντες μηνύουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλαφροὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ δειλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι
 435 περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων σπουδάζουσιν, οὐ δύνανται ἀπαγγέλλειν τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν. διὸ καὶ κινδύνου πολλάκις αἴτιοι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῷ στρα-
 τεύματι γίνονται.

πε'. Ῥαδίως οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταῖς ἐκστρατείαις διὰ δώρων μὲν ἀγαθῶν
 καλλίονες γίνονται· ἐν δὲ καιρῷ εἰρήνης ἢ διὰ φόβου ἢ διὰ κολάσεως ἐπὶ τοῖς,
 440 ὡς εἰκός, ἀμαρτανομένοις γινομένης ἀνορθοῦνται.

πς'. Ἴσθι ὅτι μᾶλλον κατορθώσεις, ὦ στρατηγέ, λιμῷ καὶ συχναῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς
 τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν καταλύειν ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτὴν πειρώμενος κατα-
 στρέφειν.

πζ'. Ἀσφαλῇ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀπαθῇ ὄντα τὰ ἡμέτερα κατανοῶν, ἐὰν ἐπ'
 445 αὐτοῖς κατάσκοπον κρατήσεις ἐν πολέμου καιρῷ, μὴ κατάσχησιν τοῦτον, ἀλλ'
 ἔασον ὡς ἂν ἀπαγγείλας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς καταστάσεως κατα-
 πληξῇ τὰ τούτων φρονήματα. ἐὰν δέ τι παρά σοι γινώσκεις ἀσθενές, κόλαζε
 τοῦτον, ἵνα τῶν πολεμίων ἐξείποι τὰ μυστήρια, καὶ τελευταῖον ἢ διάφθειρε ἢ
 ἀσφαλῶς ἀλλαχοῦ τοῦτον ἔκπεμπε.

418 ad ἐμποιήσουσι des. M

432–437 *Strat.*, 8.2.26. 438–440 *Strat.*, 8.2.27. 441–443 *Strat.*, 8.2.28. 444–449 *Strat.*,
 8.2.29.

narrow defiles, and thick woods and shooting their arrows will wreak great
 damage on the enemy, who will not quickly regain their courage and will not be
 eager to continue their attack. And so, those areas will not be taken and will be
 preserved unharmed, for the enemy will fear being wounded by the arrows.⁵⁷

82. When God grants you the favor of routing the enemy in battle, do not
 permit your soldiers to break formation to plunder the arms and equipment of
 the enemy lest those who are being pursued wheel around and inflict serious
 harm on their pursuers. In defeat we will not even hold on to our own equip-
 ment, but in victory we will possess our own and that of the enemy.

83. A general who takes bribes is a terrible thing and can bring destruction
 down on his army. Two of the greatest evils may result from this. The soldiers, as
 victims of his greed, are left without resources and become greedy themselves,
 and cowardly men are promoted to be officers. From the first to the last, they are
 marked by the evil of bribe-taking and, as a result, the army is unable to face the
 enemy with courage.

84. Choose scouts who are steady, keen-eyed, reliable, serious, and fonder of
 their reputation than of honors or money. Such men will make accurate reports.
 But the lighthearted, the timid, and those looking for material gain are not
 capable of providing accurate information, and so they frequently bring danger
 upon the general and the army.⁵⁸

85. While on campaign, generous gifts make the soldiers better but, in time
 of peace, fear and punishment meted out to offenders is more likely to keep
 them in line.

86. Be aware, O general, that you will be more successful in destroying the
 enemy's force by hunger and frequent raids than by attempting to overturn them
 with weapons.

87. If, in time of war, you capture a spy from the enemy among us, and you
 are sure that our forces are secure, strong, and unharmed, then do not hold him
 but let him go so that, when he reports to the enemy that you are in such good
 shape, they will be utterly dismayed. On the other hand, if you know that our
 forces are weak, treat him roughly to get him to disclose enemy secrets and,
 finally, put him to death or send him off elsewhere under guard.

57. Cf. *Strat.* 1.1.2–34.

58. For §§84–87 see *Strat.* 8.2.26–29.

450 πη'. Δυνατὰ γενέσθαι καὶ μεγάλα βουλόμενος, ἐμβράδυνε μικρὸν τῇ βουλῇ
ἐρευνῶν τὸ χρησίμον. ἐπὰν δὲ τὴν πρέπουσαν βεβαιώσης γνώμην, ἐπιτέλει τὰ
βουλευθέντα χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως, μάλιστα ἐν πολέμου καιρῷ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρόν ποτε τὸν βασιλέα ἐρωτώμενον, πῶς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι τοσαῦτα καὶ
455 τῆλικαῦτα μεγάλα κατώρθωσε πράγματα, λέγεται εἰπεῖν | ὅτι. “οὐδὲν δεόμενον
τῇ σήμερον ὑπερεθέμην εἰς τὴν αὔριον.”

πη'. Ὅταν χρεῖα σοι γενήσεται συμμάχων, οὐ δεῖ σε τούτους μετὰ τοῦ οἰκεί-
ου συμμιγνύνειν στρατοῦ, μάλιστα ἐτέρας ὑπάρχοντας πίστεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
ἅπληκτα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς γίνεσθαι παρασκευάζε, καὶ
παντοίως αὐτῶν ἀπόκρυβε τὰ στρατηγήματα τῆς σῆς παρατάξεως, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτα
460 γινώσκοντες, ἐν καιρῷ ἔχθρας εὐμηχανώτεροι γένωνται ἐν ταῖς κατὰ σου
πολεμικαῖς συμπλοκαῖς. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πλείονα στρατὸν ἐπάγου τῶν σῶν δυνάμε-
ων, ἵνα μὴ, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ἢ εὐκόλως παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευ-
θῇς ἢ τῆς σῆς γῆς ἐγκρατεῖς γένωνται.

φ'. Στρατηγὸς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν εὐτρεπῆς ἔστω πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐὰν οὖν
465 βούλει πτοῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ εἰρήνην αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ σου, ἔτοιμον αἰ-
πρὸς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον σεαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυε. οὕτως γὰρ δειλιάσουσιν καὶ
τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσπάζονται.

ρα'. Τρυφὴν μηδέποτε ἀγαπήσεις, ὦ στρατηγέ, μάλιστα δὲ σὺν τῷ στρατῷ
διάγων· κοινὸς ὄλεθρος αὕτη καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γίνεται.

470 ρβ'. Οὔτε ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπαίρεσθαί σε χρεὼν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς δυσπραγίαις
καταπίπτειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖ σε τοιοῦτον τῷ στρατεύματι φαίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σταθε-
ρὸν αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνεπίγνωστον. τὸ γὰρ ταχέως πρὸς χαρὰν ἐπαίρε-
σθαι φανερώς καὶ πρὸς λύπην πάλιν προδήλως καταπίπτειν, χαύνῃς ἐστὶν ψυχῆς
καὶ ἀναξίας στρατηγοῦ.

475 ργ'. Ὑπερβολὴ παντὸς πράγματος οὐκ ἀπόδεκτόν ἐστι, διὸ μήτε λίαν φοβε-
ρὸς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὑπάρχεις, ὦ στρατηγέ, μήτε λίαν ἐπιεικής· ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ
ἀνάρμοστα τῷ στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα γίνεται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολὺς φόβος
μῖσος ἀπογεννᾷ, ἡ δὲ πολλὴ ἐπιείκεια καταφρόνησιν ἐργάζεται. ἀρίστη δὲ ἡ τοῦ
μέσου διάθεσις, ὥστε σύμμετρόν σε εἶναι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω καὶ μήτε τὰς ἐπεξελευ-
480 σεις τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων μετὰ ἀπονοίας ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμέτρου ὀργῆς μήτε

88. In considering what is important and what is possible, take your time as
you turn your mind to discerning what is to your advantage, but once you have
reached a firm and fitting decision, without any delay put your plans into action,
especially in time of war. Alexander the emperor was once asked: “How have
you managed to accomplish so many great deeds in a few years?” He is said to
have replied: “Nothing that ought to be done today did I put off until tomor-
row.”⁵⁹

89. When you are in need of allies, you must not mix them in with your own
troops, especially if they are of another faith. Make sure that they set up their
own camp and that they march by themselves apart from us. By all means hide
the tactical plans for your formations from them. If a period of hostilities en-
sues, they may use such knowledge to great advantage in military engagements
against you. Do not invite an army larger than your own. Otherwise, as we
noted elsewhere, they might easily conspire against you or take possession of
your land.⁶⁰

90. A general who desires peace must be ready for war. If, therefore, you
wish to scare the enemy and have them seek either conflict or peace with you,
always show yourself prepared to wage war against them. This will make them
so nervous that they will embrace peace.⁶¹

91. Never be a lover of luxury, O general, especially when you are staying
with your army. This results in wholesale destruction, both of the general and of
his army.⁶²

92. You must not be unduly elated by success or utterly cast down by failure.
You must not give any such impression to the army, but always appear steady
and inscrutable when it comes to such things. To be quickly and obviously
exalted by joy and clearly to be cast down again into sorrow is the mark of a
frivolous spirit and unworthy of a general.⁶³

93. Doing anything to excess is unacceptable. You should not be too
frightening to your subjects, O general, nor should you be too lenient. Both
make the general unfit to command the army. Great fear gives birth to hatred
and great leniency results in being despised. It is best to take the middle course.
You should show moderation in both respects, not inflicting punishment on

59. *Strat.* 8.2.31.

60. *Strat.* 8.2.38.

61. *Strat.* 8.2.60; Aristotle, *Politics* 7.13.8; Cf. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad.* 12.5.4.

62. *Strat.* 8.2.58.

63. For §§92–94 see *Strat.* 8.2.32–34.

450–455 *Strat.*, 8.2.31. 456–463 *Strat.*, 8.2.38. 464–467 *Strat.*, 8.2.60; Arist. *Pol.*, 7.13.8.

468–469 *Strat.*, 8.2.58. 470–474 *Strat.*, 8.2.32. 475–482 *Strat.*, 8.2.33.

πάλιν παντελῶς ἀφίεναι | ἀτιμώρητα, ὥστε εἰς ἀναρχίαν δοκεῖν περιῖστασθαι σου τὴν ἀρχήν.

ρδ'. Ἐν πολέμου καιρῷ βουλευού μεν ἐν νυκτί τὸ πρακτέον, τὰ δὲ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιτέλει μεθ' ἡμέραν. οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ὀφείλει καιρὸς εἶναι βουλῆς τε
485 καὶ πράξεως.

ρε'. Νικητῆς καὶ φοβερὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις λογισθήσεται ὁ στρατηγός, οὐχ ὁ ἐν τῷ λέγειν μόνον καὶ ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν δυνατός, ἀλλ' ὁ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους βεβαίους ἀποδεικνύς.

ρς'. Ὅταν ὀλίγον ἔχῃς στράτευμα, τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δὲ εἰς πλῆθος ἐστίν, σπεῦδε καταλαβεῖν μικρότερον χωρίον καὶ στενώτερον καὶ σύμμετρον τῷ σφ' στρατεύματι. τὸ γὰρ περισσὸν τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος | ἄχρηστον γενήσεται, τοῦ
490 τόπου μὴ ἐπιδεχομένου τὸ πλεόν.

ρζ'. Συνθήκας καὶ ἀνοχὰς πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ποιούμενος, μὴ διὰ ταύτας ἐν ἀμελείᾳ διατελῇς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μείζοσι καὶ ἀκριβεστέραις περιλάμβανε ταῖς φυλακαῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἢ τὴν χώραν. ἐὰν γὰρ παρασπονδῇσαι βουληθῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυσμενείας καὶ ἀπειλῆς
495 ἔξουσι τὸ ἄπιστον, σὺ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας εὕρισκόμενος ἔξεις τὸ πιστὸν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας. ἀνάξιον γὰρ στρατηγοῦ τὸ λέγειν· “τοῦτο οὐ προσεδόκων.”

ρη'. Καὶ τοῦτο δέ σοι ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ στρατηγέ, πρὸς στρατηγικὴν τελειότητα, τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι καὶ γινώσκειν ἀκριβῶς ἐκ τῆς πείρας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον πόσον ἐστίν. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐὰν προγυμνασάμενος γινώσκῃς πόσος
500 τόπος καὶ ποῖος πόσους στρατιώτας ἐπιδέχεσθαι δύναται, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν προδιώρισται.

ρθ'. Ἄξιον δέ σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὥσπερ τὴν εἰρημένην γνῶσιν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων στρατείας ὀφείλεις ἔχειν, οὕτως καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σὼν στρατευμάτων. ὅταν δὲ βούλῃ λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως τὸ πλῆθος, πυκνοὺς περιπατεῖν ἢ ἐστάναι παράγγελλε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἢ γὰρ
510 συνέχεια καὶ σφίγξις σφάλλειν ποιεῖ τὴν ὄρασιν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰκάζειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἔα. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου, εἰ βούλῃ παραδείξαι τὴν σὴν δύναμιν πολλήν, ὀλίγην οὖσαν, ἀραιότερους καὶ

491 ad ἄχρηστον de novo inc. M

483–485 *Strat.*, 8.2.34. 486–488 *Strat.*, 8.2.33. 489–492 *Strat.*, 8.2.37. 493–499 *Strat.*, 8.2.36; cf. *supra*, 138–142. 500–504 *Strat.*, 8.2.37. 505–514 *Strat.*, 8.2.38.

494–495 περιλάμβανε ταῖς M κατασφάλιζε A 505 ὦ στρατηγέ M om. A 508 πυκνοὺς παράγγελλε M παράγγελλε πυκνοὺς περιπατεῖν ἢ ἴστασθαι A 510 ἔα M συγχωρεῖ A

offenders senselessly and with immeasurable anger, nor, at the same time, should you dismiss them totally unpunished. Otherwise, your command will devolve into anarchy.

94. In time of war, during the night, plan what you have to do and, during the day, carry out what you have decided. For the same time is not suitable both for planning and for taking action.

95. The general who gains the reputation of being victorious is not the one who is powerful in words only and in boasting against the enemy, but the one who shows by his actions that he means what he says.⁶⁴

96. When you have a small army and the enemy has a large one, make haste to occupy a smaller space, more narrow and a better fit for the size of your army. The superior numbers of the enemy will prove useless, for the space will not accommodate the great number.⁶⁵

97. After having agreed to a treaty or a truce with the enemy, do not for that reason become careless. Rather, surround your camp or location with stronger and more alert guards. If the enemy decides to break the agreement, they will incur, along with disfavor and threats from God, <the reputation> of faithlessness. You, however, will remain safe and, with the help of God, will enjoy <the reputation> of being true to your word. It is unworthy of a general to say: “I did not expect that.”⁶⁶

98. This too is essential for you, O general, if you are to become expert in military matters, namely, from experience to calculate and reach an accurate knowledge of the strength of the enemy’s army. This can be done if you train yourself ahead of time to recognize how much space and what kind of space is able to accommodate a certain number of soldiers, as we have prescribed for you elsewhere.⁶⁷

99. It is very important for you, O general, to acquire a good knowledge of the enemy’s army, as we have noted, and by the same token, to conceal from the enemy the size of your own armed forces. When you want to hide the size of your force from the enemy, order the soldiers to march or to stand in place in close formation. Their compact and tight formation leads the enemy observers to make mistakes and keeps them from estimating the number of your troops with any accuracy. In like manner, do the opposite. If you want to demonstrate

64. *Strat.* 8.2.33.

65. *Strat.* 8.2.37.

66. *Strat.* 8.2.36; cf. *supra*, §27.

67. *Strat.* 8.2.37.

περιπατεῖν καὶ ἴστασθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ποιήσεις, ὥς ἂν καὶ πλείονα τοῦ
 συμμέτρου τόπον περιλαμβάνωσιν. ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ ἐν καιρῷ ἰδίῳ γενόμενα καὶ
 χρεῖα χρήσιμα πρὸς ἀπάτην τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐρίσκεται.

515 ρ'. Ἰσῆς καὶ ὁμοίως οὐσης τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς ἡμετέ-
 ρας, ὁ κάλλιον παρατασσόμενος στρατηγός, εἴτε σὺ εἴτε ὁ πολέμιος, μᾶλλον
 πλεονεκτήσει, περιττὴν ἔχων τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγημάτων ἢ
 τάξεων ἰσχύν.

520 ρα'. Μὴ πρῶτους ἐάσης παρά σε τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκτά-
 ξαι, ἀλλὰ σπεῦδε πρότερος ἐκείνων τὴν παράταξιν σου διατάξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ πρότε-
 ρος φθάσης παρατάξασθαι, σὺ μὲν ὁ βούλη κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὥς ἔτοιμος πράξεις, ὁ
 δὲ πολέμιος οὐδὲ τοῦ καθοπλισθῆναι τάχα λάβοι καιρόν, τὴν σὴν ταχείαν
 φοβούμενος ἐπέλευσιν.

525 ρβ'. Οὕτως οὖν ἐὰν προεκτάξης καὶ κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν ἐξ ἐτοίμου τοῖς
 ἐναντίοις ἐγχειρήσης ἀσφαλῶς, θάρσος μὲν τῷ σῶ στρατεύματι ἐμποιήσεις,
 δειλίαν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνθήσεις.

530 ργ'. Νόμον ἔχε | ἀπαράβατον, τὸ πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πληγῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν τὴν πρόνοιαν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀμελήσης αὐτῶν, τοὺς λοιποὺς στρατιώτας ἐθελοκα-
 κοῦντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ λυπουμένους εὐρήσεις. καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τραυματισθέντας, καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας δυναμένους ἀνασωθῆναι,
 διὰ ῥαθυμίαν ἀπολέσεις.

535 ρδ'. Ὅταν εἰς φυγὴν τρέψῃς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς πραιίδας παράγ-
 γελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα μὴ περὶ ταύτην διασπειρομένους καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσχο-
 λουμένους, εὐρόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιβουλεύσουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφθείρουσιν.
 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ἐχέσθωσαν τῆς διώξεως μετὰ ἀσφαλείας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ
 συλλογῇ τῆς πραιίδας τεταγμένοι, οἵτινες καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας στρατιώτας ἐν
 αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ ἀναλέξονται καὶ θεραπεύσουσιν, αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων
 πολεμίων σκύλα συλλέγοντες, καὶ τοῖς δεκάρχαις παραδιδόντες, ὥς καὶ ἐν

515–518 *Strat.*, 8.2.73. 519–523 *Strat.*, 8.2.40. 524–526 *Strat.*, 8.2.41. 527–531 *Strat.*,
 8.2.43. 532–540 *Strat.*, 8.2.44.

513 ἰδίῳ M ἰδίῳ καὶ χρεῖα A 514 χρεῖα M om. A 517 περιττὴν M περισσὴν A
 519 τὴν...ἐναντίους M trsp. A 519–520 ἐκτάξαι M παρατάξαι A 520 σπεῦδε M
 σπούδαζε A 520–521 πρότερος φθάσης M προλάβης A 521 ἔτοιμος πράξεις M trsp. A
 527 πληγῶν M πληττομένων A 529 ἐν...λυπουμένους M trsp. A 532 πολεμίους
 ἀπέχεσθαι M πολεμίους παράγγελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀντέχεσθαι A 532–533 παράγ-
 γελλε...στρατιώταις M om. A 535 ἐχέσθωσαν...διώξεως M διωκέτωσαν A | ἐπὶ M περὶ A
 536 τραυματίας M τραυματιζομένους A 538 σκύλα M ὅπλα A

that your force is a large one, when in reality it is small, have the soldiers march
 and stand in open order, so they will take up more space than is proportionately
 theirs. Both of these, done at the right time and as the situation requires, will be
 found useful in deceiving the enemy.⁶⁸

100. When the armament of both the enemy and ourselves are equal and of
 the same quality, that general who is better at forming for battle, either you or
 the enemy general, is more likely to prevail—<especially> if he has additional
 capability, the strength <that comes> from stratagems or tactics.⁶⁹

101. You should not allow your adversaries to assume their formation before
 you line up your own force. Make haste to establish your battle line before they
 do theirs. If you are the first to get your troops into formation, then, since you
 are ready, you are free to take what action you want. The enemy, though, may
 not even have time to arm themselves, fearful of a sudden attack by you.⁷⁰

102. If, therefore, you have gotten into formation first and are ready for the
 charge, you may safely launch your attack against the enemy. You will instill
 confidence in your army, and cowardice in that of the enemy.⁷¹

103. Keep this law inviolate: devote great care to wounded soldiers. If you
 neglect them, you will note that the rest of the troops will be distressed and
 deliberately will not fight well in battle. Even more so, because of your indiffer-
 ence, you may lose the wounded men themselves who, with some care, could
 have been saved.⁷²

104. When you have put the enemy to flight, order your soldiers to refrain
 from plundering, so that the enemy may not come upon them all caught up in
 this, and set traps and destroy them. But let the soldiers carry on the pursuit in a
 safe manner. <The deputies> are the men detailed for the collection of plunder,
 who are also to pick up the soldiers wounded in the battle and care for them.
 They are to gather the spoils from the enemy dead and hand them over to the
 dekarchs, as we have mentioned elsewhere, who should hold on to them so they

68. *Strat.* 8.2.38.

69. *Strat.* 8.2.73.

70. *Strat.* 8.2.40.

71. *Strat.* 8.2.41.

72. *Strat.* 8.2.43.

ἄλλοις ἡμῖν εἴρηται, παραφυλάξουσιν αὐτά, ὥστε διαμερισθῆναι ἐξ ἴσου κατὰ
540 τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ὀρισθέντα τύπον.

ρε'. Ὑποπτεύων στρατηγὸς συχνότερον τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιτηδεύματα
ἀσφαλὲς μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ διαγωγὴν ἀναδει-
χθῆναι.

ρς'. Ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ μέγιστον οἶδα τὸ μιᾶ μάχῃ φθαρῆναι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ
545 στρατεύματος. ἐὰν γὰρ νουνεχῶς τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσῃται παράταξιν
καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως περιστρέφῃται, κἂν συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα περὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
στρατόν, ἢ εὐτάκτως ἀναχωρήσῃ ἢ ταχέως τὴν ἥτταν ἀναμαχέσῃται.

ρζ'. Λυπήσει τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μετὰ εὐταξίας καὶ ἀρμοδία παρά σου γινο-
μένη παράταξις καὶ οὕτως φυλαττομένη ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ· μέγιστον
550 γὰρ ἐν παρατάξει κεφάλαιον καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν βέβαιον τὸ φυλάττειν τοὺς
μαχομένους τὴν τε τάξιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μεταξύ διαστήματα.

ρη'. Ἥλιον καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ κονιορτὸν ὀπισθεν μὲν ποιεῖ τοῦ σου στρατεύμα-
τος, κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ τῶν πολεμίων. τοῦτο γὰρ πάνυ συμφέρον εὐρήσεις· οἱ
γὰρ πολέμιοι τὴν ὄρασιν συσχεθέντες, ἢ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἐπεχόμενοι καὶ κρατού-
555 μενοι ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνέμου τυπτόμενοι, ταχεῖάν σοι παραδώσουσι τὴν νίκην.

ρθ'. Θρασὺν ὄντα τὸν πολέμιον, ὃ στρατηγέ, εἰς ἄκαιρον προπέτειαν ἐκκά-
λει καὶ ματαίας κινήσεις. ἐὰν δέ ἐστιν δειλός, ἐν ταχείαις αὐτὸν ἐπελεύσει καὶ
συνεχέσι κατάπληττε. δεῖ γὰρ σε γινώσκειν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν
διάθεσιν, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς σοῖς στρατηγήμασιν.

ρι'. Ἰκανὸς ὢν ἐν τῷ λέγειν, ὃ στρατηγέ, καὶ τοὺς δειλιώντας πολλάκις εἰς
μάχην ἀναστήσεις, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις συμφορὰς εὐκόλως παραμυ-
θήσῃ, | καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους μᾶλλον ἐπιρρώσεις, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τῆς σῆς
560 ἔμφορος δημηγορίας τὸν ὑπήκοον στρατὸν ἀναπλήσεις.

ρια'. Νήφειν ὀφείλεις καὶ λίαν ὑπάρχειν ἐγρήγορος καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων
565 στρατιωτῶν τῶν πολεμικῶν μετέχειν πόνων, ὃ στρατηγέ, ὀλίγου δὲ τοῦ κέρ-

can be distributed on an equal basis, according to the regulations prescribed for
them.⁷³

105. A general who is constantly suspicious of the preparations of the enemy
impresses me as giving proof that he is secure in war and in the rest of his
conduct.

106. The greatest failing in a general that I know of is to have most of his
army destroyed in one battle. If he forms his battle line against the enemy in an
intelligent manner and maneuvers it with prudence, then, even if something
unfortunate happens to his army, he may withdraw in good order or quickly
retrieve the defeat.⁷⁴

107. You will hurt the enemy by drawing up a suitable battle line in good
order and keeping it as such during the entire period of battle. In the battle line
the most important point and the one that assures safety is for the fighting men
to maintain their formation and the intervals between the lines.⁷⁵

108. See that the sun, wind, and dust are behind your army but in the face of
the enemy. You will find this extremely helpful. When the enemy's vision is
obscured, his breathing is constrained and difficult, and he is buffeted by the
wind, all this will quickly present you with victory.⁷⁶

109. General, when the enemy acts boldly, entice him into premature,
reckless action and useless maneuvers. If he is on the timid side, hit him hard
with constant and rapid attacks. You must know the disposition of the enemy
general and employ your own stratagems accordingly.⁷⁷

110. With some skill in speaking, O general, you will often arouse the faint-
hearted to battle and readily counteract despondency in the army and offer even
more strength to the brave and, by your intelligence and public speaking, you
will present the army under your command with many benefits.⁷⁸

111. You ought to be watchful and very alert and, more than the other
soldiers, do your share of the wartime tasks, O general, but with little recom-

544-547 *Strat.*, 8.2.45. 548-551 *Strat.*, 8.2.42. 552-555 *Strat.*, 8.2.39. 556-559 *Strat.*,
8.2.49. 560-563 *Strat.*, 8.2.74; *Onas.* 1.13. 564-567 *Strat.*, 8.2.51.

547 ἀναμαχέσῃται M ἀνακαλέσεται A 548 ἀρμοδία M ἀρμοδίως A 556-557 ἐκκάλει...
κινήσεις M ματαίας κινήσεις ἐγκαλοῦ A 558 συνεχέσι κατάπληττε M πυκναῖς κατάπληττε
αὐτὸν A 559 κεχρῆσθαι...στρατηγήμασιν M ἐπιτηδεύειν τὰ στρατηγήματα A
562 ἐπιρρώσεις M ἐνισχύσεις A 563 ἔμφορος M ἔμφορος καὶ συνετὴς A | ἀναπλήσεις M
ἐμπλήσεις A 564 καὶ μᾶλλον M ὃ στρατηγέ καὶ πλέον A | ἄλλων M om. A 565 τῶν...
στρατηγέ M μετέχειν τῶν πόνων τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ A

73. *Strat.* 8.2.44.

74. *Strat.* 8.2.45.

75. *Strat.* 8.2.42.

76. *Strat.* 8.2.39.

77. *Strat.* 8.2.49.

78. *Strat.* 8.2.74; *Onasander* 1.13.

δους. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ πάντων εὖνοιαν μετὰ δόξης κτήση καὶ φιλού-
μενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν συναγωνιζομένους σοι προθύμως ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔξεις.

ριβ'. Ὅταν, μετὰ νίκην ᾗν ὁ Θεός σοι παράσχη, ἐπιζητῇ ὁ πολέμιος εἰρήνην
ἐπωφελῇ, μὴ γίνου ἀκαμπής, ἀλλ' ὑπάκουε τούτῳ καὶ εἰρήνευε, ἐννοῶν τὸ τῶν
570 πολέμων καὶ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον.

ριγ'. Ὑπομνήσκου αἰεὶ καὶ τῶν πάλαι σοι εἰρημένων παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν βασι-
λείας, ὡς στρατηγέ, ὅτι μᾶλλον τὴν ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν τῶν ὅπλων
χρεωστεῖς ποιεῖσθαι ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων περὶ τὰ ὅπλα. οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια μὲν οἷον διατροφᾶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων πορίζε-
575 σθαι δυνατόν ἐστιν, ὅπλων δὲ χωρὶς ἢ τούτων ἐπιλιπόντων τοῖς χρήζουσιν οὐ
κρατήσεις τῶν δυσμενῶν.

ριδ'. Θαρσαλέως ἀναφωνῆσαν μεγαλόφωνον στράτευμα καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖον
πρὸς ἀλαλαγμὸν καταπλήξει πάντως τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν.

ριε'. Ἐὰν ἐν πλήθει τοξοτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι πεποιθᾶσιν, ὑγροτέρους ἀέρας
580 ἐπιτηρεῖ διὰ τὸ ἀπαλώτερα γίνεσθαι τὰ τόξα. οὕτως γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντί-
ους ποιοῦμενος συμπλοκὴν εὐκαταφρόνητα αὐτῶν καταστήσεις τὰ βέλη.

ρις'. Ὁ ταῖς οἰκείαις καλλωπιζόμενος πράξει στρατηγὸς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν
ἄριστος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους λαμπρός, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ χρυσέα λόγχη
χρησὶμὴ πρὸς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ σιδηρέα καὶ ἄκρως ἠκονημένη.

585 ριζ'. Ὑψηλὸς τὴν διάνοιαν λογισθήσῃ ὅταν οὐ τὰ παρόντα μόνον καὶ προσ-
πίπτοντα διοικῇ ὀρθῶς, ὡς στρατηγέ, ἀλλ' ὅταν τοῦ μέλλοντος τὴν δέουσαν
ποιήσῃ καὶ φροντίδα καὶ πρόνοιαν.

ριη'. Ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἄριστόν ἐστιν· στρατηγῷ δὲ μάλι-
στα ἐν πολέμου καιρῷ λίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦτο χρησιμώτατον.

590 ριθ'. Μήτε μάχης ἐπικινδύνου καὶ πολλὴν ἐχούσης ἀδηλίαν ἐκουσίως ἀπάρ-
χου, μήτε τοὺς παραβούλως μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιβούλως χρησαμένους ποτὲ τοῖς

568-570 *Strat.*, 8.2.52. 571-576 *Strat.*, 8.2.53. 577-578 *Strat.*, 8.2.46. 579-581 *Strat.*,
8.2.48. 582-584 *Strat.*, 8.2.54. 585-587 *Strat.*, 8.2.55. 588-589 *Strat.*, 8.2.66.
590-597 *Strat.*, 8.2.56.

566-567 φιλούμενος M ἀγαπώμενος A 569 τούτῳ M αὐτῷ A 573 ἢ περ... τὰ² M ἢ τὴν
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὰ μὲν γὰρ A 574 μὲν M om. A 574-576 ἀπὸ... δυσμενῶν M δυνατόν
ἐστιν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι χωρὶς δὲ πολεμικῶν ὅπλων οὐ δυνήσῃ
πολεμίων κρατῆσαι A 577 ἀναφωνῆσαν M καὶ τολμηρῶς ἀναβοῆσαν A 578 ἀλαλαγμὸν
M τὸ ρύεσθαι καὶ ἀλαλάζειν A 579 πεποιθᾶσιν M θαρρῶσιν A 581 συμπλοκὴν M μάχην
A | καταστήσεις... βέλη M τὰ βέλη ποιήσεις A 583 ὥσπερ M κἂν γὰρ A 585 μόνον M
μόνα A 586 ὅταν M ὅταν καὶ A 587 καὶ¹ M om. A 589 τοῦτο M om. A 590 καὶ...
ἐχούσης M πολλὴν A 591 τοὺς... χρησαμένους A τοῖς... χρησαμένοις M

pense. In this way you will enhance your reputation and gain the goodwill of all;
you will be loved by them and you will have them eagerly fighting along with
you in time of danger.⁷⁹

112. When the enemy, after God has granted you victory, should seek terms
of peace, do not be rigid, but listen graciously to them and make peace. Keep in
mind the uncertainties of war and of fortune.

113. Always bear in mind what Our Majesty said to you a long time ago, O
general, namely, that you are obliged to devote greater attention and forethought
to the weapons than to equipment only. You know that it is possible to procure
equipment such as food, supplies, and other things in enemy territory. But
without weapons, or if there is a shortage of them for those who want them, you
will not overcome your adversary.

114. An army that boldly shouts out its war cries loud and clear is able to
strike great terror into the enemy battle line.⁸⁰

115. If the enemy relies on a large force of archers, watch for fairly wet
weather because it weakens the bows. Then, when you launch your charge
against the enemy, you will nullify the effect of their missiles.⁸¹

116. That general is best who has distinguished himself by his own deeds,
not the one who is illustrious because of his family. A golden lance is not useful
in combat, but an iron one, perfectly sharpened, is.⁸²

117. You will be considered highly intelligent when you correctly manage
not only matters of immediate concern, O general, but also when you show
proper concern and forethought for the future.⁸³

118. To keep pleasure under control is best at all times, but for a general it is
extremely expedient in wartime.⁸⁴

119. Do not willingly enter upon a hazardous and highly uncertain battle.
Refrain from emulating those who once engaged in such hazardous, not to say

79. For §§111-113 see *Strat.* 8.2.51-53.

80. *Strat.* 8.2.46.

81. *Strat.* 8.2.48.

82. *Strat.* 8.2.54.

83. *Strat.* 8.2.55.

84. *Strat.* 8.2.66.

πράγμασι καὶ θαυμασθέντας διὰ τύχην μηδὲ τούτους ζηλοῦν καταδέχου. ἀλλ' ὅταν χρειαί γένηται πολέμου, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὑποδέχου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας, ταῖς δὲ οἰκείαις ἐπιβολαῖς ὡς ἂν δοκιμάσης εἶναι σοὶ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ συμφέρον
595 ἐκάστοτε κέχρησο. τύχη μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἐνίκησεν καὶ πολλάκις ἔπταισεν, στρατηγία δὲ διαφόροις τέχναις κεχρημένη πολλάκις μὲν ἐνίκησεν, πρὸς ἅπαξ δ' ἴσως ἔπταισεν.

ρκ'. Ὡλέσεις σου τοὺς ὑποχειρίους, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἐὰν ὑπάρξεις χρημάτων ἑραστής, καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῖς οἰκείοις ὀλέθριος ὑπάρχεις φιλοχρήματος ὢν, ἀλλὰ
600 καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενήσῃ εὐκαταφρόνητος.

ρκα'. Νουνεχῶς ἐπίβαλλε καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς συζητήσεως τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῖς λοιποῖς πράγμασι πταίσας τις, μετ' ὀλίγον ἴσως τὸ πταῖσμα ἐπανορθώσασθαι δύναται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἁμαρτήμασιν ἡ βλάβη μένει· οἱ γὰρ τεθνηκότες διεφθάρσαν.

605 ρκβ'. Λογίζου καὶ κατανόει τοῦ ἀπλίκτου τὸ χωρίον, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἐὰν ἔστιν ὑγιεινὸν καὶ σωτήριον ἢ νοσερὸν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις πολέμιον, καὶ αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτηδείους χρείας, ὕδωρ καὶ ξύλα καὶ χόρτον, ἐὰν πλησίον εἰσὶν. εἰ γὰρ πόρρωθὲν εἰσιν, δυσχερὴς ἔστι καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος ἡ τούτων συγκομιδὴ, καὶ μάλιστα πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων. καὶ βουνὸν δέ τινα δέον παρακεῖσθαι ἵνα, εἰ οὕτω τύχη
610 ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνέλθῃς, πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαντες καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμοιοι.

ρκγ'. Ἐὰν πολέμοιοι παράκεινται σοὶ, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ προσποιηθῇς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐναντία ὢν ἐλπίζουσιν, οὐ μικρὰ ὠφελήσεις. δόξας γὰρ ἐνίστε χάρακα πηγνύειν ἢ ἕτερόν τι κυκλοῦν ὀχύρωμα, καὶ διὰ τοιαύτης δόξης εἰς ὁμοίαν πράξιν τοὺς ἐναντίους παρορμήσας, δύνασαι συντεταγμένους αὐτοὺς διασκεδάσ-
615 μένοις ἐκείνοις εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συντόμως ἐπιπεσεῖν ἢ ἐὰν καὶ τοῦτο συμβῇ ἐκ τόπων δυσχερῶν ἀκινδύνως ἀπαγάγῃς τὸ στράτευμα.

ρκδ'. Ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸν παλαιστήν οὕτως δεῖ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τὸν στρατηγὸν δεικνύειν μὲν ἕτερα, καὶ διὰ τούτων πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξαπατᾶν, κεχρησθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀρμόζουσι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ οἷς ἂν τῶν μαχομένων πολεμίων κρατή-
620 σῃς.

598–600 *Strat.*, 8.2.57. 601–604 *Strat.*, 8.2.61. 605–610 *Strat.*, 8.2.75. 611–616 *Strat.*, 8.2.76. 617–620 *Strat.*, 8.2.77.

592 πράγμασι M πράγμασιν A 594 τὸ M om. A 595–596 στρατηγία δὲ M om. A 598 ὑπάρξεις M ὑπάρχεις A 601 ἐπίβαλλε M om. A 602 ἔργοις ἐὰν M ἔργοις ἐπίβαλλε ἐν A | πράγμασι A πράγμασιν M 605 τὸ χωρίον M τὸν τόπον A 606 ὑγιεινὸν... πολέμιον M ὑγιεινὸς καὶ σωτήριος ἢ νοσερὸς καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις πολέμιος A 607–608 πόρρωθὲν M μακρόθεν A 610 πρὸ τοῦ M πρὶν A 612 ἐνίστε M πολλάκις A | χάρακα M σταβαρὰ περὶ τὸ φοσσάτον A 613 δόξης M ἐλπίδος A 619 οἷς ἂν M δι' ὧν A

treacherous, operations and were admired because of their good luck. But, when it is necessary to wage war, remain secure in dealing with the enemy and follow your own designs as in each instance you think useful and helpful for you. For fortune has gained victory once but has been defeated many times. Strategy, however, making use of various skills, has led to defeat perhaps once but has been victorious many times.⁸⁵

120. You will bring ruin on your subjects, O general, if you are a lover of money. Not only do you cause the destruction of your own people if you are a money lover but you will also be viewed with contempt by the enemy.⁸⁶

121. Undertake military operations with intelligence and extensive investigation. If some mistake is made in other matters, in a little while, perhaps, the mistake can be rectified, but errors made in war cause lasting harm, for the dead are gone for good.⁸⁷

122. Study and carefully observe the location of the camp, O general. Is it healthy and safe or is it inhospitable and unhealthy for your troops? Are the necessary supplies, water, wood, forage, nearby? If these are at a distance, it will be difficult and dangerous to procure them, especially in the presence of the enemy. Try to locate some hill in the vicinity and, if you find one, ascend it before the enemy arrives and occupies it.⁸⁸

123. If the enemy are nearby, O general, you will gain no small advantage if you pretend to do the opposite of what they expect. At one time, give the impression that you are going to set up camp or encircle some other fortified place and, by appearing to do so, you may lure the enemy into like activity. While they are scattered about getting things organized, you remain in formation and suddenly fall upon them. Even if this happens to take place in difficult terrain, you may lead your army out without risk.

124. The general must carry out operations like a good wrestler, feinting in one direction in an effort to deceive his opponent. You must make use of suitable opportunities and other ways by which you can overpower the enemy's fighting men.

85. *Strat.* 8.2.56.

86. *Strat.* 8.2.57.

87. *Strat.* 8.2.61.

88. For §§122–124 see *Strat.* 8.2.75–77.

ρκε'. Νίκης καὶ ἥττης ἀμφοτέρων ἐν ἀδήλῳ κειμένων, ἄριστος καὶ σοφὸς λογισθήσῃ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σου κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐγχειρήσει, ἐὰν πρὸς δευτέραν τύχην καὶ ἐναντίαν ἐκβασιν ἀποβλέπῃς, καὶ ὡς αὐτῆς παρούσης τὰ δέοντα περὶ αὐτῆς προνοήσῃς. εἰ γάρ τι συμβῇ ἐναντίον, ἔτοιμος

625 πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν εὐρεθήσῃ.

ρκς'. Ὁ ἀσφαλὴς στρατηγὸς οὐ μόνον τὰ εἰκότα γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εὖ διαθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παράδοξα λογιζόμενος τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιήσεται πρόνοιαν.

ρκζ'. Εἰ δέ τις τῶν περὶ σε ἀρχόντων πολλὰ πράττων ἀνάξια καὶ φαῦλα
630 εὐρεθῇ, μὴδὲ περὶ μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πραγμάτων αὐτῷ καταπιστεύσῃς.

ρκη'. Ἴσθι γὰρ | ὅτι τοιοῦτους ὀφείλεις προβάλλεσθαι ἄρχοντας, οἵτινες τῶν ὑποχειρίων αὐτῶν κρεῖττονες ἔσονται· φιλοῦσι γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀρχομένων συνδιατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οὕτως γὰρ ὁ ἀρχαῖος πληρωθήσεται λόγος, μὴ ἐλάφους ἄρχειν λεόντων, ἀλλὰ λέοντας ἐλάφων.

635 ρκθ'. Ῥωμαλέον κατασκευάσεις τὸ στράτευμα, ἐὰν τὸν τῆς ἀνοχῆς τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν εἰς ἄσκησιν καὶ γυμνασίαν τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων ἀφοσιώσῃς. τότε γὰρ ἐν καιρῷ πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἔστι μελέτην, ἀλλ' ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παραστήσεις.

ρλ'. Ἡ μελέτη σοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων πραγμάτων ἡρεμοῦντι γινέσθω, καὶ μὴ
640 πρότερον εἰς ὕπνον τρέπου πρὶν ἂν κατανοήσῃς τί μὲν ἔδειπραχθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο παρέλιπες· τί δὲ εἰς τὴν αὔριον πραχθῆναι καλὸν καὶ τούτου ταχέως ἀπάρξῃ.

ρλα'. Νομισθήσῃ κῶφος καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἐὰν προχείρως πιστεύῃς τοῖς ὑποσχομένοις σοὶ τι πράξειν. ἐὰν δὲ ἐξετάζων καὶ γυμνάζων τὸ πρᾶγμα φανῇς, αἰδούμενος ἕκαστος τῶν φαύλων τὴν σὴν ἀκρί-
645 βειαν καὶ ἀγχίνουσαν, οὐδὲν σοι πρὸς ἀπάτην εἰπεῖν τολμήσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμά-
σονταί σου τῆς στερρότητος οἱ ὑποχείριοι, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀστοχήσεις.

621–625 *Strat.*, 8.2.78. 626–628 *Strat.*, 8.2.63. 629–630 *Strat.*, 8.2.62. 631–634 *Strat.*, 8.2.79; cf. β'.220–221. 635–638 *Strat.*, 8.2.64. 639–641 *Strat.*, 8.2.65. 642–646 *Strat.*, 8.2.67.

621 ἐν M om. A 623 ἐὰν M εἰ A 627 εὖ διαθῇ M καλῶς διαθήσει A | παράδοξα M παρὰ προσδοκίαν A 632 φιλοῦσι...αἰεὶ M αἰεὶ γὰρ A 633 συνδιατίθεσθαι...ἄρχουσιν M πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων γνώμας συμεταβάλλονται A 636–637 ἀφοσιώσῃς A ἀφοσιώσῃ M 643 προχείρως M εὐκόλως A 646 σου M σε ἔνεκεν A

125. Since both victory and defeat remain uncertain, you will be regarded as a most courageous and wise general, in combat and in every undertaking of yours against the enemy, if you keep in mind second fortune and an adverse outcome. Make plans about how you should deal with them as though they were actually occurring. If the opposite does happen, you will be ready to find safety.⁸⁹

126. The cautious general should not only be good at making arrangements for what is likely to happen in time of danger but he should also consider the unexpected and make plans for it ahead of time.⁹⁰

127. If one of the officers around you is discovered to be engaged in many unworthy and disreputable activities, do not entrust him even with small and ordinary matters.⁹¹

128. Keep in mind that you ought to promote such officers who are better than the men they will command. The spirit of subordinates always tends to model itself on that of the commander. Thus, the ancient saying will be fulfilled: "The deer is not to rule over the lion, but the lion to rule over the deer."⁹²

129. Maintain your army in good condition. If battle is postponed, devote the time to exercise and drill in combat activities. When the time comes to take the field, you will provide, not just a training exercise in manly valor, but an actual demonstration of it.⁹³

130. Deliberate about necessary matters when you are calm. Do not go to sleep before you reflect on what you should have done and may perhaps have neglected. Reflect too on what it would be wise to do tomorrow and quickly get to it.⁹⁴

131. You will be regarded as a lightweight and be despised by all who encounter you if you readily believe those who promise you to do something. But if you are seen investigating and testing the matter, each one of the common men will be in awe at your precision and shrewdness and will not dare to say anything to deceive you. Instead, your subordinates will be amazed at your firmness, and you will not fall short of the truth.⁹⁵

89. *Strat.* 8.2.78; cf. *Const.* 13, n. 2.

90. *Strat.* 8.2.63.

91. *Strat.* 8.2.62.

92. *Strat.* 8.2.79; cf. *Const.* 2 §32.

93. *Strat.* 8.2.64.

94. *Strat.* 8.2.65.

95. *Strat.* 8.2.67.

ρλβ'. Ἴσθι ὅτι ἡ μετὰ λογισμοῦ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔφοδος ἀσφάλειαν ἔχει πολλήν. οἱ γὰρ ὀξεῖς καὶ προπετεῖς στρατηγοί, ὡς ἡ πείρα ἔδειξεν, πλείστα διαμαρτάνουσι.

650 ρλγ'. Καλῶς ποιήσεις ὅταν τὰ σὰ βουλευματα λανθάνειν θέλεις τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐὰν οὐδὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν οἰκείων ταῦτα θαρρήσης. δύσκολον γὰρ κρυβῆναι λαθραίαν βουλὴν πολλοῖς χεῖλεσι πεπιστευμένην.

ρλδ'. Ὅρμην ἐκάστου καὶ κίνησιν καὶ ἄρχοντος καὶ στρατιώτου δεῖ σε γινώσκειν, ὡς στρατηγέ, καὶ εἰς ὁποῖαν ἕκαστος πράξιν ἀρμόδιός ἐστιν, ἵνα ἕκαστον
655 δεόντως ἐκτάξῃς. ὡς ἔοικε γάρ, τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ταῦτα ἀνωμάλους ποιεῖται τὰς παρατάξεις.

ρλε'. Στρατηγὸς ἀγαθὸς εἰκὼν γίνεται τῶν πρακτέων τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ φαῦλος ὁμοίως. σὺ οὖν τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας δεχόμενος τὴν παραινέσιν, ὡς στρατηγέ, ἀγαθὴ γενοῦ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εἰκὼν, καὶ ἄριστα γυμναζόμενος, καὶ
660 ποιῶν ἅπερ δεῖ, ἀπεχόμενος δέ, ὅσα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ σε τεταγμένους ἀπέχεσθαι χρήσιμον.

ρλς'. Ἐνδοξὸν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ λίαν ὀνήσιμόν ἐστιν ἡ στρατηγικὴ ἐπιστήμη· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ μάχης πολλάκις νικᾷ τοὺς πολεμίους. ταύτης οὖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι σε χρή, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις ἄνευ φανεροῦ πολέμου κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων
665 ποιεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ | ἀνάγκη ταύτην μὴ ἐνεργεῖν, τότε διὰ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμης παρακινδυνεύειν ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαγωνίζεσθαι.

ρλζ'. Νεάζειν ὀφείλει ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τοῦ σώματος. διὰ τῆς στρατηγικῆς τέχνης ὀφείλει θαυμάζεσθαι ἡγούν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῆς. ἔθος γάρ
670 ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ὥστε τοὺς μέλλοντας στρατηγεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ ἔθνους καὶ γένους ἔλκειν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ταῖς νίκαις λαμπρυνόμενου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι πράγμασιν ἄχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος εἶναι τῆς νίκης σημαντικὴν.

647–649 *Strat.*, 8.2.68. 650–652 *Strat.*, 8.2.72. 653–656 *Strat.*, 8.2.71. 657–661 *Strat.*, 8.2.69. 662–667 *Onas.* 1.17. 668–672 *Cf.* β'. 93–100.

648–649 διαμαρτάνουσι M διαμαρτάνουσιν A 650–651 πολεμίους M πολεμίους τοῦτο δὲ γενήσεται A 654 ὁποῖαν M ποῖαν A 655 ὡς... γάρ M om. A 655–656 ποιεῖται... παρατάξεις M *trsp.* A 657 τῶν πρακτέων M om. A | αὐτοῦ M αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφειλόντων πράττεσθαι A 659 γενοῦ... εἰκὼν M εἰκὼν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις γενοῦ A 660 δεῖ M προσήκει A | πάντας τοὺς M ἐκ πάντων ὧν A 662 ὀνήσιμόν M ὀφέλιμον A 665 ποιεῖσθαι M ποιήσεις A 666 ῥώμης... ἀναγκαῖον M δυνάμει ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι παρακινδυνεύειν A 668 σώματος M σώματος καὶ A 670–671 γένους... συγγένειαν M om. A 671 λαμπρυνόμενου M λαμπρυνόμενου κατάγειν τὸ γένος A 672 ἄχρι M ἕως A | σημαντικὴν M τὸ σημαντικὸν A

132. Bear in mind that approaching war with deliberation promises great safety, whereas hasty and impetuous generals, as experience shows, commit many blunders.⁹⁶

133. When you want to conceal your plans from the enemy, you will act correctly if you do not take the rank and file of your men into your confidence. It is difficult to hide a secret plan that has been entrusted to many lips.⁹⁷

134. You must be familiar with the tendencies and inclinations of each officer and soldier, O general, and for what task each one is suited, so you can assign them properly. I believe that paying little heed to these matters results in an uneven battle line.⁹⁸

135. A good general sets an example for his subordinates of how things are to be done, as does also a bad general. Therefore, you, O general, who have received this counsel from Our Majesty, set a good example for your subordinates, training yourself in the highest ideals and doing what is needed, but refraining from those things that the soldiers and everyone under your command should refrain from.⁹⁹

136. Knowledge of strategy is an honorable and extremely useful thing. Frequently it leads to victory over the enemy without battle. You must study this attentively and, by following it, launch assaults against the enemy without getting into a pitched battle. When the situation is such that you cannot act in this manner, then it is necessary to face the dangers with physical force and engage the enemy in battle.¹⁰⁰

137. The general ought to be youthful in spirit and robust in body. He ought to be admired because of his military skill and the way he puts it into practice. It is an ancient custom for those men who are to embark on a military career to trace their lineage from a tribe and family not only illustrious in their victories, but in all their actions even to the point that their very name signifies victory.¹⁰¹

96. *Strat.* 8.2.68.

97. *Strat.* 8.2.72.

98. *Strat.* 8.2.71.

99. *Strat.* 8.2.69.

100. *Onasander* 1.17.

101. *Cf.* *Const.* 2 §15.

ρλη'. Χρήσιμόν τι στρατήγημα διηγῆσομαι, καὶ τοῦτο ὅπερ ἀναγνοὺς ἀνέμα-
 θον, ἵνα ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ σοι μέλλειν πρὸς πολεμίους πλείονά σου δύναμιν
 675 ἔχοντας διαγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ βούλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ συνάψαι πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ
 ἀκινδύνως ἐπεξελεῖν, ἐπιτήρησον ἐὰν παράκειται ποταμός, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιστρέ-
 ψας ἐπάγαγε τοῖς πολεμίους κατὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐν ᾧ ἡ παράταξις πρόκειται, καὶ
 οὕτως τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἀνενέργητον ποιήσεις.

ρλθ'. Ῥαδίως ἀναστείλῃ βουλὴν πολεμίων ὁ στρατηγός ἐὰν καὶ αὐτός, καὶ
 680 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν κρατῇ ὑποχειρίων τινῶν· καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ γῆς
 ἡπείρου κρατοῦντες κατὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ νηῶν ἢ ἐτέρων παραλίω τόπων ἐκστρα-
 τεύειν βουλεύονται. ἐὰν γὰρ φημίση ὅτι αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου βούλεται κατ'
 αὐτῶν στρατεῦσαι καταπλήξῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀναστείλῃ τῆς κατὰ θάλασσαν
 ἐγχειρήσεως.

685 ρμ'. Ἰσθὶ εὐσεβὲς εἶναι πρᾶγμα, ᾧ στρατηγέ, καὶ λίαν ὀνήσιμον τὸ ἐν ταῖς
 ἀναγκαίαις καὶ κοιναῖς χρεαῖς μηδέποτε ἰδίας μνησκέσθαι ἔχθρας μὴδὲ δι'
 ὑπόνοιαν ἰδίαν ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὰ δέοντα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς τῶν κοινῶν
 προνοίαις τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα κατατίθεσθαι καὶ περὶ προσώπων καὶ πραγμάτων,
 καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὸ χρήσιμον ἀποβλέπειν, καὶ τοῦτο πράττειν. ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη
 690 αἰτία πολλοῖς παρορωμένη μεγάλας βλάβας πολλάκις ἐποίησεν.

ρμα'. Σοφίζομενος, ᾧ στρατηγέ, χρεῖας οὕτω καλούσης, ὠφελήσεις τὰ
 μέγιστα. ἐὰν γὰρ διὰ τινος ἐπινοίας προνοήσης τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, καὶ
 μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἀστέρων ἐπιτολῆς, καὶ ταῦτα προεῖπης, ὅτι ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ σημασίᾳ
 μέλλουσι γίνεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τῶν παρά σου ἐγχειρουμένων πραγμάτων ἐπιρρωσθή-
 695 σονται οἱ ὑπὸ σε στρατιῶται, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιτολὴν τινα σημαίνουσιν
 αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ ὑποδεχόμενοι, καὶ θαρραλέοι ἔσονται κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

ρμβ'. Τοὺς παρά σου ἐν ὁμαλῷ καὶ πεδινῷ τόπῳ ποτὲ παρατασσομένους
 πεζοὺς ἐνόπλους πρὸς καβαλλαρίους ἐχθρῶν μηδέποτε ἐάσης, κἂν πολλὴν
 ἀνάγκην ὑποστῶσιν, καταλιπόντας τὴν παρά|ταξιν ἐκφυγεῖν. μενόντων γὰρ

691-696 Cf. 18'.703-713.

673 καὶ τοῦτο M om. A 674-675 πλείονά... διαγωνίζεσθαι M διαγωνίζεσθαι πλείονά σου
 ἔχοντας δύναμιν A 676-677 ἐπιστρέψας M μετοχτεύσας A 677 πεδίου M τόπου A
 679 καὶ! M ὁ A 680 θάλασσαν M θάλατταν A 681 παραλίω M παραθαλαττίων A
 682 ἡπείρου M γῆς A 685 ὀνήσιμον M ὀφέλιμον A 690 πολλοῖς παρορωμένη M τῶν
 πολλῶν παραλειπομένη A 691 οὕτω καλούσης M ἀπαιτούσης A 692 τινος ἐπινοίας M
 trsp. A 693 ἐπιτολῆς M ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἐλλείψεως A 693-694 ἐπ'... γίνεσθαι M ἀγαθὰ
 σημαίνουσιν A 694-695 ἐπιρρωσθήσονται M ἐνδυναμωθήσονται A 695 ἐπιτολὴν M
 ἐπιστολὴν A 695-696 σημαίνουσιν... ὑποδεχόμενοι M ὑποδεχόμενοι ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῖς
 σημαίνουσιν A

138. I will tell you about a useful stratagem that I have learned from my reading. If it ever happens that you are about to fight against an enemy whose army is larger than yours and you do not want to face it in battle but to extricate yourself without danger, then be on the lookout for a nearby river, turn it around, and divert it against the enemy onto the plain on which the battle line was being formed. In this way, you will bring it about that the intended battle will not take place.

139. The general can easily confound the plans of the enemy if he has some men under his command on both land and sea. The enemy, who occupy territory on the mainland, may plan to campaign against his ships or other places along the shore. If the general lets it be known that he intends to war against them on land, he will catch them by surprise and turn back their attack by sea.

140. You must know, O general, that it is a religious deed and an extremely useful one, when it involves essential matters and public service, never to keep in mind personal enmity or to let personal suspicions be an obstacle to duty. Rather, in concerns affecting the common good, put all such feelings aside, regarding both persons and things, and look only toward what is beneficial, and do that. In many cases, overlooking this responsibility has resulted in great harm.

141. By acting cleverly, O general, when the situation requires, you will reap the greatest benefits. There may be some means that enable you to foretell future events, especially the rising of the stars. You foretell such events because they will occur under a favorable sign. The soldiers under your command will be strongly encouraged to support the actions you are taking, as though the rising of the star was a sort of sign from heaven that they were to experience good fortune and they will become bolder in facing the enemy.¹⁰²

142. Never allow the infantry, while they are drawn up on even and level ground against the enemy cavalry, to abandon the line of battle and run away, even under heavy pressure. If they remain in place, there are good hopes for

700 αὐτῶν πολλαὶ τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδες, φευγόντων δ' οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, πεζῶν διασκορπισθέντων καὶ ὑπὸ καβαλλαρίων διωκομένων.

705 ρμγ'. Ὡσπερ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως ἐπιθυμητόν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον κινδύνων τοὺς στρατιώτας προθύμως ἀπάρχεσθαι χρέος ἐστίν· ἐκεῖνοι γάρ εἰσι τοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως οἱ αἴτιοι. τότε γὰρ τὰ κατορθώματα τῶν πολεμίων ἀληθῶς γινώσκεται, ἥνίκα τῇ καρτερίᾳ τῶν πόνων ἐμμένωσιν· ταῦτα δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως καὶ εἰρηνεύειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πορίζουσιν.

710 ρμδ'. Ἀπονώτερον διὰ ἐφόδων ἀγρεύσεις καὶ κάστρα ποτὲ καὶ χωρία τῶν πολεμίων διὰ μὲν τῆς ξηρᾶς, ἐὰν σχηματίσης τοὺς σοὺς στρατιώτας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, διὰ δὲ θαλάσσης, ἐὰν ποτε ναυμαχῶν φθάσης τὰ πλοῖα τῶν πολεμίων κρατῆσαι ἢ ἕτερα ὅμοια ἐκείνων κατασκευάσαι, καὶ τούτοις τοὺς σοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμβιβάσαι, καὶ τῇ γῇ τῶν πολεμίων σὺν αὐταῖς καταπλεῦσαι. οὕτως γὰρ ὡς φιλίαις ταῖς ναυσὶ προσχόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ φεύγονται, καὶ εὐχερέστερον ἀλωθήσονται.

715 ρμε'. Ὑλην ἀγρυπνίας σοι διηγῆσομαι. ἀκριβὴς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο καὶ πάννυχος παραφυλακή, εἴτε φοσσάτου ὑπὸ βίγλας φυλαττομένου, ἐὰν εἴπῃς ὅτι “μέλλω κατὰ διαφόρους οὓς θέλω καιροὺς ἀνάπτειν λαμπτήρας εἰς τόνδε τὸν περίοπτον τόπον,” ἵνα καὶ οἱ φύλακες πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν παρά σου λαμπτήρων ἀντ' ἀνέχωσι καὶ δεικνύωσιν ἰδίους λαμπτήρας. οὕτως γὰρ τὴν ὥραν τῆς σῆς ἀναλάμψεως ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ ἐκδεχόμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἐγρηγορήσουσι, καὶ 720 ἀποσκοπεῖν τὰς βίγλας αὐτῶν παρασκευάσουσιν. εἰ δέ τινες ὑστερήσουσιν εὐθὺς γνωσθήσονται.

725 ρμς'. Τὸ φυλάσσεσθαι τὰς ἐξ ἀπονοίας μάχας τῶν πολεμίων ἐχέφρονός ἐστι στρατηγοῦ. ἡ γὰρ ἀπόνοια τὴν ἀνάγκην ἔχουσα παροτρύνουσαν, θραυστάτους καὶ ἀνδρείους τοὺς μαχομένους ποιεῖ. ἀπόνοια δὲ ἐστὶν ὅταν τις σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα εὐρεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος ἐνστῇ πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον, ὥστε ἢ νικῆσαι ἢ ἀποθανεῖν. ἐὰν δὲ στρατοπεδεύῃς κατέναντι πολεμίων, καὶ ὁ ἀνεμός ἐστι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπερχόμενος, ἐμπύριζε τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναφύοντα χόρτον ἵνα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπερχόμενον τὸ πῦρ τροπῆς αἴτιον γένηται.

730 ρμζ'. Ὅταν μέλλῃς κατὰ χωρίου τινὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ αὐγος, ἐγκρύμματα διάφορα ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ κατάστησον διὰ τῆς νυκτός, οὕτως γὰρ διαφόρως προσβαλὼν καὶ πλεον ἑορβήσης καὶ διεσπαρμένους

victory, but if they run away, there is no hope of salvation, for the foot soldiers will be scattered about and pursued by the cavalry.

143. Just as a person desires a pleasant life, so must soldiers eagerly engage in the perils of warfare. Indeed, it is they who assure <us> of a pleasant life. Success over the enemy is truly achieved when the soldiers continually persevere in their labors. And it is success over the enemy that makes for pleasant living and peace.

144. At times, when you assault them on land, you will capture the fortresses and other places held by the enemy with less hard work if you have your soldiers dress like the local inhabitants. If you attack by sea, then, before the naval battle, seize some enemy ships or outfit others similar to those. Have your soldiers go aboard these ships and sail off to the land of the enemy. Your adversaries will look upon them as friendly ships, will not run away, and will be more easily taken.

145. I will discuss the matter of vigilance with you. The guards will remain alert and vigilant all night and the encampment will be well guarded by scouts if you announce: “I intend to light lanterns at different times, whenever I so choose, at this observation post.” The guards should then, in response to each one of your lanterns, raise and show their own lanterns. Not knowing the hour of your lantern lighting and always being on the lookout for it, they will stay awake. They will make it easy for you to check on the scouts; those who happen to be late will be recognized immediately.

146. It is the mark of a prudent general to guard against the enemy fighting out of despair. Desperation only makes the emergency more acute and makes the combatants braver and bolder. Desperation sets in when a person takes his stand against his adversary but cannot find any hope of salvation. There is either victory or death. If you lead your army on campaign against the enemy and there is a wind blowing in their direction, set fire to the grass growing in that area so that the fire rushing on them will result in their defeat.

147. When you intend to launch an assault about dawn against some place held by the enemy, then, during the night set up various ambushes here and there, so that, by attacking in different places, you will disturb them all the more

705 ἐμμένωσιν M ἐμμένουσιν A 706 πορίζουσιν M παρέχουσιν A 709 φθάσης τὰ M κρατήσης A 710 κατασκευάσαι M κατασκευάσης A 711 καὶ... αὐταῖς M ὥστε σὺν αὐτοῖς τῇ γῇ τῶν πολεμίων A 712 φιλίαις M φιλίας οἱ ἐναντίοι τὰς ναῦς λογιζόμενοι οὐ φυγῶσιν A 713 ἀλωθήσονται M κρατήσονται A 716-717 περίοπτον M ὕψηλον A 717-718 ἀντανέχωσι καὶ M ἀναστάντες A 722 ἐχέφρονός M φρονίμου A

ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους. καὶ τοῦτο δέ σοι προστίθῃμι, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις κατὰ χώρας ἀδοκήτοις ἐπελεύσεισι τριβόλους σιδηροὺς νυκτὸς διαρρίπτεις ἐν κύκλῳ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς τοῦ σοῦ | στρατεύματος προστάξεις στερεὰ ἤτοι
735 ξύλινα ἵχνη ἀντὶ κασσυμάτων ἔχειν τὰ ὑποδήματα. οὕτως γάρ, ἐὰν καὶ τινες βουληθῶσιν ἢ πεζοὶ ἢ καβαλλάριοι ἀμύνασθαι τοῖς τριβάλοις ἐμπεσόντες κωλυθήσονται, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον ἀνύσουσιν.

ρμῆ'. Κτῆμα τίμιον ἢ σωφροσύνη καὶ στρατηγῶ καὶ στρατεύματι, ὥσπερ ἡ πορνεία ἐναντίον καὶ ὀλέθριον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν αἰχμαλωτίσι γυναιξὶ γινομένη.
740 καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φινεὲς εἰς τὴν Μαδιανίτιδα γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν Ζαμβρὴ γεγονότα. μιᾶς γὰρ γυναικὸς αἰχμαλώτου πορνεία ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν νενικηκότων μικροῦ διέφθειρεν, εἰ μὴ ἔσθῃ Φινεὲς καὶ ἐκκεντήσας τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ θανατώσας ἐξιλάσατο. καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

745 ρμθ'. Ῥώμην ἐνθήσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου, ἐὰν ἐξαναστὰς ἔωθεν ὡς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ σοι ὀφθέντα ὄνειρον ἐπιφημίσης ἢ ὡς ἀπὸ τινος ἁγίας δυνάμεως προτρεπούσης ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐπιφανείσης σοι πρὸς συμμαχίαν.

ρν'. Ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλάκις καὶ ἄνευ πολέμου κατορθώσεις κατὰ πολεμίων
750 σου νίκην, ὅταν ἐτέρων πολεμίων αὐτοῖς που παρακειμένων τούτους χρήμασι πείσας πολεμεῖν τοῖς σοῖς ἐναντίοις ποιήσεις. ἢ γὰρ ἀλλήλους φθεροῦσιν ἢ τὸ ἐν μέρος ἐπικρατήσῃ, πολλοὺς ἀρίστους ἀποβαλὼν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀγῶνι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄμφω πολεμίων οὕτως ἡλασσωμένων ὁμοῦ ἀπαθὴς αὐτὸς καὶ ἰσχυρότερος ἐκείνων ἀναδειχθήσῃ.

755 ρνα'. Τοῖς βουλομένοις βιαίως ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου τὴν σὴν παράταξιν διαρρήξαι καὶ διεκθεῖν, δίοδον ἐκουσίως παρέχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπίστρεψον καὶ ὥσπερ φεύγουσι κατὰ νώτου ἐπιτεθεῖς ῥαδίως καταδιώξεις αὐτούς.

ρnb'. Ὡστε μὴ φόβον εἰσάγεσθαι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ τοὺς ἀκαίρως λιποτακτοῦντας, ταχέως αὐτοὺς καὶ συντόμως ἀποχωρίσας τῆς παρατάξεως ἐν
760 ἐτέραις χρεῖαις κατάστησον.

738–744 Num. 25:7–14.

732 ἀλίσκομένους M κρατουμένους A | προστίθῃμι M παραγγέλλομεν A 733 χώρας M χώραν A | διαρρίπτεις M διασπείρης A 734–735 ἤτοι... ἵχνη M trsp. A 737 ἀνύσουσιν M πληρώσουσιν A 742 μικροῦ M παρ' ὀλίγου A 744 εἰς δικαιοσύνην M ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ A 746 ἔωθεν M πρωὶ A 747 κατὰ... πολεμίων M om. A 753 τῶν ἄμφω M ἀμφοτέρων τῶν A | ἡλασσωμένων M φθειρωμένων A 756 δίοδον M πάροδον A 757 φεύγουσι M φεύγωσιν A | ῥαδίως M εὐκόλως A

and you will gather in the prisoners as they are scattered about. I will add this for you: in such surprise attacks against places, throw out iron caltrops at night in a circle. Order the foot soldiers in your army to wear shoes with stiff or wooden soles instead of leather ones. In this way, even if some, infantry or cavalry, should wish to protect themselves from falling upon the caltrops, this will prevent them from doing so. The infantry shall complete their special task.

148. Self-control is a valued possession for the general and for the army, just as fornication is adverse and destructive, especially when it occurs with captive women. Evidence of this is what happened in the time of Phinees concerning the Madianite woman and Zambres. The fornication of one captive woman just about destroyed the entire army, even though it was victorious. But Phinees arose and ran his spear through the sinners and, by putting them to death, made atonement. The plague abated and it was accounted to him as righteousness.¹⁰³

149. You will make your soldiers stronger on the day of battle if you get up early and spread it about that you have had a dream ostensibly sent by God or by some holy power that urged you on to attack the enemy and appeared in support of you.

150. You will achieve frequent victories against your enemies without actual war by making use of money. When they have other enemies lying in wait for them somewhere, an offer of money should be persuasive in getting this people to wage war against your adversaries. Either they will destroy one another or one side will conquer, although it will have lost many brave soldiers in the heat of battle. The result will be that both enemies will be weakened while, at the same time, you will be unharmed and end up stronger than those armies.

151. In the course of battle, when the enemy wants to break through by force and run through your battle line, give way willingly and, a bit later, wheel about and fall upon their rear as though they were running away and you will easily pursue them.

152. To keep your army from becoming frightened because some men are deserting at the wrong time, quickly and without formalities separate them from your battle line and assign them to other tasks.

103. Numbers 25:7–14.

ρνγ'. Ῥώμη στρατηγοῦ χερσὶ μὲν συμπλεκομένου πολλάκις οὐδὲν μέγα ὠφέλησεν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μικρὸν ἐν δειλίᾳ στρατοῦ ἐπιρρῶσαι τούτους βουλομένου διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν κινδύνων· πεσόντος δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ἔβλαπεν. στρατηγίαι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὅταν σώζηται καὶ διαφυλάττηται ὁ στρατηγός, παρ' αὐτοῦ
765 γινόμενα μεγάλας ὠφελείας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποτελοῦσιν.

ρνδ'. Πλήθους φαντασίαν τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος ποιήσεις, εἴγε τοῦτο βουληθῆς, ἐὰν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις καὶ ταῖς βουσὶν ἐποχεῖσθαι τινὰς καβαλλαρίους ποιήσης· ἐνίστε γὰρ | καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύμενον χρήσιμον.

ρνε'. Ἰκανῶς καταπλήξεις τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν παρατάξει ὅταν τοὺς ὀπλίτας
770 τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος πρῶτα μὲν κατὰ βῆμα μετὰ εὐταξίας προσάγῃς, ὅταν δὲ ἔσωθεν σαγιττοβόλου γένωνται, τότε δρομαίως μετ' ὀξύτητος συμπλέκεσθαι ποιήσης. οὐ γὰρ βλαβήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευομένων βελῶν, καὶ ἀπαθείς προσβαλόντες τρέψουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους.

ρνς'. Σοφοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔργον σοι διηγῆσομαι. ποτὲ γὰρ παρατασσομένου
775 αὐτοῦ βροντὴ γέγονε βαρεῖα, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ δειλιάσαντος, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ αὐτοῖς συμβόλῳ, ἀντεπῆνεγκεν εἰπών· “οὐ δι' ἡμᾶς ἡ βροντὴ γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ἐχθροὺς ἐμβροντήτους ποιήσας κατ' αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι κελεύει.”

ρνζ'. Τοὺς πολεμίους εὐκαταφρονήτους ποιήσεις ἐὰν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους
780 αὐτῶν παρά σοι ὄντας ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις τῶν παιγνίων ἐλάττους, τοὺς δὲ σοὺς ὑπερέχειν παρασκευάσῃς.

ρνη'. Ὅτε βούλῃ κρύψαι τοὺς ἀνηρημένους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος, εἴγε καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίη ποτὲ, ὡς πολλάκις εἶωθε, μετὰ τὴν λύσιν τῆς μάχης μὴ συνδειπνεῖν ὁμοῦ τὰ κοντουβέρνια παρακελεύου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστον.
785 οὕτως γὰρ οὐ διαγνόντες τοὺς ἀνηρημένους οὐκ εἰς δειλίαν ἐμπεσοῦνται, ἀλλὰ θαρσύνουσιν.

ρνθ'. Στρατηγὸς πολεμίων, ὥσπερ κεφαλὴ ἐχίδνης, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτοῦ. πᾶσαν οὖν ἐπίνοιαν ποιοῦ, ὥστε αὐτὸν πεσεῖν, ἢ διὰ πλήθους συμπεφραγμένου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον ὀξέως ἐπιδραμόντος ἢ διὰ βελῶν πρὸς
790 ἓνα σκοπὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ βληθέντων, ἢ δι' ἐτέρου τινὸς ἐπιτηδεύματος. καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐχίδνης ἡ κεφαλὴ συντριβεῖσα τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα κατέλιπεν ἀνενέργητον.

153. A strong general engaging in hand-to-hand combat is usually of no great help. Perhaps, when the army is timid, he may intend to strengthen them a little by sharing in their dangers, but it is disastrous if he falls. Strategy and good management on his part, when the general is safe and protected, result in great benefits in combat.¹⁰⁴

154. You will give the impression that you have a large army, if this is what you desire, by having some cavalymen ride on the pack animals, the asses, and the cattle. Sometimes a display of this sort is useful.

155. You will strike the enemy with great amazement if you bring up the heavy-armed troops of your army in good order at a gradual pace and, when they come within a bowshot, have them race quickly forward and engage closely. They will not be injured by the arrows fired at them and, charging forward unharmed, they will rout the foe.

156. I will tell you what a wise general once did. As the army was being drawn up in formation, a loud thunder clap was heard and caused the army to become fearful, as though it were an evil omen. He made a counterargument by saying: “The thunder did not come because of us, but because of the enemy; God has sent the thunder on them, as our enemies, and orders us to march out against them.”¹⁰⁵

157. You will make the enemy into objects of contempt if you show that the men of their nation who are with you are inferior in wrestling matches, whereas you make sure that your own men prove to be superior.

158. When you wish to hide from your army those who have died in battle, if this should indeed happen, as it does frequently, then, after the battle has come to an end, order the squads not to take their meal together but each one wherever it finds itself. In this way, they will not know who has been killed and they will not become discouraged but will take heart.

159. The enemy general is like the head of a viper in relation to his army. Focus your full attention on making him fall, either by a large number of heavy-armed troops charging directly against him alone or by discharging arrows against him as a single target or handle it in some other manner. Once the head of the viper has been cut off, the rest of the body can do nothing.¹⁰⁶

761-765 Onas. 33. 774-778 Cf. Polyæn. 3.10.2. 787-791 Cf. Polyæn. 3.9.22.

768 ἐνίστε M πολλάκις A 776 συμβόλῳ M σημείω A 780 ἐλάττους M ἐλάττονας A 783 εἴγε M εἰ A | εἶωθε M εἶωθεν A 784 κοντουβέρνια A κουτουβέρνια M

104. Onasander 33.

105. Cf. Polyænus 3.10.2.

106. Cf. Polyænus 3.9.22.

ρξ'. Ἐν πολέμου καιρῷ τοὺς φιλότατους καὶ συνήθεις καὶ συγγενεῖς πλησίον συντάττειν ἀλλήλων ἀγαθόν ἐστιν. ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη συγκινδυνεύειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀριστεύειν παρασκευάζει.

795 ρξα'. Ὑπόνοιαν κατασκευάσεις ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ ἀλλήλων, ἐὰν τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπισήμων τὰ χωρία καταλίπης ἀβλαβῇ δηλονότι κατακαίων τὰ πλησιόχωρα.

ρξβ'. Στρατὸς εἰ μὲν ἔστι σοι ἰκανός, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ μόνος αὐτάρκης, ἐπείτοιγε καὶ τοὺς ἀνικάνους πρὸς χρεῖαν ἐκείνων καὶ δουλείαν καὶ πλήθους
800 φαντασίαν ὅτε καλέσει καιρὸς συμπαραλαβεῖν χρήσιμόν ἐστιν ἢ ἐλασσουμένου τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ διὰ συμμάχων ἀναπληροῦσθαι αὐτόν, ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ καταπολεμῆσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους. εἴρηται γὰρ λόγος παλαιός· ὅτι ἔνθα μὴ ἐξαρκεῖ ἡ λεοντὴ προσράπτειν δεῖ τῆς ἀλωπεκῆς.

ρξγ'. Ἐὰν συμβῇ σοὶ ποτε ὑποσύνθημα | γράψαι τινὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ὄντι τῶν
805 πολεμίων, ἐν ἀκρωτίσι πινακιδίοις ὃ ἂν βούλῃ καταγράψας, ἐπικάλυπτε τῷ κηρῷ τὰ γράμματα, καὶ τότε κατὰ τοῦ κηροῦ γράφε τὰ ἀνύποπτα. οὕτως γὰρ ἀνύσεις τοῦ ὑποσυνθήματος τὴν κρυφαίαν σου δῆλωσιν.

ρξδ'. Βουλὴν ποτέ τις προδοσίας ποιήσας, γνωσθεὶς δὲ καὶ μέλλων ἀλίσκεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ἰδίοις κατεμήνυσεν, καὶ ὅπως δεῖ ταύτην
810 φυλάσασθαι συνεβούλευσεν. ἐμήνυσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τούτῳ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τὰ ἐναντία τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. τίνι πιστεύσης μᾶλλον ἢ πάντως τῷ βουλευθέντι προδότῃ καὶ μηνύσαντι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς λόγοις τῶν πολεμίων; οὗτος γάρ, εἰ καὶ προδότης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτος πάντοτε καὶ συγγενὴς καὶ χρήμασιν ἴσως ὑποφθαρεὶς ἃ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἢ λαβὼν ἠθέτησεν, ἐκείνοι δὲ φύσει
815 πολέμιοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀλλότριτοι.

ρξε'. Ἡ δειλία τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὀκνου καὶ τῆς ὠχρίσεως δείκνυται. τοὺς οὖν τοιοῦτους ἀσυμφανῶς χώριζε τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπόστελλε, ὥς διῆθεν κομίσοντας ἃ ἐπελάθοντο. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας παρορμήσεις λόγοις τοὺς στρατιώ-

160. In combat it is a good idea to line up very close friends, companions, and relatives close to one another. For their love makes them ready to endure dangers by one another's side and to distinguish themselves.¹⁰⁷

161. You will make the enemy suspicious of one another if you leave undamaged the estates of the important men among them and burn down the neighboring estates.

162. Your army may be large enough, O general, and sufficient by itself, yet when the situation requires, it is useful to take in some people who are unsuited for <combat> to assist with the needs and service of the soldiers and <to create> the impression of a large force. If your army is smaller, expand it by adding allied forces so that it is large enough to overcome its adversaries in battle. An ancient saying goes: "When the lion skin is not sufficient, then it is necessary to sew on that of the fox."¹⁰⁸

163. If at some time it occurs to you to write a watchword to a person in enemy territory, write down what you wish on an unwaxed tablet, cover over the writing with wax, and then write something on the wax that will not arouse suspicion. In this way, you will manage to communicate your watchword and still keep it secret.¹⁰⁹

164. A certain person once conceived a plan of betrayal but, on being discovered and about to be arrested, he informed his own people about the plan of the enemy and gave them advice on how they should guard against it. The enemy had indeed informed him of such a plan but their actions were the opposite of the plan. Whom would you trust more completely than the one who planned betrayal and <then> provided information? Surely not the words of the enemy. For this man, albeit a traitor, remains still a fellow countryman and of the same race and was perhaps corrupted by money that he did not actually take or after taking handed it back. They, in contrast, are enemies by nature and in every respect foreign.

165. The cowardice of the soldiers is manifested by their hesitation and pallid color. Secretly separate such men from the army and send them off as though they were to bring back things they had forgotten. After doing this, address the soldiers in stirring words to the effect that, now that they have

792–794 Cf. δ'. 162–167. 798–803 Polyae. 2.10.5; Plut. *Lys.*, 5. 804–807 Polyae. 2.20.

792 καὶ συγγενεῖς M om. A 793 συντάττειν ἀλλήλων M trsp. A 799 ἐπείτοιγε M εὖ ἂν ἔχοι εἰ δὲ μὴ A | δουλείαν M δουλείων A 807 τοῦ ὑποσυνθήματος Du ἀπὸ συνθήματος MA 808–809 ἀλίσκεσθαι M κρατῆσθαι A 810 τούτῳ Du τούτον MA 817 ἀσυμφανῶς M μετὰ εὐλόγου προφάσεως A

107. Cf. Const. 4 §41.

108. Polyaeus 2.10.5; Plutarch, *Lysander* 5.

109. Polyaeus 2.20.

τας, ὡς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐκείνων ἥδη ἀπηλλαγμένους μόνους τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας
820 ἔχουσιν, καὶ τῶν τῆς νίκης δωρεῶν ἀξιοθῆναι.

ρξζ'. Στρατιωτῶν δειλίας διάκρισιν καὶ ἐτέρως σοι ὑποδείξω. τοῦ γὰρ στρα-
τοῦ παντὸς ὁμοῦ ὄντος, ἐὰν κινήσης σάλπιγγα, ὡς ὅτι οἱ πολέμιοι συμπλέκον-
ται πρὸς μάχην, ταραχῆς γενομένης, οἱ μὲν δειλοὶ φεύγονται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρεῖοι
παρατάσσονται.

825 ρξζ'. Ἐὰν πρὸς ἀγυμνάστους καὶ ἀπείρους μάχης πολεμίους παρατάσῃ,
αὐτοὺς δὲ γεγυμνασμένους ἔχῃς στρατιώτας, οὐ παρὲν τὴν μάχην συνάψεις,
ἀλλὰ συντηρεῖν σε δεῖ τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ συστάσει, καὶ προεκκλίνει τοὺς πολεμί-
ους ὡς ἐπ' ὀλίγον πονεῖν εἰθισμένους, καὶ τότε ἐπιτεθῆς αὐτοῖς. εἰ δὲ πρὸς
γεγυμνασμένους μάχης πολεμίους μάχεσθαι μέλλῃς, ἀγυμνάστους αὐτοὺς ἔχων
830 τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως καὶ παραχρῆμα τὴν μάχην σύμβαλλε. ἡ γὰρ
ἀκμὴ τῶν σῶν στρατιωτῶν γενναίως ἀπομαχήσεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους.

ρξη'. Ὑπόνοιαν ἐπιμονῆς ἐν τοιαύτῃ καιροῦ χρεῖα δείξεις τοῖς πολεμίους, εἰ
ἄρα μέλλεις ὑποχωρῶν ὡς μένων ἐξαπατῆσαι αὐτούς, ἐὰν δένδρα περικύψας ἢ
τούτων μὴ ὄντων ἑτέρα τινα ξύλα στήσας ἐνδύσης αὐτὰ διὰ σκουταρίων, ὡς
835 μίμημα ἀνδρῶν ἐνόπλων ἢ, ἐὰν τοσαύτη τύχη ἀνάγκη, καὶ ἐτέρων ὅπλων
λαμπρῶν. οὕτως γὰρ κρείττονα τῆς τῶν ὅπλων ἀπωλείας τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ
σωτηρίαν ἡγησάμενος διὰ τὴν κατεπεύγουσαν ἴσως χρεῖαν ἀκινδύνως ὑποχωρή-
σεις.

ρξθ'. Μάλιστα μὲν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης | παντὸς ἔργου ἀπάρχεσθαι δεῖ. πλέον
840 δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς ἀρχὰς χρὴ τοῦ πολέμου δικαίας εἶναι, καὶ μὴ μόνον δικαίας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμως προάγεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ τότε καὶ Θεὸς συναγωνι-
εῖται τοῖς στρατεύμασιν εὐμενῆς γινόμενος, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι προθυμότεροι
γίνονται τοῦ δικαίου προασπίζοντες καὶ εἰδότες ὡς οὐκ ἄρχουσιν ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ
ἀμύνονται κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων.

845 ρο'. Ἐπὶ δὲ δικαίως ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου μέλλῃς, ὃ στρατηγέ, χρὴ σε
τὴν στρατιὰν διασκευάσαι ἀκριβῶς, καὶ μετὰ ασφαλείας ταύτην ἐξαγαγεῖν. ἐὰν
γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς εἰσιν αἱ πολεμικαὶ κινήσεις, ὅταν τὸ βάρος ἀναλάβωσι τοῦ πολέ-
μου, ταχὺ θλίβονται καὶ ὑστεροῦσιν. ὅθεν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἀπὸ

839-844 Onas. 4.1; cf. β'.193-221.

825 καὶ ἀπείρους A om. M 827 συντηρεῖν M διατρίβειν A 830 ἐκ τοῦ M om. A
832 καιροῦ M om. A 833 μένων M μέλλων A 839 δεῖ M χρὴ A 840 χρὴ M δεῖ A
844 ἀμύνονται...ἀδικούντων M τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἀμύνονται A 845 ἐπὶ M ἐπεὶ A
846 διασκευάσαι M ἐτοιμάσαι A

gotten rid of those slaves, they alone can lay claim to valor and have proven
<themselves> worthy of the rewards of victory.

166. I will show you another way of discerning the cowardice of the soldiers.
When the entire army is gathered together, sound the trumpet as though the
enemy were advancing into battle. In the confusion the cowardly will run away,
whereas the brave will line up in formation.

167. If your soldiers have been well-trained and you line them up against an
enemy inexperienced and untrained for battle, do not engage them immediately.
Rather, maintain your formation, and wear out the enemy first, in case they are
not accustomed to much <hard> work. Then attack them. But if you are about
to engage a trained enemy in battle and your own troops are not well-trained,
then send yours into battle immediately and without hesitation. For the best of
your soldiers will fight it out bravely with the enemy.

168. When need arises, make it appear to the enemy that you are remaining
in place. If, indeed, you intend to withdraw but want to trick them into <think-
ing> that you are remaining, chop down trees or, if there are none, set up pieces
of wood and place shields upon them or, if necessary, other shiny weapons to
imitate armed men. In this way, considering the safety of your army more
important than the loss of the weapons because of the pressing emergency, you
will withdraw without risk.¹¹⁰

169. Certainly justice must be at the beginning of every action. More than
other actions, the beginnings of war must be just. Not only must it be just but
the war must be conducted with prudence. For then God will become benevo-
lent and will fight along with our armies. The men will be more enthusiastic,
holding the shield of justice before them, with the realization that they are not
initiating injustice but are warding off those committing unjust acts.¹¹¹

170. Whenever you intend, O general, to enter into war justly, make sure
that your army is thoroughly prepared and lead it out in safety. If your military
movements are weak, your men, as they run up against the pressures of war,
may be quickly worn out and fail. As a good pilot, then, sail your ship out of the

110. Cf. *Sylloge tacticorum*, 99.1.

111. Onasander 4.1; cf. Const. 2 §29.

λιμένος ἐξαρτήσας τὸ σκάφος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περὶ αὐτὸ ποιήσας, τότε
850 ἐπίτρεπε τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἐκβάσεως.

ροα'. Νόμον ἐπίθες σεαυτῷ πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἀποβλέπειν τῆς τοῦ πολέμου
κινήσεως, καὶ οὕτως ταύτης ἀπάρχεσθαι. φαῦλον γὰρ καὶ σφαλερὸν κίνησιν μὲν
ποιήσασθαι πολέμου, αὐθις δὲ ἐπιστραφῆναι τὸ στράτευμα. ἕκαστος μὲν γὰρ
καταγελάσεται σου τῆς προπετείας· οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονήσουσί σου τῆς
855 ἀφελείας, οὐχὶ ὡς μὴ βουλομένου, ἀλλ' οὐ δυναμένου δικαίως καὶ πρεπόντως
διαθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα.

ροβ'. Ἦνίκα δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν μέλλεις πρὸς πόλεμον, δεῖ μὲν καθαρὰς
αὐτὰς ἐξ ἁμαρτημάτων εἶναι· φροντίσεις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων καθαγνῖσαι αὐτὰς δι'
εὐλογίας, καὶ οὕτως μετὰ θάρσους ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης ἀποκινήσαι.

860 ρογ'. Σὺν πάσῃ δὲ τάξει καὶ εὐκοσμῷ καὶ τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίᾳ δεῖ τὸν
στρατὸν ὁδοιορεῖν, κἂν μήπω μέλλῃ συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μακρὰς ὁδοῦ πορευ-
εσθαι, κἂν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνύειν μέλλῃ ὁδὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ
πολεμίᾳ. οὕτως γὰρ ἐθισθήσεται τὰ στρατεύματα μένειν ἐν τάξει, καὶ συμφυλάτ-
τειν τὰ ἴδια τάγματα καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς
865 ἐξαίφνης γινομένας ἐπιβουλὰς ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μὴ ἐν ἀθρώφῳ καιρῷ θόρυβεσθαι.

ροδ'. Ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσεται τὰς προκειμένας ὁδοὺς,
ἐὰν διὰ τινων ὀλίγων προαποστείλας ἐρευνᾷς τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τρίβους ἤγουν διὰ
τῶν καλουμένων τῇ ῥωμαίᾳ γλώσσῃ μινσωρατῶρων καὶ ἀντικληνῶρων.

ροε'. Ἐὰν γυμνάξῃς στράτευμα συνεχῶς, ἔξεις αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πόνους
870 ἐτοίμους, καὶ τὴν τάξιν φυλάττοντας καὶ ῥωμαλέους τὸ σῶμα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀργία
μαλθακὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆ κατασκευάζει τὰ σώματα καὶ ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀνάνδρους καὶ
δειλὰς τὰς ψυχὰς· ἡ δὲ γυμνασία καὶ οἱ πόνοι καὶ τὰ σώματα εὖρωστα καὶ τὰς
ψυχὰς ἀνδρείας κατασκευάζουσιν. χρεὸν σε οὖν, ὦ στρατηγέ, πρὸ καιροῦ
ὀξέως τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ μελετᾶν ἀρμόδια, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα τότε σκευάζειν, ὅτε οὐ
875 κατεπεῖγαι τῆς παρατάξεως ἡ ἀνάγκη.

ρος'. Ἴσμεν πολλάκις τοὺς θρασυτέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πείθε-
σθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπολλυμένους. διὸ τοὺς βουλομένους τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄνευ τῆς
οἰκῆς ἢ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἐντολῆς ἢ πρὸς πραΐδαν ἀπιέναι ἢ τῆς παρατάξεως

857-859 Cf. id'. 3-7.

849 ἐξαρτήσας...σκάφος M τὸ σκάφος εὐτρεπίσας A 851 νόμον A νόμος M
853 ποιήσασθαι...ἐπιστραφῆναι M πολέμου ποιήσασθαι πάλιν δὲ κενὸν ὑποστρέψαι A
855 οὐχὶ ὡς Du ὡς οὐχὶ MA 859 τῆς μάχης M τὴν μάχην A 861 μέλλῃ συμβαλεῖν M
μέλλῃς συμβάλλειν A 868 τῇ ῥωμαίᾳ M om. A 870 ῥωμαλέους M ισχύρους A
872 εὖρωστα M ὑγιῇ A 873 χρεὸν M χρή A 874 τοῦ A om. M | σκευάζειν M
κατασκευάζειν A 878 ἀπιέναι M ἀπέρχεσθαι A

harbor after you have made all the necessary preparations. Then entrust the
entire undertaking to God.

171. Make a law for yourself to look <first> to the end of the course of the
war and only then to begin it. It is despicable and mistaken to make a move-
ment in war and then to have the army turn back again. Everyone will make fun
of your impetuosity. The enemy will despise you for your simplicity, not because
you were unwilling but because you were unable to arrange matters justly and
properly.

172. When you intend to lead your forces out to war, they must be purified
from sin and you must take care to have them sanctified by the blessing of the
priests. With confidence, then, march out to battle.¹¹²

173. It is necessary for the army to march in full formation, in good order,
and with experience of war, even if you are not yet going to engage in combat,
but are marching on a long road, even one that will take many days to complete,
both in your own country and in that of the enemy. In this manner, the soldiers
will get used to remaining in formation and they will maintain their own units
and follow their officers. They will not be thrown into confusion all at once by a
surprise attack in hostile territory.

174. The army will proceed more safely along the road before it if you recon-
noiter the paths that lie ahead of you by sending out a few men, who are called
minsortores and antikensores in the Roman tongue.

175. If you drill your army continuously, you will find them ready for labor,
maintaining their formation, and physically robust. Idleness renders their
bodies soft and weak and their spirits lazy, unmanly, and cowardly. But drilling
and hard work make their bodies robust and their spirits manly. Therefore, O
general, it is necessary for you to consider ahead of time what best fits the
occasion, and then to prepare what will be helpful, when there is no immediate
pressure on your battle line.

176. We recognize that, frequently, the bolder soldiers are killed because
they have not obeyed their officers. Anyone, therefore, who wishes to go off
pillaging or who drops out of the battle line without an order from you or their

112. Cf. Const. 14 §1.

παρεξέρχεσθαι, κόλαζε τούτους διὰ μαστίγων καὶ ἀναχαίτιζε τῆς ἀταξίας, ὥς
880 αἰτίους τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπωλείας.

ροζ'. Σοφὸς ἔσται στρατηγὸς φυλαττόμενος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν μελλόντων
παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων γίνεσθαι στρατηγημάτων. γινώσεται δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν καὶ
αὐτὸς καταστρατηγεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μελετᾷ. οἷς γὰρ αὐτὸς γινώσκει τί δέον
κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ποιεῖν, τούτοις γινώσεται καὶ τί χρή παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων μὴ
885 παθεῖν. αἱ γὰρ ἴδιαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖν ἄλλους ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων
ἐπινοίας καθ' ἑαυτῶν τεκμαίρονται.

ροη'. Ἐάν ποτε λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους βουλευθῆς, εἴτε κίνημα ἀπὸ ἀπλίκτου
εἴτε ἄλλην τινὰ πρᾶξιν, μηδενὶ θάρρει ἐτέρῳ πλὴν ἐνὶ τινὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἰ γὰρ
εἰς πολλοὺς διαδραμεῖ τὸ βούλευμα, πάντως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ὑποχειρί-
890 οῖς παραδίδοται. οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι καιροὶ πολλοὺς εὐρίσκουσι τοὺς δι' ἐλπίδα
δώρων προδότας γινομένους τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις.

ροθ'. Βέβαιον μὲν οὐδὲν μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ὀνείρων. πλάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ πείθειν
τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥστε πιστεύειν τοὺς σοὺς ὀνείρους νίκην ἐπαγγελλομένους,
ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα πολέμου, χρήσιμόν ἐστιν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. δόξαντες γὰρ ὥς ἀπὸ
895 Θεοῦ χρήσιμον εἶναι τὸν παρά σου ἀφηγοῦμενον ὄνειρον, θαρσαλέως καὶ
ἀνεπιστρόφως κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιχειρήσουσι, καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὴν ἀνδρείαν
διπλασιάσουσιν.

ρπ'. Ἀπειροκάλως ἐπακολουθεῖν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποχωρήσεσι σφαλερὸν
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βλάβης αἴτιον πολλάκις. ἐξεπίτηδες γὰρ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἐνίστε δι'
900 ἐγκρυμμάτων ἢ δι' ὑποστροφῆς, καὶ ἀσυντάκτοις καὶ διεσκεδασμένοις ἐμπί-
πτοντες τοῖς διώκουσι μεγάλας ποιήσουσι τὰς βλάβας. ὅταν τοίνυν ὑποφευγόν-
των τῶν ἐχθρῶν διώκειν μέλλης, μὴ λύε τὴν τάξιν τῆς παρατάξεως μέχρις ἂν
τελείαν λάβης πληροφορίαν τῆς τῶν διωκομένων ἀνελπίστου σωτηρίας.

ρπα'. Στρατιωτῶν φρονήματα πρὸς δειλίαν καταπεσόντα ἐχέφρων στρατη-
905 γὸς δύναται διεγείραι διὰ τῆς οἰκείας ὀψεως, θαρσαλέος αὐτοῖς καὶ περιχαρὲς
φαινόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀλείφων καὶ πιθανώτερος γινό-

904-908 Cf. β'. 58-70.

886 τεκμαίρονται M στοχάζονται A 890 παραδίδοται M γνωσθήσεται A
890-891 ἐλπίδα δώρων M trsp. A 892-894 καὶ... μάλιστα M ὀνείρατα νίκην
ἐπαγγελλόμενα τοῖς στρατιώταις μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ A 894 καὶ ἀναγκαῖον M om. A
895 εἶναι A om. M 898 ἀπειροκάλως PG ἀπειροκάλας M ἀπλῶς καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν A |
ὑποχωρήσει M ὑποχειρήσειν A 899 πολλάκις M πολλάκις γὰρ A | ἐνίστε M om. A
901 διώκουσι M διώκουσιν A 902 λύε M λύης A 903 τελείαν λάβης M trsp. A
904 ἐχέφρων M φρόνιμος A 906 καὶ... τούτοις M om. A | πιθανώτερος M προτρεπόμενος
A 906-907 γινόμενος... τὰ M ὥστε μετασχηματίζαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν A

commanding officer, should be punished by flogging, and so bring this disorder
to an end. Such men are responsible for their own destruction.

177. A wise general is the one who defends himself against all the stratagems
that the enemy may plan to employ. He knows what they are because he himself
is thinking about the stratagems he may employ to counter those of the enemy.
From his knowledge of what actions he ought to take against the enemy, he will
know what steps are necessary to avoid being harmed by them. One's own
experience in causing harm to others enables one to estimate the plans of his
adversaries against himself.

178. If you wish to conceal from the enemy a movement out of camp or any
other activity, do not confide in another person except only one of the officers.
For if your intention is spread among a large number of officers, assuredly they
will pass it on to their subordinates. This provides an opportunity for many who
are ready to betray your plans to the enemy in the hope of gifts.

179. I do not believe that there is anything certain about dreams. But it is
useful, even necessary, in time of war, to manipulate and persuade the soldiers
to believe that your dreams portend victory. They will think that the dream
related by you is something positive, coming from God, and they will engage the
enemy more boldly and without relenting and their eagerness will double their
bravery.

180. I think that following rashly after the enemy as they withdraw is a mis-
take and frequently causes harm. They do this on purpose. Sometimes by
ambushes and sometimes by wheeling about, they fall upon their disorganized
and scattered pursuers and inflict the greatest damage. So, whenever you wish to
pursue the enemy as they are running away, do not break up the order of your
battle line until you shall have received definite information about the hopeless-
ness of the situation for those being pursued.

181. A sensible general is able to arouse the spirits of those soldiers who are
turning into cowards by means of his own appearance, presenting himself as
confident and very cheerful before them. In addition, he should be very persua-

μενος, ὥστε συσχηματίσαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ φρονήματα | πρὸς τὸ τοῦ στρα- 173
τηγοῦ φαινόμενον θάρσος.

910 ρπβ'. Τάξις οὐ μία ἐστὶ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς
ὅπλισμους καὶ παρὰ τοὺς στρατευομένους καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους καὶ
παρὰ τοὺς τόπους καὶ παρὰ τοὺς καιρούς. τούτων δὲ τὰς διαφοράς, ὡς στρατηγέ,
ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων μαθήσῃ. οὐ γάρ, ὡς βούλει, παρατάξεις, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἀνάγκη ἀπαιτεῖ οὕτως καὶ ποιήσεις τὴν ἔκταξιν καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀπλίσε-
ως καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ ὡς ἡ χρεία τῶν πραγμά-
915 των ἀπαιτήσῃ.

ρπγ'. Ὅταν πεζικὴν στρατείαν παρατάξης ἢ ὀπλοφόρων ἀνδρῶν τῶν λεγο-
μένων σκουτάτων ἢ τῶν ψιλῶν, ἤγουν τοξοτῶν καὶ σφενδονητῶν, ἀντιπολε-
μοῦντες δὲ αὐτοῖς τινες βάλῃσι κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ ῥικτάρια ἢ διὰ σφενδοβόλων καὶ
τόξων, δεῖ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ σκουταρίων τετραγώνων ἐπιμηκῶν τῶν λεγομένων
920 θυρεῶν ἢ ἐτέρων σκουταρίων μεγάλων κεραμῶσαι ἑαυτοὺς ἄνωθεν, καὶ οὕτως
προσβαλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ κεραμωθέντες καὶ σκεπόμενοι οὐδὲν πάθῃσι κακὸν ὑπὸ
τῶν πεμπομένων βελῶν κατ' αὐτῶν.

ρπδ'. Στρατῷ πολεμίων μηνοειδῶς παραταττομένη—αὕτη γὰρ ἡ παράταξις
δοκεῖ τάξις ἡμικυκλίου γινομένη ἀσφαλὴς εἶναι καὶ ἄτρεπτος· τοὺς γὰρ ἐπι-
925 πτοντας ἀντιπολεμίους ἐν τῷ τοῦ σίγματος κοιλώματι ἐκ τῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν
τὰς κεραίας ἀπλοῦντες καὶ περικυκλοῦντες ἐναποκλείουσι καὶ οὕτως δραστικώ-
τερον κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπομάχονται—πρὸς ταύτην οὖν ἀντιπαραταττόμενος τὴν
μηνοειδῆ τάξιν εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν σὴν παράταξιν διαιρήσεις. καὶ τοῖς μὲν δυοῖ
μέρεσι τῷ τε δεξιῷ καὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ποιήσεις τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τῶν δύο
930 κεράτων τῶν πολεμίων, τὸ δὲ μέσον μέρος στήσεις μὴ προσβαλὼν τῇ κοιλότητι,
ἀλλ' ἐν ὑποβοηθείᾳ τῶν προσβαλόντων δύο μερῶν ιστάμενον. οὕτως γὰρ ἡ
ἄπρακτος ὁ ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς ἐναπομένῃ ἢ κακείνῳ προσβα-
λὼν τὴν μηνοειδῆ τάξιν διαλύσει. εἰ δὲ πλασάμενος αὐτὸς ὑποχώρησιν τοῦ

909 οὐ...ἐστὶ M οὐκ ἐστὶ μία A 913 ἀνάγκη...καὶ¹ A ἀναγκάζει M 916 ὀπλοφόρων M
ὀπλιτῶν A 917 τῶν M om. A 918 βάλῃσι A βάλῃσιν M 923 μηνοειδῶς
παραταττομένῳ M σιγματοειδῶς παρατασσομένῳ A 924 τάξις Du τάξιν M om. A |
ἡμικυκλίου γινομένη M om. A 925-926 ἐν...καὶ¹ M ἐντὸς τοῦ σιγματοειδοῦς ἐκείνου
σχήματος A 926-927 δραστικώτερον M ἰσχυρώτερον A 928 μηνοειδῆ τάξιν M
σιγματοειδῆ παράταξιν A 929 εὐωνύμῳ M ἀριστερῷ A 930 στήσεις M τῆς σῆς
παρατάξεως A | κοιλότητι M κοιλότητι καὶ τῷ βάθει τοῦ σιγματοειδοῦς σχήματος A
932 τῶν...στρατὸς M trsp. A 932-933 προσβαλὼν...τάξιν PG προσβαλὼν τῇ μηνοειδῇ
τάξει M προσβαλεῖν βουλόμενος τῇ μέσῃ σου παρατάξει τὴν σιγματοειδῇ τάξιν A
933 πλασάμενος M σχηματίζόμενος A

sive, encouraging them by his words so as to mould the thoughts of the soldiers
by the obvious confidence of the general.¹¹³

182. There is not only one formation for war, but many and diverse because
of the armament, the men in military service, the enemy, and because of time
and place. You may learn, O general, these differences from the actual practice
itself. You will not form your line just as you wish, but you will so dispose the
army and see to the weaponry in accord with what is necessary, facing the front,
the flanks, the rear, and whatever the needs of the situation shall require.

183. When you draw up an infantry army, either of men bearing weapons
called heavy-armed troops, or of light-armed troops, such as archers and sling-
ers, and the force fighting against them hurl javelins or <make use of> slings and
bows, then your men should cover themselves above by oblong, four-sided
shields, called thyreoi, or by other large shields, and in this way proceed to
attack. So roofed over and covered, they will not suffer any harm from the mis-
siles hurled against them.

184. <Facing> an enemy army drawn up in crescent formation. This forma-
tion, shaped like a semicircle, seems safe and unbreakable, for when the
adversary falls into the hollow space of the sigma,¹¹⁴ then those on the flanks
here and there spread out, close them in and encircle them and, in this way,
fight more effectively against them. Therefore, in drawing up your line to oppose
this crescent formation, divide your battle line into three sections. Make two
sections, the right and the left, advance against the horns of the enemy. Position
the middle section so it does not advance against the hollow space but stands
ready to come to the aid of the two sections moving forward. The enemy army
then remains in a circle accomplishing nothing, or else it moves to attack and,
by doing so, breaks up its crescent formation. If you simulate a withdrawal of
your middle section, you will provoke your adversaries into pursuing you. Not

113. Cf. Const. 2 §12.

114. This is the lune sigma, written in ancient and medieval Greek like the letter C,
hence crescent formation.

μέσου μέρους κινήσεις τοὺς ἐναντίους πρὸς δίωξιν, οὐ μόνον λυθήσεται ἡ
935 παράταξις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσυντάκτως διώκουσα τὸ σὸν στράτευμα συντεταγμένον,
δι' ὑποστροφῆς ἀθρόας ἐπιτεθῆς αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὐρεθήσονται πάντως οἱ σε διώ-
κοντες διωκόμενοι παρὰ σου.

ρπε'. Ἀπασα μὲν ἐνέδρα ἦτοι ἔγκρυμμα ἐπερχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἰσχυρο-
τέραν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβολῶν ποιεῖται τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ κατὰ
940 νώτου τῶν πολεμίων. τοιαύτην οὖν ποτε ποιήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνέδραν καὶ ὀπι-
σθεν αὐτῶν ἐπιτεθείς, δραστικωτέραν καὶ | ἐνεργεστέραν αὐτὴν ὄψει γινομένην 178
τῶν ἐκ πλαγίου ἐγκρυμμάτων.

ρπς'. Ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων τὰ παραγγέλματα πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν δεῖ
γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ διατάγματα καὶ τὰ συνθήματα, ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότη-
945 τος, ὦ στρατηγέ. τὸ γὰρ κηρύττειν σε ταῦτα δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὀξύτητι καιροῦ
ιδιώτου ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπείρου λίαν τῶν δεόντων· καὶ γὰρ καὶ χρόνος πολὺς ἐν τῷ
παραγγέλλειν ἀναλωθήσεται καὶ θόρυβος ὁμοῦ πάντων ἀλλήλους ἐρωτῶντων,
τάχα δὲ καὶ ὁ μὲν προσθήσει τι πλεον τοῦ παραγγέλματος, ὁ δὲ καὶ παραλείψει.

ρπζ'. Γνώρισμα γνησίου στρατηγοῦ καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἀξίου τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης
950 ἐπικειμένης ὀξέως νοεῖν τὰ δέοντα μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τὸ πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης περὶ
τούτων βουλευσασθαι. οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν προβουλεύεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
δέον, ὅσα μέλλει γεννᾶν ἢ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπικειμένη περίστασις.

ρπη'. Ὅταν ἐν παρατάξει, μάλιστα ἡλίου ἀνταυγάζοντος, προσβάλῃς πρὸ
τοῦ συμπλακῆναι τὴν μάχην, κέλευε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄνω ἔχειν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ
955 ἀκάλυπτα, ξίφη τε καὶ τὰ σιδηρὰ σκουτάρια στίλβοντα, καὶ τῶν κονταρίων τὰς
λόγχας. οὕτως γὰρ λαμπρὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις φαινόμενα, κατὰ πληξιν ποιήσει,
ὅταν δὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἤδη συμπλέκεσθαι μέλλεις, μετὰ ἀλαλαγμοῦ σφοδροῦ ἤγουν
μεγάλης φωνῆς καὶ δρόμου πατάσσοντας τὰ ὅπλα οὕτω τὴν προσβολὴν πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπάρχεσθαι.

960 ρπθ'. Ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διὰ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καβαλλαρίων πλεονεκτούμενος,
τραχέα χωρία ἐκλέγου καὶ στενὰ καὶ παρόρια, ἐν οἷς οὐ δυνατόν τοὺς ἵππους

only will their formation be broken up, but they will be disorganized in chasing
after your troops, who are still in formation. Then, suddenly wheel about and
attack them. The army pursuing you will swiftly find out that it is they who are
being pursued by you.

185. More than any other kind of attack, every ambush or ambuscade set up
against the enemy, especially against their rear, gives added strength to your
offensive against them. At times, therefore, set up an ambush and attack them in
the rear. You will see that this is more efficient and effective than an ambush
against their flanks.

186. Commands, orders, and passwords must be given to the army by the
officers, not by Your Excellency, O general. For you to make such announce-
ments in person at a critical moment is clearly the mark of an ignorant person
who has absolutely no experience of what has to be done. Much time will be
wasted in making the announcements along with the confusion as everyone is
asking questions of one another. One individual will quickly add something
more to the announcement and another will leave something out.

187. The mark of a genuine general and one worthy of admiration lies in
perceiving what has to be done at the moment of great emergency rather than
the ability to make plans about such matters before the emergency. Even for
particularly necessary matters, it is not possible to plan ahead for all that the
present circumstances of war are about to engender.

188. Before engaging the enemy in battle, when you are about to begin the
charge, while you are still in formation, and with the sun in your eyes, order the
soldiers to raise their weapons on high, uncovered, with the swords and the iron
on the shields shining, as well as the points of the spears. This will cause them to
appear bright to the enemy and will strike them with consternation. When you
are about to come to close quarters with them, launch your charge against the
enemy with a forceful war cry, shouting loudly and on the run, banging your
weapons.

189. When the enemy has the advantage because of his large number of
cavalry, choose rough places, narrow and near mountains, in which the horses

935 διώκουσα Du διώκουσαν MA 936 ἀθρόας M ἀθρόως A | καὶ εὐρεθήσονται M
εὐρεθήσονται γὰρ A 938 ἐνέδρα ἦτοι M om. A 939-940 ἡ...νώτου M ἐὰν ὀπισθεν
ἐπέλθῃ A 940 ἐνέδραν M ἔγκρυμμα A 941 δραστικωτέραν καὶ M om. A
946 ἀπείρου...δεόντων M πάνυ ἀπείρου τῶν πρεπόντων A 947 ἀναλωθήσεται M
παρελεύσεται A | ὁμοῦ M ὁμοῦ γενήσεται A 948 καὶ! ...προσθήσει M μηδὲ τούτου σάφους
ἀκούοντες καὶ οἱ μὲν προσθήσουσιν A | ὁ²...παραλείψει M οἱ δὲ καὶ παραλείψουσιν A
958-959 τὴν...ἀπάρχεσθαι M τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπάρχεσθαι προσβολῆς A

τῶν ἐναντίων διώκειν κατὰ δύναμιν· ὅπερ καὶ προσκοπεῖν σε χρή πρὸς δευτέραν τύχην αἰεὶ βλέποντα. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἐχέφρονος μάλιστα στρατηγοῦ.

965 ρρ'. Συμφέρον μᾶλλον γίνωσκε εἶναι, τὸ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐνίστασθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἀνδρείως τὴν παράταξιν μαχομένην ἢ φυγόντας διώκεσθαι· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐνστάσει μᾶλλον τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζειν χρεόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰ νῶτα διδόντας πιστεύειν τὸ σώζεσθαι.

970 ρρα'. Τῆς μάχης σὺν Θεῷ τὴν νίκην σοι χαρισαμένης, ὦ στρατηγέ, δέον σε φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων λαφύροις—εἴτε ὅπλα εἰσὶν εἴτε ἵπποι εἴτε ἑτέρα τινα εἶδη—καὶ εὐωχίας καὶ τραπέζας αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείως ἀγωνισαμένους κατὰ τάξιν προβάσαι καὶ δώροις τιμῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ δειλοὺς καὶ ἀχρήστους ἀναφανέντας ἢ λειποταξίας πεπονηκότας, τοὺς μὲν κόλαζε δεόντως, τοὺς δὲ ὀνειδίξει μέχρις αἰσχύνης. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ τοὺς δειλοὺς ἀναρρώσεις καὶ διεγερεῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους εὐτολμοτέρους καὶ 975 εὐθαρσεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας μάχας παρασκευάσεις.]

980 ρρβ'. Ὅταν κατὰ πολεμίων τρόπαιον στήσης, ὦ στρατηγέ, τότε κατὰ τοὺς ἤδη παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν τεθέντας νόμους, τῶν, ὡς εἰκός, εὕρισκομένων σκύλων τὸν διαμερισμὸν οὕτως ποιήσεις, ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀφορίσεις τῷ μέρει τοῦ δημοσίου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐξ ἴσης μοίρας. οἱ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι 985 μεριζέσθωσαν, ἐπεὶ περ κοινούς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀναδέχονται. εἰ δέ τινες εὗρεθῶσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ προμάχων τῆς παρατάξεως ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφόρως ἀνδρισάμενοι, τότε ἐκ τοῦ εἰρημένου μέρους τοῦ δημοσίου ἄδειαν ἔξεις φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ χρεία καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀπαιτεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μερίδα τοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ εὕρισκομένου καὶ οἱ ἐν 985 τῷ τούλῳ καταλειπόμενοι λήψονται φύλακες.

990 ρργ'. Στρατοῦ συμμίκτου πεζῶν καὶ καβαλλαρίων παράταξις οἷον θώρακι ἔοικεν· ἀντὶ μὲν χειρῶν ἔχουσα τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἤγουν τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς καὶ σφενδονήτας, ἀντὶ δὲ ποδῶν τοὺς καβαλλαρίους, ἀντὶ δὲ κεφαλῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν χειρῶν σε τὸν στρατηγόν. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἤγουν τοὺς 990 σκουτάτους, τοὺς καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν φοροῦντας. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν πᾶσι χρεωστέεις

of the enemy are not able to pursue in force. With an eye always toward second fortune, you must search out such places ahead of time. This is a sure sign of a sensible general.

190. Know that it is more beneficial to take a stand in battle and to face danger bravely fighting in the ranks than to flee and be pursued. You must, rather, place your hope of salvation in your resistance. Do not believe you will be saved by showing your back to the enemy.

191. When, with the help of God, you have been favored with victory in battle, O general, you must be generous to your soldiers with the spoils taken from the enemy, weapons, horses, or other items—and you should prepare celebrations and banquets for them. You should promote in rank those who have fought bravely and honor them with gifts. As for those who acquitted themselves in a cowardly fashion, proved useless, or were guilty of desertion, punish some in a fitting manner and reproach others to shame them. In this way, you will give renewed strength to the cowardly and stir them up again, and you will cause the brave soldiers to be even bolder and more courageous in engaging in future battles.¹¹⁵

192. When you are victorious over the enemy, O general, then, according to the laws already laid down by Our Majesty, you should arrange for the distribution of the booty likely to be found, as follows. Apportion the fifth part to the division of the public funds and the rest of it in equal portions. Let both the officers and the men under them divide it among themselves inasmuch as they have taken part in the struggle and faced danger together. But if some of the officers or men in the front ranks of the battle line, or any other soldiers, have been outstanding in valor, then, from the aforementioned public division, feel free to be generous to them to the extent that need and justice demand. Even the guards left behind with the baggage train should receive a share of the spoils from battle.

193. The battle line of a mixed army of infantry and cavalry resembles the trunk of a body. In place of hands it has light-armed troops, that is, archers, javelin throwers, and slingers. In place of feet it has the cavalry. In place of a head between the hands it has you, the general. In place of the other parts of the body it has the heavy-armed troops, those in full armament, once called hoplites. In every way, bearing all this in mind, you have an obligation to be concerned for your own safety and for that of the army, just as if <you were> the

968–975 Onas. 34.

963 ἐστιν ἐχέφρονος M ἐστι φρονίμου A 966 χρεόν M χρή A 968 μάχης...χαρισαμένης M νίκης παρὰ θεοῦ χαρισθείσης A 974 ἀναρρώσεις καὶ M om. A 977 ἡμῶν A om. M 982 διαφόρως M διαφερόντως A 984 τοῦ...εὕρισκομένου M τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ εὕρισκομένων A 990 τοὺς...φοροῦντας M om. A

115. Onasander 34.

καὶ αὐτὸς προνοεῖν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥσπερ κεφαλὴ κάκεινοι τῆς σῆς φυλακῆς καὶ σωτηρίας.

995 ρρδ'. Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ χρειώδη ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν ὥστε, ἐὰν στρατὸν ἔχων πλείονα βούλῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τινα χρειάν ὀλίγον ὑποδεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, κοινοποιήσῃ τὰ κοντουβέρνια καὶ εἰς μίαν καμάρδαν λεγομένην ποιήσεις ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα δὲ ἐπάλληλα θεῖναι κελεύσεις. ὅταν δὲ ὀλίγον ἔχῃς στρατόν, τὸ ἐν κοντουβέρνιον διαμερίσεις εἰς δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονα κατὰ στρατιώτην, καὶ οὕτως πλῆθος φανέται, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα καταφρονηθεῖς, ταχέως δὲ τοῦ ἀπλίκτου μεταστάς, εἰς ἕτερον ἀπελεύσῃ. καὶ οὕτως τοὺς πολεμίους καταμαθὼν
1000 τὸν πόλεμον συνάψῃς.

ρρε'. Ἀπὸ τῶν πεπλασμένως γινομένων κατ' αὐτῶν προσβολῶν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθιζόμενοι ἀκατάπληκτοι γίνονται πρὸς τὰ ἀληθῆ, οἷον ψευδοβοηθείας μέρους τινὸς ἐπελθούσης κατὰ ἐτέρου πάλιν ψευδοπροδοσίας ἢ ψευδοεγκρυμμάτων ἢ ψευδοκτύπτων καὶ ἥχων ἢ ψευδοαυτομόλων ἢ ψευδοεφρόδων. οὕτως
1005 γὰρ ἐθισθήσονται καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλαγήσονται ἐξαίφνης τούτων καὶ ἀληθῶς γινομένων.

ρρς'. Ἰστορήσω σοι καὶ ναυτικοῦ στόλου στρατήγημα. ὅταν γὰρ εἰς ἀλιμένους καὶ ψαμμώδεις τόπους τὴν ἀπόβασιν μέλλῃς ἐν καιρῷ ναυτικῆς στρατηγίας, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ποιήσασθαι σάκκους πολλοὺς πληρώσας ἄμμου, καὶ τοῖς
1010 σχοινίοις προσδήσας ἀπὸ ἐκάστου | δρόμωνος ἐκκρεμάσεις τοὺς ἀρκοῦντας οἷονεῖ σιδηρᾶς ἀγκύρας, καὶ οὕτως τὸν λεγόμενον πελαγολιμένα ποιήσας, εὐκόλως κατὰ τὸν τόπον νυκτὸς ἐξελθὼν τὴν βεβουλευμένην σοι καταδρομὴν ποιήσεις.

ρρζ'. Τόπους ἀνύδρους μέλλων ποτὲ διαβαίνειν, ὕδωρ μὲν ὅσον δυνατόν
1015 συνεπάγου· νυκτὸς δὲ ποιοῦ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας ἕως πρωῒ, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν καθεύδειν προτρέπου ἀντὶ τῆς νυκτός. οὕτως γὰρ ἦττον διψήσουσι τὰ ζῶα, καὶ αὐτάρκης σοι γενήσεται ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος χρεία.

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1007–1013 Polyæn. 3.9.36. 1018–1023 Polyæn. 3.10.2.

995 κοντουβέρνια A κοντουβέρνια M | καμάρδαν λεγομένην M ἀτεγίαν τῷ δύο A
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1015 συνεπάγου M ἐπιφέρειν A 1016 καθεύδειν προτρέπου M προτρέπου κοιμάσθαι A | ἦττον M ὀλιγώτερον A 1018 προσέκειτό ποτε M ποτὲ προσείχεν A 1019 οἰωνίσματι M μαντεύματι A

head, and they <are likewise> obliged to be concerned for your protection and safety.

194. These things too are useful on occasion. If you have a large army and, for some reason, you want it to look small to the enemy, have the squads come together and take their rest in one so-called shelter, and order them to place their weapons next to one another. But, when you have a small army, divide the squad in two or more, according to the number of soldiers. It will then seem to be a very large army and you will not be despised because you are few in number. Quickly move out of your campsite, go off to another one and, after closely observing the enemy, join battle with them.

195. Simulated attacks against the soldiers will accustom them to real attacks so they will not be caught by surprise. There may be a simulated support force of some division advancing against another, against a pretended betrayal or a simulated ambush or false clanging and loud noises, or pretended deserters or simulated attacks. In this way, they will become accustomed and will not be struck by surprise on encountering the real thing.

196. I will tell you of a stratagem for the naval fleet. When, in the course of a naval expedition, it happens that you wish to disembark in a sandy place without a harbor, fill a large number of sacks with sand, tie them with ropes, and hang a sufficient number of them from each dromon like iron anchors. Thus, having made what is called a harbor at sea, you will easily disembark at that place at night and make the raid you had planned.¹¹⁶

197. At times when you intend to traverse places without water, carry as much water as possible with you. Do your marching at night, from evening until early morning, and give yourself to sleep during the day instead of at night. Thus, the animals will not be as thirsty and you will be able to handle the need for water by yourself.

198. Once there was an army that gave credence to stories about omens and to signs. When an individual sneezed, the soldiers lost courage, as though it

116. Polyænus 3.9.36.

καὶ αὐτὸς προνοεῖν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥσπερ κεφαλὴ κακέιναι τῆς σῆς φυλακῆς καὶ σωτηρίας.

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 995 τὰ κοντουβέρνια καὶ εἰς μίαν καμάρδαν λεγομένην ποιήσεις ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα δὲ ἐπάλληλα θείναι κελεύσεις. ὅταν δὲ ὀλίγον ἔχῃς στρατόν, τὸ ἐν κοντουβέρνιον διαμερίσεις εἰς δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονα κατὰ στρατιώτην, καὶ οὕτως πλῆθος φανέται, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα καταφρονηθεῖς, ταχέως δὲ τοῦ ἀπλίκτου μεταστάς, εἰς ἕτερον ἀπελεύσῃ. καὶ οὕτως τοὺς πολεμίους καταμαθὼν
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1007–1013 Polyaen. 3.9.36. 1018–1023 Polyaen. 3.10.2.

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197. At times when you intend to traverse places without water, carry as much water as possible with you. Do your marching at night, from evening until early morning, and give yourself to sleep during the day instead of at night. Thus, the animals will not be as thirsty and you will be able to handle the need for water by yourself.

198. Once there was an army that gave credence to stories about omens and to signs. When an individual sneezed, the soldiers lost courage, as though it

116. Polyaenus 3.9.36.

1020 εἴτα εἶπεν ὁ στρατηγός· “οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ τοσούτων περισσώτων εἰς ἑπτάρην.” καὶ τούτου λεχθέντος, γέλως ἐγένετο· ἔστι δὲ ὁ γέλως σωτηρίας δηλωτικός, καὶ οὕτως ἐχέφρων στρατηγὸς τὸ οἰώνισμα ἐναλλάξας θαρρεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας παρεσκεύασεν.

1025 ροθ'. Ὅρα σὺ ἴνα, ἐὰν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ μηνὸς γέγονε νίκη, μέλλεις δὲ πρὸς πόλεμον συμβάλλειν, εἴγε δυνατόν σοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ αὖθις τῆς μάχης ἀπάρξασθαι ἐπιτήδευσον, ὥστε εὐθαρσεῖς εἶναι τοὺς στρατιώ-
τας, καὶ μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὴν ἐορτὴν τῆς νίκης καὶ αὖθις δυνα-
μένους ἔχειν τοὺς προσβαλόντας τὴν θείαν βοήθειαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τόπου
ἐν ᾧ νενίκηκας ποτε.

1030 σ'. Θροεῖτω δέ σε μηδὲν ὁ μέλλω λέγειν· ὅτι στρατηγὸς ἀληθῆς καὶ ἄριστος
τότε γινώσκεται, ὅταν μὴ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ ἴδιον συμφέρον ἐργάζεται μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ συμφέροντα τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις πραγματεύεται. οὕτως γὰρ
μετὰ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου τεύξεται. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ ποιμὴν τῆς
ποίμνης ἐπιμελεῖται, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὠφελείας παραίτιος γίνεται. εἰ δὲ ταύτης
1035 καταμελήσῃ, οὐ μόνον ποιμὴν ἀληθῆς οὐ λογίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ποιμνὴν
ζημιούμενος τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς ὠφελείας στερηθήσεται.

σα'. Πολεμίου ποτὲ ναυτικοῦ στόλου ὄντος μετὰ οἰκείας δυνάμεως ναυτικῆς
ὑποχωρῶν στρατηγὸς μηνοειδῇ παράταξιν ποιούμενος, ὑποστρεφέτω πλέων
κατὰ πρύμναν, καὶ οὕτως ἀποχωρίζεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων βουλευέσθω. καὶ γὰρ οὐ
1040 φεύγων, ἀλλὰ φυγομαχῶν ἐτόίμους ἔξει τὰς ναῦς καὶ αὖθις ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς πολε-
μίοις κατὰ πῶραν, εἴγε καὶ τούτου χρεῖα γένηται, τὰς πῶρας ἔχων πρὸς αὐ-
τούς. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ θαρσήσουσιν ἐν τῷ κοιλώματι εἰσελθεῖν τὴν κύκλωσιν
ὑφορώμενοι.

σβ'. Νίκης σοι παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδομένης, μὴ σφαλερῶς καὶ ἀκρατῶς δίωκε τοὺς
1045 πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ φυλάσσου τὰς ὑποστροφὰς αὐτῶν. ἢ γὰρ ἀκρατῆς διώξεις
διαλύουσα τὴν τάξιν | ἐπιβουλευτοὺς ποιήσει τοὺς διώκοντας.

σγ'. Νουνεχῶς διέρχου διὰ στενῶν τόπων, καὶ μάλιστα ἀναχωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
πολεμίας τοὺς εὐρώστους καὶ ῥωμαλέους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀπισθεν ἐν τῇ
οὐραγίᾳ τάσσε, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἐπερχομένους πολεμίους ἀμύνωνται ὀπισθεν, καὶ

were a very bad omen. The general then remarked: “It is no wonder, given the number present, that one person has sneezed.” When he had said this, laughter broke out. Laughter, now, is a clear indication of salvation and so, a sensible general changed the omen around and managed to encourage his troops.¹¹⁷

199. Be attentive so that, if a victory happened on a certain day of the year or of the month, you plan to advance into battle on that same day, if you can do so. Make ready to enter into battle anew so that the soldiers will be in good spirits and have good hopes that, on the very anniversary of the victory, they will once more, as they attack, have the divine assistance. The same goes for the place in which you had once been victorious.

200. Do not be disturbed by what I am about to say. A true general, indeed, the very best, is recognized when he does not work only for what seems to be for his own benefit, but also takes measures for the common benefit of his subordinates. For in this way, along with the common good, he will achieve what is beneficial for him as well. When the shepherd is concerned about his flock, it redounds to his own benefit, but if he neglects it, not only is he not regarded as a genuine shepherd but, in causing harm to the flock, he will be deprived of its help as well.

201. If at some time there is a naval fleet of the enemy, and <one of our> generals with his own naval force is withdrawing and assuming a crescent-shaped formation, let him turn about and sail toward the stern and, in this way, plan to distance himself from the enemy. He is not fleeing, but by <performing the maneuver called> fighting while fleeing, he will once again have his ships ready to attack the enemy on the bow, if there is need of this, with his bows facing theirs. They will not be bold enough to enter the hollow space because they will suspect encirclement.

202. When God has granted you victory, do not act in a precarious manner by pursuing the enemy without a force under control. Be on your guard against their wheeling about. A pursuit that gets out of control breaks up your formation and it will turn the pursuing troops into objects of attack.

203. Be very attentive in passing through narrow places. In retiring from enemy territory, especially, draw up the physically fit and robust soldiers behind in the rear guard. They will hold off the attacking enemy to the rear, and nobody

1021 τούτου A τούτο M 1022 ἐχέφρων M φρόνιμος A | οἰώνισμα M παρατήρημα A
1026 αὖθις M πάλιν A 1027 αὖθις M πάλιν A 1029 νενίκηκας ποτε M trsp. A
1030 δέ...μηδὲν M σε μηδὲ ταρασσετω A 1033 τεύξεται M ἐπιτύχη A 1035 ποιμὴν...
λογίζεται M trsp. A 1036 ἐξ αὐτῆς codd. an ἑαυτοῦ legendum? (cf. 1034) 1037 ὄντος A
om. M 1040 αὖθις M πάλιν A 1046 ἐπιβουλευτοὺς M εὐεπιβουλευτοὺς A 1048 καὶ
ῥωμαλέους M om. A 1049 καὶ¹ M om. A

1050 μηδεις φεύγη ἔμπροσθεν μὴ τολμῶν παρελθεῖν τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα παρατεταγ-
μένην καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τηρεῖται ἡ τάξις ἀσφαλὴς καὶ ἄρρηκτος.

σδ'. Ἴνα ῥώμην κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνθήσης τῷ στρατεύματι παράγγελλε
αὐτοὺς, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βοῶντες ἐπέρχονται αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τῆς
μάχης δέχονται αὐτοὺς μετὰ σιωπῆς. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκείνοι μετὰ σιωπῆς ἐπέρχονται,
1055 τότε μετὰ βοῆς καὶ κραυγῆς οἱ σοὶ ἀντεξελαύνουσι κατ' αὐτῶν.

σε'. Ὅταν ἀπορῆς ἐξοπλίσεως τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοῖς εὐπόροις μὲν, μὴ στρα-
τευομένοις δέ, κέλευε, ἐὰν μὴ βούλονται στρατεῦεσθαι, παρέχειν ἕκαστον
ἵππον ἀντὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα, καὶ οὕτως οἱ τε πένητες ἀνδρεῖοι ὀπλισθήσονται,
οἱ τε πλούσιοι καὶ ἄνανδροι δουλεύσουσι κατ' ἰσότητα τῶν στρατευομένων.

1060 σς'. Ἄμα τοῖς βαβαλλαρίοις καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπιφερόμενος στρατιάν, συνεποχεῖ-
σθαι αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις πολλάκις κέλευε, δηλονότι ἐλαφρὴν ὄπλῳ, ὅπερ
δέον ἔχοντας, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ὀξέως τρέχειν δυναμένους. οἵτινες ἐν ἐπικαίροις
τόποις εὖρωστοι καταπηδήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων τόπους ὑψηλοὺς καταλήψον-
ται, καὶ σφενδόνας χρῆσονται καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἐτέροις ὅπλοις, ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο τι
1065 τῶν ἐμπιπτόντων ἀνδρίσονται.

σζ'. Βεβαίως ἐπιστάμενος ἄνδρα τινὰ πολλάκις ἀριστεύσαντα, ἐξαιτούμενος
δὲ περὶ τίνος σωτηρίας ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ φίλου ἢ συγγενοῦς, χρεῶν σε, ὦ στρατηγέ,
ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δυστυχίαν φίλου ἐπανορθώσασθαι.
καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τὸ ὅσιον ποιήσεις καὶ ἐτέρους ἐπαλείψεις ἀριστεύειν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι
1070 τοιαύτης ἀνταποδόσεως.

ση'. Ἀρχοντας ἀγαθοῦ τεκμήρια καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξις ὅταν ἐθελουσίῳ
γνώμῃ πείθωνται αὐτῷ οἱ ὑποχέριοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσπίπτουσι πόνοις παρα-
μένειν ἐθέλωσιν. οἱ γὰρ ἀνάγκη καὶ βία ὑποταττόμενοι τοῖς ἀνάξια στρατηγοῦ
πρὸς αὐτοὺς πράττουσιν, ἐπίβουλοι μᾶλλον, ἢ οὐ φίλοι, καὶ φυγάδες, ἢ οὐ
1075 συγκινδυνεύοντες ὀφθήσονται.

σθ'. Στρατηγῷ ἀγαθῷ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτήδευμα δέον ἐπαινεῖν, ἢ δύο
ταύτας· τὴν μὲν γεωργικὴν, ὥς τρέφουσιν τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὴν δὲ πολεμικὴν,
ὥς ἐκδικοῦσιν καὶ φυλάττουσιν τοὺς τρέφοντας γεωργούς. διὸ μᾶλλον καὶ

will try to escape by the front, not daring to pass Your Excellency positioned
there. Thus, in both directions the formation is preserved safe and unbreakable.

204. In order to strengthen the army in facing the enemy, issue the following
command. In the heat of battle, if the enemy shout loudly while attacking them,
your men should meet them in silence. But if the enemy attack in silence, then
your men should charge out against them with shouts and loud cries.

205. When you find yourself without armament for your soldiers, give or-
ders to those who are well provided for but who are not going on campaign that,
if they do not wish to go on campaign, they should each provide a horse and a
man in their place. In this way, the valiant poor will be armed and the cowardly
rich will serve equally with those who actually campaign.

206. When you are leading an infantry army together with cavalry, give the
order at frequent intervals for them to ride on the horses. Have them carry light
weapons, as is proper, since they are also able to run swiftly on foot. They are of
great advantage in certain places where they can leap off the horses and occupy
the heights. There they will make good use of their slings, arrows, and other
weapons and they will act in manly fashion in whatever situation occurs.

207. If you learn with certainty of a man who has frequently distinguished
himself but who is begging for the safety of someone, either himself or a friend
or a relative, it is necessary for you, O general, instead of providing him with
many great things, to correct the misfortune of a friend. In this regard you will
do what is right and you will encourage others to distinguish themselves in the
hope of such recompense.

208. The characteristics of a good officer and the manifestation of his virtue
are seen when his subordinates obey him with a willing spirit and desire to
persevere in the labors that come their way. Those who, because of compulsion
and force, are subject to superiors who treat them in a manner unworthy of a
general will turn out to be plotters instead of friends and deserters rather than
partners in danger.

209. No other enterprise must be commended to a good general than these
two: agriculture, inasmuch as it feeds the soldiers, and the military, because it
defends and protects the farmers who provide them with food. For this reason,

1076-1080 Cf. ia'.45-53.

1060 ἐπιφερόμενος M ἐπαγόμενος A 1061-1062 ὅπερ...ἔχοντας M trsp. A
1062-1063 ἐπικαίροις...εὖρωστοι M τοῖς ἀρμόζουσι ἀκοπίατοι A 1063-1064 καταλήψον-
ται M καταλαβῶσι A 1067 χρεῶν M χρῆ A 1069 ὅσιον M πρέπον A 1071 τεκμήρια M
τεκμήριον A | ἐθελουσίῳ M ἐκουσίῳ A 1076 στρατηγῷ...μηδὲν M στρατηγὸν ἀγαθὸν
οὐδὲν A 1078-1079 μᾶλλον...τούτων M trsp. A

- τούτων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιμελείσθαι σε χρή παρὰ τὰ ἕτερα πάντα. ἐκεῖνα | 1074
 1080 μὲν γάρ εἰσι τάχα καὶ περιττά, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ σωτήρια.
 σι'. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ ἐνδοξότερος καὶ αἰδέσιμος ἀναδείκνυσαι, μᾶλλον τοῦ σοῦ
 συμφέροντος τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον προτίμα, ὥς καὶ ἄνω που ἡμῖν εἴρηται. καὶ γὰρ
 ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς ἐστίν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον καλῶς διεξάγῃ, ἀλλ' ἂν καὶ
 ὧν ἄρχει τούτοις σωτηρίας αἴτιος γίνεται. στρατηγὸς γὰρ προχειρίζεται παρὰ
 1085 τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμεληθῇ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ
 ἐπιμελούμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ καλῶς διεξάγωνται. καὶ γὰρ καὶ στρατεύονται πάντες
 ἵνα ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς βελτίων ὑπάρχῃ, καὶ στρατηγούς δέχονται τούτου αὐτοῦ
 ἕνεκα, ἵνα πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια ἡγεμόνες αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν.
 σια'. Λύμη στρατοῦ τρυφητῆς στρατηγὸς καὶ ἄτακτος. ἡ γὰρ εὐταξία καὶ ἡ
 1090 μετὰ σωφροσύνης ἐγκράτεια μάλιστά ἐστιν τοῖς στρατευομένοις χρήσιμος. χρή
 γὰρ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιφέρεισθαι πρὸς χρείαν βρώσεως ἢ τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης πλὴν
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τρυφήν γὰρ οὔτε πόλεμος οὔτε εἰρήνη δέχεται σωφρονοῦσα.
 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ ἵππου καπηλεύειν; διαφθείρεται γὰρ ἡ δύναμις
 καὶ βλάβη οὐ μικρά γίνεται. διὸ πανταχοῦ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀκριβεῖς εἶναι δεῖ
 1095 καὶ δικαίους ἄρχειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς. ὁξεῖς δὲ οἱ καιροί, καὶ
 ὁξεῖς αἱ πράξεις ὀφείλουσι καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς πολέμου, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν
 διὰ ναυμαχίας εἰς μάχην συνισταμένου.
 σιβ'. Ἐὰν πολεμῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων συλλεγομένους, ὧ
 στρατηγέ, δεόν σε μὴ περιμένειν ἕως εἰς ἕν συναχθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐσπαρμένοις
 1100 αὐτοῖς, ἢ κατὰ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ἕκαστον ἢ εἰς ἑτέρους τόπους, πρὶν ἢ συνέλθωσιν
 ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας ἀθροιζόμενοις
 βαρβάροις πρὸς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατείαν δεόν τοὺς πλωῖμους στρατη-
 γοὺς σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ στόλῳ τὴν Κύπρον καταλαβόντας πρὸ τοῦ συναφθῆναι
 τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ναῦς, ἀποστεῖλαι κατ' αὐτῶν πλωῖμον δύναμιν ἱκανὴν καταγω-
 1105 νίσασθαι τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ναυμαχίαν ἔτι διηρημένην, ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐμπρή-
 σαι πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπλεῦσαι τῆς ἰδίας.
 σιγ'. Ὑπολαμβάνω σε ἱατρὸν οἶονεῖ μεγάλου σώματος τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ
 χρή σε ὥσπερ τῆς νόσου τὰς αἰτίας ἐξελαύνειν τοῦ στρατοῦ, οἷον ἀργίαν, τρυ-

1101-1106 καὶ¹...ιδίας Cf. ιη'. 1107-1118 *Strat.*, 8.2.58.

1081 αἰδέσιμος M ἐντιμότερον A 1082 ἄνω που M ἀνωτέρω A 1100 αὐτοῖς M αὐτοῖς
 καὶ διεσκορπισμένοις A 1100-1101 πρὶν...ἐπιχειρεῖ M πρὸ τοῦ συνελεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτίθου
 A 1101 ἀθροιζόμενοις M συναγομένοις A 1102-1103 τοὺς...στρατηγούς A τοῖς
 πλωῖμοις στρατηγοῖς M 1103 συναφθῆναι M ἐνωθῆναι A 1108 τῆς νόσου M τινα νόσον
 A

it is necessary for you to be concerned about these more than all the others. For other enterprises are perhaps even superfluous, but these are most necessary and salutary.¹¹⁸

210. So that you may present yourself as very honorable and respected, you should prefer what is beneficial for the commonwealth above what is beneficial for yourself, as we have remarked somewhere above. A man is a good general, not if he conducts his own life very well, but if he becomes an agent of the safety of those under his command. A man is promoted to general by Our Majesty, not so he can take care of his own well being only, but that those who come under his care may also be well treated. Everyone goes to war in order to improve their lives and they accept generals for this very reason, that they may lead them on to good and salutary things.

211. A general given to luxury and lacking discipline causes harm to the army, whereas good order and self-control, together with common sense, are particularly beneficial to those in military service. It is necessary to bring along nothing more than what is needed for food and other sustenance. Neither war nor peace, which teaches moderation, has a place for luxury. How is it not shameful for a man to drink alcohol while on horseback? His strength is destroyed and no small damage ensues. The officers must be strict and just in exercising command, especially in matters concerning the soldiers. The times are critical and our actions must be critical. This is true of every war but especially when engaging in a naval battle at sea.¹¹⁹

212. If you are waging war against men who have come together from many places, O general, you must not wait around until they have managed to form one army, but attack them while they are still scattered about, each one either in his own country or in other places, before they can join forces. Now, as the barbarians are gathering together from Egypt, Syria, and Cilicia to campaign against the Romans, it is necessary for the fleet generals with their naval forces to occupy Cyprus before the barbarian ships can get together. Then dispatch against them a naval force capable of overwhelming the barbarian war fleet while it is still divided or else set their ships on fire before they can sail away from their own country.¹²⁰

213. I picture you as the physician for a large body, that is, the army. It is

118. Cf. *Const.* 11 §9.

119. *Strat.* 8.2.58.

120. Cf. *Const.* 18.

1110 φήν, πολυτέλειαν, ἀσωτίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαντείας καὶ σύμβολα καὶ οἰωνισμοὺς καὶ
 ὀνείρους· μάλιστα εὐσεβῇ τυγχάνοντα περὶ τὸ θεῖον παρορᾶν σε χρή, εἰ μὴ τι
 ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτων παρῆναι προσποιήσιν. οὐ γὰρ προσήκει ταῦτα στρατηγῷ
 οὐδὲ πρὸς νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν διὰ προνοίας ἰδίας σημεῖα κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ προνοεῖν
 ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα μετὰ | ἀγχινοίας καὶ πείρας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ
 1115 τεύματος. ταύτην γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐπάγειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς παλαιαῖς ἱστορίαις
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς καιναῖς τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀνεμάθομεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ σημεῖοις τινὲς καὶ
 ὀνείροις πεποιθότες πολλάκις ἐψεύσθησαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῆς ἐκείνων κρίσεως
 ἀστοχήσαντες.

σιδ'. Συνεκστρατεύειν μετὰ σεαυτοῦ τοὺς τε σοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων
 1120 ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ἀρχόντων ἢ στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἀδόκιμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρέπον ἡγοῦμαι
 θέας ἔνεκα καὶ πείρας στρατιωτικῶν ἔργων καὶ ἡγεμονικῶν. ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ
 διδασκαλεῖον ἀναγκαίων μαθημάτων ὁ πόλεμος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας καὶ
 φίλων καὶ οἰκείων παῖδας ὥσπερ εὐγενεῖς σκύλακας, ὧ στρατηγέ, συνεκστρα-
 1125 τεύειν σε χρή καὶ συνεθίζειν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τολμᾶν καὶ νεκρῶν ἀπτομένους καὶ
 πληγὰς θεωμένους, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐναγωνίοις βοαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀλαλάγμασι κατὰ τὰ
 πρῶτα τῆς μάχης γινόμενοις παρατυγχάνοντας ἴστασθαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὰ πολεμικὰ
 ἔργα καὶ πάθη ἐκ νέου συνεθιζόμενοι καὶ ἀριστεύειν ἐν αὐτοῖς μάθωσιν.

σιε'. Ῥωμαλέον καὶ ἄριστον ἀναδείξει σε στρατηγὸν ἢ τῆς τόλμης ὀξύτης καὶ
 τὸ βούλευμα τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ ὁ τῶν φίλων εὐπρόθυμος συναγωνισμὸς καὶ τὸ
 1130 θαρρεῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι τῷ τε σταθιρῷ λογισμῷ
 καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτῳ. ταῦτα γὰρ στερροῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ φιλοτίμου, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἐν καιρῷ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ παρέχῃ τὰ δέοντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῆς γνώμης καὶ
 φιλίας συναγωνιστὰς ἔχῃ ὥς φίλους οἰκείους καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντας αὐτῷ ἐν
 ᾧ πᾶσι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

1135 σισ'. Ὡσπερ κυνηγέτης ἀγαθὸς τέχνη τοὺς λύκους μετερχόμενος ἢ τὰς
 ἀλώπεκας ἀγρεύει, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατασκόπους διὰ
 τέχνης ἀνευρήσεις. ἐὰν γὰρ ἔξωθεν τοῦ σοῦ χάρακος φύλακας τάξης, εἰτα
 ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πλησίον ἐκάστω κελεύσης, καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι ἕως ἂν εἴπῃ καὶ τὸν

1111 προσποιήσιν M προσποιήσιν σχηματισμόν A 1113 ἀγχινοίας M φρονήσεως A
 1114 διεξάγειν M οἰκονομεῖν A | χρεῶν M χρή A 1117 πεποιθότες...ἐψεύσθησαν M
 θαρρήσαντες πολλάκις ἡπατήθη A 1119 ἐπισήμων M γνωρίμων A 1120 ἀρχόντων M
 ἀνθρώπων A | οὐκ...καὶ M om. A | πρέπον A τρόπον M | ἡγοῦμαι M ἡγοῦμεθα A
 1125 ταῖς A τοῖς M 1128 ἀναδείξει PG ἀναδείξαι MA 1129 χρηστὸν M ἀγαθὸν A
 1131 στερροῦ M γενναίου A 1138 ἐπιλαβέσθαι...κελεύσης M ἐκάστω κελεύσης
 ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πλησίον A

your responsibility, as it were, to drive away the causes of disease in the army, such as idleness, luxurious living, extravagance, profligacy, and also divination, signs, omens, and dreams. It is particularly incumbent upon you, truly reverent as you are toward the Divinity, to disregard these unless there is some need for <permitting> the pretense of these being present. It is not fitting for a general, by means of his own foresight, to judge whether these signs indicate victory and salvation, but he is to think carefully ahead to what lies before him with shrewdness and experience, and so conduct his own actions. Above everything else you must drive fornication out of the army, for this introduces the greatest evils, as we have learned from both ancient and recent histories. Some individuals, moreover, who have believed in signs and dreams, have frequently been deceived and have perished because their interpretation of them missed the mark.¹²¹

214. It is not a bad idea for your sons and those of the officers or soldiers distinguished for bravery to accompany you on campaign. Indeed, I think it is fitting because of what they will see and the experience they will have of the work of the soldiers and the officers. War is a basic school of necessary teachings. Because of this, your sons and those of your friends, as they come of age, like pedigreed dogs, O general, ought to go along on campaign with you and become accustomed to bear up and show courage when they come in contact with corpses and gaze upon wounds, to stand and experience the shouts of the fighting men and the war cries in the forefront of the battle. In this way, they will become accustomed to the actions and the suffering of war from their youth and they will learn to take part in them with courage.¹²²

215. The high point of daring, excellent planning, enthusiastic fighting alongside one's friends, showing confidence amid the dangers of war, and making use of firm, undaunted reasoning will prove that you are a strong and excellent general. A solid and generous general is one who personally does what is called for at the right time. Because of his fine mind and friendly manner, he has made the soldiers fighting along with him into close friends who share all the dangers with him.

216. As a good hunter skillfully goes after wolves or catches foxes, so you should skillfully search out spies from the enemy. Station guards outside your

121. Cf. *Strat.* 8.2.58.

122. For example, Basil I took his oldest son Constantine on his expedition to Syria, in 876–877. Skylitzes, *Basil Mak.*, 23; Theophanes *Cont.*, 278.

ἀρχοντα καὶ τὸ τάγμα καὶ τὸ κοντουβέρνιον ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἢ ἕτερον σύνθημα. τοὺς
 1140 δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν μὴ δυναμένους ἐξετάζης, καὶ οὕτως ἀνευρήσεις τοὺς κατασκό-
 πους.

σιζ'. Μέγα πράγμα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον δημηγορῶν μετὰ φρονήσεως στρατηγός·
 πλείονα γὰρ πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλίας ἢ περὶ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων τὴν ἀνδρεί-
 αν παρασκευάσει τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ μάλιστα προστιθείς τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι πρὸς
 1145 ἀντιπάλους ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἔχοντας καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων πάσχοντας
 καὶ αὐτούς.

σιη'. Ἀναγκαῖόν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὅταν χεῖρας συμμίζῃς πρὸς μάχην κατὰ
 τῶν πολεμίων οἱ στρατιῶται, παρατρέχοντα βοᾶν· “ἔτι ἅπαξ προσβαλοῦμεν τοῖς
 πολεμίοις καὶ νικήσομεν.” καὶ πάλιν ὁμοίως· “ἔτι ἅπαξ προσβαλοῦμεν καὶ νί-
 1150 κήσομεν.” καὶ τρίτον δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι παριππεύοντα. οὕτως γὰρ νίκην ὡς
 ἀληθῶς ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας ποιήσεις, ἐφεξῆς καὶ συνεχῶς τὰς τρεῖς προσβολὰς
 ποιούμενος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσεις, ὅταν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας ὁρᾷς ὅτι κατὰ
 τὴν πρώτην συμβολὴν προτερῆς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

σιθ'. Ἴνα δὲ μνήμων θαυμαζόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀντιπολεμίοις εἶναι δόξης καὶ διὰ
 1155 τοῦτο φοβερός, ἐάν σοι πρέσβεις ἀποστείλῃς, δέον σε ἀνερωτῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν,
 ἐάν ποτε ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ ὑπὲρ τινων πραγμάτων καὶ μετὰ τινων προσώπων
 καὶ ἐν ποίῳ καιρῷ καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς προκειμένης πρεσβείας
 προμελετῆσαι ἃ δεῖ, καὶ εἴ τι ὅμοιον ἐπράχθη ποτὲ ἢ παρὰ σοι ἢ παρ' ἑτέρῳ
 ἔθνη, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς ἐρωτήσεσι καὶ συντυχίαις ἐκπλήσσης αὐτοὺς ὡς πάνυ μνημο-
 1160 νικός καὶ πολυμύειρος.

σκ'. Ὦν ἔνεκα ἢ τόπων ποτὲ ἢ πόλεων ἐκπέμπειν μέλλεις ναυτικὸν στόλον,
 κρύπτειν σε δεῖ καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὥστε μηδένα προγνῶναι ποῦ
 μέλλει γίνεσθαι ὁ κατάπλους. ἔνταλμα δὲ γράψας, τοῦτο σφραγισάμενος
 1165 ἀσφαλῶς ἐπίδος τῷ καθισταμένῳ παρὰ σου ναυάρχῳ, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος
 ἐξελθὼν, τότε λύσῃ τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ μάθῃ ποῦ μέλλει πορεύεσθαι. οὕτως γὰρ
 ποιήσας λάθῃς τοὺς πολεμίους.

σκα'. Νόμοι στρατηγικοὶ φυλαττόμενοι καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς νικηφόρους
 καὶ ἐνδόξους καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀειμνήστους ἀποτελοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύουσι χαρὰς
 καὶ εὐφροσύνης αἵτιοι γίνονται, καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ὑποταγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους
 1170 καταναγκάζουσι, καὶ κακῶν ἐλευθερίας παντὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ γινόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ

1139 κοντουβέρνιον A κουτουβέρνιον M | σύνθημα M γνώρισμα A 1140 ἐξετάζης M
 ἐξετάσεις A 1153 συμβολὴν...κατὰ M προσβολὴν ὑπερέχεις A 1154 μνήμων...
 ἀντιπολεμίοις M καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ μνημονευτικοῖς A 1154-1155 διὰ...φοβερός M
 φοβερός διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θαυμασθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν A 1159 ἐκπλήσσης M ἐκπλήττης A
 1161 ναυτικὸν στόλον M om. A 1167 νικηφόρους M νικητὰς A 1168 καὶ δὴ M om. A

campsite, then give the order for each man to take hold of the person next to
 him and not let him go until he tells him who his officer is and what tagma and
 squad he belongs to, or some other password. Subject those who are unable to
 name these to further questioning, and in this way you will uncover the spies.

217. It is a great and even necessary thing for a general to speak sensibly in
 public. By a reasonable speech he will often incite the army to bravery more
 than by weapons. This is particularly true if he adds to his speech that they are
 fighting against opponents who are flesh and blood and who also suffer what all
 men suffer.

218. When the soldiers are about to engage the enemy in close combat, it is
 necessary for you, O general, to ride about and shout: “Let us charge against the
 enemy one more time and we shall be victorious.” In like manner again: “Let us
 charge one more time and we shall be victorious.” Do it a third time riding
 about on horseback. In this way, launching three charges one right after the
 other, you will truly bring about victory because of their enthusiasm. You will
 do this when, with God’s help, you see that, at the first charge, you gain an
 advantage over the enemy.

219. In order that you appear to the enemy as having a wonderful memory
 and, for this reason, as someone to be feared, if they send ambassadors to you,
 make inquiries about them. Have they previously been sent as ambassadors and
 about what matters and with what persons and at what time and in what place?
 Consider, moreover, what must be done concerning the present embassy and
 whether something similar was ever dealt with, either by you or by another
 nation. And so, in your meeting and by your questioning you will astound them
 by your excellent memory and great expertise.

220. Whenever you intend to send out a naval force to some place or city,
 you must keep the places or cities secret so nobody will know your destination
 ahead of time. Write the orders, seal them safely, and hand them over to the
 commander designated by you. Only after sailing out to sea is he to break the
 seal and find out where he is to proceed. This way of doing things will keep your
 plan hidden from the enemy.

221. Observance of the military laws will result in victorious generals, illus-
 trious and deserving perpetual memory, and it will also be the cause of
 happiness and kind thoughts for the emperors, and it will compel the enemy to
 live in peace and subjection. It will free all our subjects from many evils and

καὶ ἀγαθῶν εὐπορίαν προξενούντες αὐτοῖς, τὴν εἰς Θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν αὐξοῦσι
καὶ πρὸς δοξολογίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εὐσεβῆ ψυχὴν διεγεροῦσι. τούτους οὖν, ὦ
στρατηγέ, καθάπερ σωτῆρας μετὰ Θεὸν καὶ εὐεργέτας κοινούς τοὺς στρατηγι-
κοὺς νόμους διὰ παντὸς περιφύλαττε. καὶ πρό γε τούτων τοὺς θεῖους καὶ
1175 παναληθεῖς νόμους, δι' ὧν ἡ εὐσέβεια κρατύνεται, περίθαλπε καὶ ἀνενδοιάστως
τούτοις ὑπάκουε. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἀρίστη ἀρχὴ γένοιτο, καὶ εὐάρεστος ὁφθήσῃ
στρατηγὸς αὐτῷ τε τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρι-
στῷ, καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ βασιλεύουσιν.

even more it will offer them an abundance of good things. It will increase
gratitude toward God and it will stir up every pious soul to glorify him. Always,
therefore, observe these military laws, O general, for, after God, they are your
saviors and common benefactors. Above these, cherish and without hesitation
obey the divine and wholly true laws by which reverence is fortified. It is from
these that the best beginning proceeds, and the general will be most pleasing in
the sight of the God and emperor of all and to our Lord Jesus Christ and to us
who rule through him.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΩΙ

α'. Ὡς ἐν συνόψει δὲ τὰ προειρημένα ἡμῖν ἅπαντα οἶον ἀνακεφαλαιωσά-
μενοι ἐνταῦθα παρακελευόμεθα καὶ ὑποτιθέμεθα τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι. ἐξ ὧν, ὡς
εἴρηται, καὶ αὐτὸς στρατηγὸς ἀναδειχθεὶς ἀγαθός, καὶ βίον ἀκινδυνότατόν τε
5 καὶ ἀλυπώτατον τοῖς ὑπὸ σε ἀρχομένοις περιποιήσῃ.

β'. Καὶ πρῶτον | μὲν πᾶν ὅπερ μέλλεις ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ λάμ- 176
βανε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου μνήμης τε καὶ ἐντεύξεως μήτε
λόγου ἄρξῃ μήτε πράξεως.

γ'. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ κρίνω χρεὼν εἶναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ λαμβάνειν ἅπαντα τὴν
10 ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ ἐπόπτης καὶ τῶν λόγων
ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων· καὶ κριτικὸς ἐστὶν ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας, καὶ
οὐκ ἐστὶν κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· πάντα δὲ γυμνά καὶ τετραηλισμένα
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν θεολογικώτατον Παῦλον. διὸ οὐδὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ
γνώμης χωρὶς πράττειν ὀφείλομεν.

15 δ'. Ἐπεταὶ γάρ τις ἡμῖν οἶονεὶ συγγένεια πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ σχέσις, ὡς οἷα
γένοιτο παισὶ πρὸς πατέρα. καὶ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς φῶς καὶ βίον ἤλθομεν, καὶ
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ζῆν καὶ θνήσκειν ὀφείλομεν. ἐπὶ δώροις γὰρ τοῖς ἐκείνου τρεφό-
μεθα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν. καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ πειθό-
μεθα, ὅσον ιδιώται ἄρχοντι, καὶ δεσπότη ἀγαθῷ δοῦλοι καὶ ἄρχοντες βασιλεῖ.
20 καὶ πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, ὡς κατὰ πάντων κεκτημένου τὸ κράτος. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐξ
ἐκείνου δεδούλωται πάντα τὰ ἔμψυχα καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν θεραπεύο-
μεν. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄλογος πᾶσα ἀγέλη ὑφ' ἡμῶν ποιμαινομένη ἄγεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ ποιμαινόμεθα τοῦ καλοῦ ποιμένου, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς φιλανθρώπως φορέ-
σαντος τὸ ἡμέτερον.

MA PG 107:1076

11-13 Hebr. 4:12-13. 18 Acta 17:28. 22-24 Ioan. 10:11.

1 ἐν A om. M 2 ἅπαντα οἶον M πάντα A 6 ἡ¹ M om. A 7 μηδὲν M μήτε λόγου ἄρξῃ
μήτε πράξεως A 7-8 μήτε...πράξεως M om. A 9 χρεὼν M πρέπον A 13 παῦλον M
ἀπόστολον παῦλον A 17 ἐπὶ...ἐκείνου M τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου δώροις A

EPILOGUE

1. As a sort of recapitulation, in synoptic form, of everything we have said
previously, we here recommend and propose <the following> to Your Excellen-
cy. As noted, it is by <observing> these recommendations that you will prove
yourself to be an excellent general and you will obtain for yourself and those
under your command a life without danger and sorrow.

2. First, everything you intend to say or do should take its beginning from
God. Do not begin any word or deed without remembrance of him and convers-
ing with him.

3. Thus, I judge it to be necessary for all things to take their beginning from
God. He is our father and creator and watches over our words and our deeds. He
is the judge of the desires and thoughts of our hearts and no creature is unseen
in his presence. Everything is open and laid bare before his eyes, according to
the great theologian Paul.¹ Wherefore, we ought to do nothing apart from his
will.

4. For there is a certain sort of relationship and bond between us and him
such as that of children to their father. Indeed, it is from him that we have come
into light and life and we ought to live and die for him. We are nourished by his
gifts and in him we live and move and have our being.² We should obey him to
the extent that a private soldier obeys his commanding officer, as slaves a good
master, and as officials the emperor. We are all his since he possesses power over
all things. It is from him that all animate and inanimate beings are in service to
us. But we give our service to him. While the entire irrational flock is pastured
and led by us, we are pastured by God, the good shepherd, who for our sake out
of love for mankind put on our nature.³

1. Hebrews 4:12-13.

2. Acts 17:28.

3. John 10:11.

25 ε'. Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἑξαρνός ποτε γένοιτο ὅτι ἔστι Θεός, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν διεφθαρμένος ὑπάρχει. μεστὰ γὰρ τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ταῦτα παρήγαγεν καὶ πάντα πληροὶ καὶ πάντα διαπράττει, καὶ προνοεῖται καὶ διοικεῖ.

ζ'. Ἐλεγχος δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ· οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, γῆ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μέντοι καὶ θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἅπαντα, καὶ ὅσα ἐν 30 αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμα, μαρτύρια τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίας τε καὶ προνοίας ἀναδείκνυται.

ζ'. Καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ βασιλεῖς καθιστᾷ. καὶ γάρ φησι· δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι. καὶ στρατηγὸς δι' αὐτοῦ προχειρίζεται, ὁ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας αὐτός ἐστιν αἴτιος. διὸ καὶ χρὴ μὴ πρότερόν τινα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποδύεσθαι πρὶν 35 ἢ διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ ἐντεύξεως πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀφιερῶσει τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῇ ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διοίκησιν καταπιστεύεται.

η'. Διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ σε πάντα τὰ εἰς Θεοῦ θεραπείαν, ὦ στρατηγέ, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ διαφυλάττειν, ἑξαιρέτως τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτοῦ τιμὴν καὶ θεραπείαν, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ ναοὺς ὥστε 40 ἀσύλους εἶναι καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἀναρπάζεσθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς καταφεύγοντας ἄνευ διαγνώσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας.

θ'. Καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ τῶν μοναχῶν ἀσκητήρια καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν παρθενείαν | ἀσκούοντας ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀβίαστα καὶ σεμνὰ διατηρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, 45 ὅσα τῷ Θεῷ ἀνάκεινται παραφυλάττειν ἀνεπηρέαστα καὶ τίμια καὶ αἰδέσιμα ὡς ἅγια πάντα καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ ἀνακείμενα.

ι'. Καὶ μηδένα βεβήλων ἢ τυραννικῶν χεῖρας ἐπαίρειν κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἄλλως ἀποθρασύνεσθαι, μήτε σεαυτὸν μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἐξουσίαν οἶαν δὴ ποτέ τινα πεπιστευμένον ἀρχὴν ἢ στρατιωτικὴν ἢ πολιτικὴν. ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτοὺς ὡς κτῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης βλάβης καὶ ἐπηρείας ἐλευθέρους.

50 ια'. Καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ὡς πατέρας καὶ ποιμένας τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, ὅσαι τε ἀρχόντων καὶ ὅσαι ἀρχομένων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεὸν ἡμῖν μεσιτεύοντας· τούτους διὰ πάσης ἁγείν τιμῆς καὶ αἰδοῦς, καὶ μηδὲν ἐφ' ὅβρει τούτων καταδέχεσθαι.

ιβ'. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς γινόμενα εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρεται, παρ' οὗ καὶ 55 τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην εἰλήφασιν, δι' ἧς καὶ τὸ ποιμαίνειν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεὸν αὐταῖς μεσιτεύειν ἀνεδέξαντο. οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς ὥσπερ ψυχὴ τις διεσπαρμένη

5. Nobody might ever deny the existence of God, except perhaps one who has <already> destroyed his own soul. For everything is full of God and he brings forth all things from nonbeing and completes everything and finishes everything and provides for and manages all.⁴

6. Proof of this truth is what he has made, heaven and all that is in it, the earth and what is in it, indeed, the sea and everything in it. All that is helpful in them bear witness to God's solicitude for us and manifest his providence.

7. He it is who sets up emperors, for he says: It is by me that emperors reign.⁵ It is also by him that a general is promoted. He is the cause of every good rule and authority. For this reason a person must not be invested with command before prayer and converse with him, as though he were to consecrate himself to God. And he should entrust the ordering of his own life to his providence.

8. Because of this, it is necessary for you, O general, to handle and observe all things, above everything else, for the service of God. In particular, honor and reverence his priests and bishops, and keep his holy temples as places of asylum and do not seize hold of those who have sought refuge in them without the authorization of Our Majesty.⁶

9. Preserve reverence for the holy monasteries of the monks and those observing virginity in them and keep them free from harm and violence. To put it simply, preserve everything consecrated to God unmolested, honored, and respected for they are all holy and dedicated to God, who is holy.

10. Nobody is to raise impure or tyrannical hands against them or to act boldly against them in any other way, neither you nor anyone else who comes under your authority and who has been entrusted with some command, military or civil, but all, as belonging to God, must be free from all harm and abuse.

11. Especially toward the bishops, fathers and pastors of human souls, both of rulers and those who are ruled, and who are intermediaries for us with God, you must show all honor and respect and not allow anyone to insult them.

12. What is done to them is referred to God, from whom they have received the high-priestly office, by which they both shepherd souls and undertake to mediate for them to God. For the priests form a sort of soul, spread throughout

26-27 Ps. 13 (14): 1. 32-33 Prov. 8:15. 37-41 Cf. κ'. 338-343.

25 ἑξαρνός... ὅτι M ἀρνήσεται ποτὲ γέγονε ὅτι οὐκ A 28 τὰ¹ M om. A 32-33 βασιλεύουσι M βασιλεύουσιν A 33 ἀγαθῆς M om. A 36 καταπιστεύεται M καταπιστεύσει A 48 πολιτικὴν A πολεμικὴν M 55 εἰλήφασιν M εἰλήφασιν A | τὰς M om. A

4. Cf. Psalms 13 (14): 1.

5. Proverbs 8:15.

6. Cf. Const. 20 §70.

καὶ ζωογονοῦσα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων καθέστηκε, νοῦν καὶ ἡγέμονα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἀπάντων Θεὸν κεκτημένη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς τοῦ ὅλου σώματος διοικήσεις διαπορθμεύουσα καὶ
60 κυβερνώσα καὶ περιάγουσα.

ιγ'. Οὕτως οὖν περὶ Θεὸν εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀρθοδόξως καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου θεράποντας διακεείμενος, ἐπιμελοῦ μετὰ τοὺς θείους τῆς πίστεως νόμους καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς διαφυλάττεσθαι νόμους ἀπαραβάτους, ὥστε ποιεῖν σε κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς σου.

65 ιδ'. Ἐπιμελοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὅπλων, οὐχ ἵνα ἀδικήσης ἢ ἀδίκου πολέμου κατάρξης ἢ ληστείας τινὰς καὶ ἀδίκους κατὰ τῶν οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότων ἐπιδρομὰς ποιήσης, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν εὐσεβείᾳ ζῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅσον τὸ ἐπὶ σοι εἰρηνεύων, καὶ οὕτως εὐσεβῶς καὶ θεαρέστως πολιτευόμενος, ἔχῃς τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν ἀδικούντων πολεμίων.

70 ιε'. Ἡ γὰρ εὐσεβής σου ζωὴ ταῦτα παραλαβοῦσα, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔξει συνεκστρατεύοντα.

ις'. Καὶ ἡ πίστις τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν καὶ ἡγέμονα τὸ θεῖον ἔξει, καὶ ἀνάγκη πιστεῦναι ὅτι δικαίῳ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὀφείλεται τὸ τέλος ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ τῷ ἀδίκῳ τὸ ἐναντίον.

75 ιζ'. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα ἀδύνατον μὴ παθεῖν ποτε τὴν τῆς ἀδικίας ποινήν παρὰ γε Θεῷ κριτῇ, οὕτως ἀδύνατον καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ ἀντιπολεμοῦντα, μὴ τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς κριτὴς δίκαιος καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἐξάγει τὰ σύμπαντα.

ηγ'. Τούτων τοίνυν χάριν ἀσκέειν σε δεῖ <δι'> ὅπλων καὶ γυμνασίας καὶ τῆς
80 ἄλλης στρατηγικῆς ἐπιμελείας.

ιθ'. Εἰδέναι δέ σε ἐπὶ | τούτοις βούλομαι, ὅτι δεῖ σε ἐν πολέμῳ καιρῷ τῶν τε
ἀντιπολεμούντων τὴν φύσιν γινώσκειν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατάστασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων στράτευμα πότερον ὀξυτάτον ἐστὶν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς
85 ἐγγεγύμνασαι. πρώτας ὁρμὰς δραστικὸν ἢ πρὸς μακρόθυμα καὶ χρονοτριβῇ ἔργα μᾶλλον

65-69 β'. 193-216. 72-78 β'. 193-216.

58 καθέστηκε νοῦν A καθέστηκεν οὖν M 62 θείους... νόμους M νόμους τῆς θείας πίστεως A 63 διαφυλάττεσθαι... ἀπαραβάτους M νόμους ἀπαραβάτους διαφυλάττεσθαι A 79 χάριν... καὶ¹ M ἔνεκεν δεῖ σε ἀσκέειν καὶ ὅπλων A | δι' ci. Du om. codd. 83 πότερον M ἄρα A

and giving life to the whole body of the Christian people, both rulers and ruled. It has, therefore, set itself up as the property of the leader and emperor and God of all. From him it carries on, governs, and effects the management of the whole body.

13. In this way, then, be reverent, orthodox, and well disposed toward God and those who serve him. Be concerned to observe inviolate, after the divine laws, also those of the emperor, so as to establish judgment and justice in the midst of your land.

14. Be concerned about the tasks incumbent on a general and about the weapons of your soldiers. Do not act unjustly or initiate an unjust war. Do not launch unjust attacks or pillaging raids against people who have done you no wrong. Live in piety but also, as far as it depends on you, live in peace with your enemy. Thus, you will conduct yourself reverently, in a manner pleasing to God and, by so doing, you will possess the weapons to ward off any unjust foe.⁷

15. Your pious life having encompassed these things, be well assured that, along with righteousness, you will have God himself campaigning along with you.

16. The belief that one is not acting unjustly but is being treated unjustly will bring <you> the Divinity as your general and leader, and you will be compelled to believe that God has obligated himself to bring a just war to a good conclusion, and an unjust one to the contrary.⁸

17. Just as it is impossible for the unjust person not to suffer at some time the penalty for his injustice from God the judge, so it is impossible for one who has warded off and fought against injustice not to obtain victory from God. For God is a just judge and will bring everything about with justice.⁹

18. For these reasons, indeed, you must exercise yourself with weapons and training and the other military concerns.

19. I want you to be aware, in addition to these things, that in time of war you must know the nature of those fighting against you and their condition. Is their army at the height of readiness for what it must attempt? Has it been trained to be effective in its first assaults or rather for more drawn-out and time-consuming operations?

7. Cf. Const. 2 §§29-31.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

κ'. Χρή δέ σε διαγινώσκειν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, πότερον πολυχρόνιος ἐστίν, καὶ διὰ τίνος δαπάνης χρημάτων, ἢ μᾶλλον ὀξύτητι ῥώμης ὀλιγοχρόνιος καὶ ἐπιχειρητικός.

90 κα'. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις πολέμοις ἀντιπαρασκευάζου πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ψυχὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον αὐτῶν στράτευμα, ἥτοι πρὸς ἀνδρείας καὶ ὀξύτητας ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τούτων ἐναντία, ἥγουν φόβους καὶ θράση καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ τιμωρίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ῥαθυμίας, ὥστε τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη τῶν τε σῶν στρατευμάτων ἢ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δύνασθαι σε καὶ αὔξειν καὶ ταπεινοῦν.

95 κβ'. Καὶ μάλιστα τὰ παρὰ σοι διὰ παραγγελμάτων ἐντέχνων καὶ προσποιήσεως προγνωστικῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς διὰ λόγων δημηγορίας, ταῦτα δὲ παραφυλάττειν ὥστε γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ καθ' ὃν αἱ ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου κινηθεῖσαι διαμένειν δύνανται διὰ τῆς μνήμης πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς κινήσεως, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τὰς ἀνάγκας αὐτάς, ὅτε πρὸς τὸ διαμάχεσθαι παρασκευάζονται. συμβαίνει γὰρ ἀπαρασκευάτους διαγωνιζομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας 100 ἀτάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν τῆς μάχης κίνδυνον.

κγ'. Χρή οὖν πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων μεθαρμόζειν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὰς παρούσας δόξας χρησίμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων ψυχὰς καταδουλοῦν ἐντέχνως εἰς τε φόβους καὶ ῥαθυμίας καὶ μαλακίας, καὶ τότε ἐπιτίθεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄνευ παντὸς ὀκνου διαμάχεσθαι. μηδαμῶς δὲ ἄλλως 105 δυνατόν σε περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων, εἰ μὴ πρότερον εἰς ἀνάγκας αὐτοὺς περιστήσεις.

κδ'. Μηδὲ ἄγειν εἰς τοιούτους κινδύνους ἐξ ὧν βελτίονες μᾶλλον ἔσονται οἱ ἐχθροὶ παρ' ὃ βούλονται.

κε'. Εἰ δὲ πίστεις εἰσὶ καὶ ὁμολογίαι, ταύτας χρή σε φυλάττειν ἀπαραβάτους. 110 κς'. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάσεσι δέον σε μήτε εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἀτυχίας κρατοῦντα μέγα φρονεῖν διαπράξασθαι, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰ κατεργασθέντα ἐναπομένοντα τῶν πόνων ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ μακρόθεν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποβλέπειν καὶ βουλευέσθαι τί χρή ποιεῖν, μήτε δὴ δυστυχῶν φανερός γίνου ὡς καταπεπληγμένος μήτε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις.

115 κζ'. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διάλυε ἐν οἷς καιροῖς δυνατός ὑπάρχεις κατ' αὐτῶν ἀντέχειν καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ βεβαίαν εἰρήνην καὶ ἐπωφελεῖ οἱ ἐναντίοι αἰτήσονται. μεγάλαί γὰρ ἐλαττώσεις πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου γίνονται.

20. You must form an estimate of the war itself, whether it will last for a long time and with what expenditure of money, or, rather, for a short time with hostilities ready to begin because <the army> is at the height of its strength.

21. In such wars you must take counterpreparations that match the spirits of your adversaries and their entire army. Are they brave and sharp or the opposite, that is, fearful, bold, angry, vengeful, ambitious, and lazy? This makes it possible for you to increase or lessen such feelings in your own army, as well as in that of the enemy.

22. You must especially <attend to> your own responsibilities by way of skillful commands, anticipation of what is to be done, concern for the Divinity, and public orations, but make sure that these occur at a time when the souls that have been moved by <your> words are able to keep them in mind as they line up to move, not longer than necessary, but when they are getting ready to fight it out. Soldiers who enter the struggle unprepared are likely to be disorderly in facing the dangers of battle.

23. Before the dangers, therefore, it is necessary, in an effective manner, to bring the souls of the soldiers into harmony with the glory awaiting them. In addition, skillfully subject those of the enemy to fear, laziness, softness. Then attack them and fight them without any hesitation. There is absolutely no other way by which you are able to overcome your adversaries if you do not first bring them under duress.

24. Do not enter into such dangers that result in the enemy obtaining more of an advantage than they actually intended.

25. If pledges have been given or there are terms of truce, these you must observe inviolate.

26. As matters approach a conclusion, you must not, because of your good fortune and the misfortune of the enemy whom you have overcome, bring yourself to think in a haughty manner. Nor, content with what has been achieved, should you neglect the tasks remaining, but you should pay attention to what is still far off and ahead of you and make plans for what you must do. In misfortune you must not present yourself as beaten down, neither to your soldiers nor to the enemy.

27. Do not let up in the face of the enemy at those times when you are able to resist and fight against them, unless your adversaries should request a firm and beneficial peace. Great losses often occur by such a way of acting.

86 πότερον M κἂν τε A 87 διὰ τίνος M χρήζη A 99 ἀπαρασκευάτους M ἀνετοιμίους A 104 ἄλλως M ἄλλους A 105 περιγενέσθαι M γενέσθαι περὶ A 110 ἐκβάσεσι M συμπληρώσεσι A 111 ἀτυχίας M δυστυχίας A 111-112 διαπράξασθαι...κατεργασθέντα M εἰ πρὸς τὰ ἤδη τελειωθέντα A 113 δὴ PG δὲ M om. A

κη'. Χρεών | δέ σε καὶ τὸ στράτευμα εἰς πόλεμον ἐξάγειν μὴ ἀτελὲς διὰ
 120 τὸ πλῆθος μὴδὲ τῶν συνεργῶν τεχνῶν καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπολειπόμενον μὴδ'
 ἄλλην μηδεμίαν ἔχον ἐλάττωσιν, ἐξ οὗ μάλιστα τρόπου οἱ κακοὶ στρατηγοὶ
 διαβάλλονται.

κθ'. Χρὴ δέ σε σπουδαῖον ἀναφανῆναι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ διοικητικῇ προ-
 νοίᾳ τῶν στρατευμάτων.

125 λ'. Καὶ τὰς δαπάνας εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ὀλίγας καὶ συνεσταλμένας κελεύειν, καὶ
 τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κοινὰ διασφύζειν ἐμπείρως.

λα'. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις μελετᾶν σε μετὰ πόνου τὰ δέοντα ἐν τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις
 καὶ τοῖς νέοις, ὥστε ἱστορικὸν εἶναι πάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, καὶ ἔμπειρον
 παλαιῶν στρατηγημάτων ὅσα ἀξιάγαστα γεγόνασιν.

130 λβ'. Καὶ εἴ τις ἐπαγγέλλεται σοὶ περὶ στρατηγίας τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τεχνίτης ἢ
 ἰδιώτης, πάντων ἄκουε καὶ γίνου τῶν λεγομένων κριτής.

λγ'. Συμβουλευέσθαι δέ σε χρὴ μετὰ γερόντων ἅμα ἐμπειρῶν γενομένων
 τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων καὶ ἀξιώμασι διαπρεπόντων καὶ μετὰ εὐνόησας ἐν τοῖς
 πράγμασι περὶ ὧν ἂν ἢ ἡ συμβουλὴ διακειμένων.

135 λδ'. Δεῖ δέ σε ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τῆς μάχης μὴ ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
 φυλακὴν ἔχειν περὶ σεαυτόν, καὶ ἐρμηνέα γίνεσθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν
 τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὴν κατεπείγουσαν χρεῖαν.

λε'. <Δεῖ δέ σε> ὀξέως ποιητικόν τε εἶναι στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀγχίνου ἐν
 ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθεσθαι βούλει τοῖς πολεμίοις

140 καὶ ὅταν ἐπιβουλευέσθαι μέλλῃς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

λς'. Ἔσο δέ καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰφνιδίοις φόβοις εὐπορος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολε-
 μίων κακουργίας δεινὸς προῖδεῖν καὶ τὸ μέλλον προστοχάσασθαι.

λζ'. Εἶναι δέ σε χρὴ καὶ πρὸς τὰ συνθήματα, ὅσα κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπινοή-
 σεις, σύντονον καὶ ἐπιμελέστατον, συνέσει τε καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ διαφέρον-

145 τα τῶν ὑπὸ σε ἀρχόντων.

λη'. Καὶ τῷ σώματι δέ ῥωμαλέον καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὅπλισιν, ὥστε χρῆσθαι
 αὐτῇ δυνατῶς καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως, καὶ εὐτρεπῇ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἰδέαν,

146-157 Cf. β'. 3-10.

119 χρεών M χρὴ A | πόλεμον A πολέμους M | διὰ M κατὰ A 120 μὴδ' PG μὴδὲ MA
 123-124 διοικητικὴ προνοία M προνοία τῆς διοικήσεως A 125 εἰς M κατὰ A | κελεύειν M
 κελεύειν ἐπιφέρεισθαι A 134 πράγμασι M πράγμασι διακειμένων A | ἢ PG om. MA |
 διακειμένων M om. A 137 χρεῖαν M χρεῖαν ὀξέως A 138 δεῖ...σε ci. De om. codd. |
 ὀξέως M om. A | ἀγχίνου M συνετὸν A 141 ἔσο M ὑπαρχε A 145 τῶν M τῶν ἄλλων A
 146 ῥωμαλέον M ἰσχυρόν A | ὅπλισιν M ὅπλισιν ἐπιτήδειον A 146-149 ὥστε...εὐρωστον
 M om. A

28. It is necessary for you to lead the army out to war when it is not below
 strength, when it is not lacking any of the skills and practices that make it ef-
 fective, and is not inferior in any way at all. Failure to observe this is the
 principal reason why bad generals incur blame.

29. You must appear serious, especially in the management and foresight for
 the armies.

30. Issue orders that, as much as possible, the expenses be few and restricted
 and, on the basis of your experience, maintain the other public funds.

31. In addition to these matters, you are to reflect diligently on the necessary
 tasks <as presented> both by the ancient authors and the modern ones. You will
 then become well informed on everything pertaining to war and an expert on
 all the admirable stratagems of the ancients.

32. If anyone, whether a specialist or a private person, lets you know that he
 has something to say about strategy, listen to all he has to say and then, when he
 has finished, form your judgment.

33. You must make your plans together with older men experienced in the
 tasks of war and illustrious because of their dignities and well disposed to those
 matters about which advice is sought.

34. In the perilous conditions of war you must not engage in close fighting,
 but keep a guard around yourself. In the hour of battle you are the interpreter
 for the army to deal with its pressing needs.

35. <You ought> to be an inventor of keen stratagems, and shrewd in your
 undertakings, both when you plan to attack the enemy yourself and when you
 are about to be attacked by the enemy.

36. Also be ingenious in dealing with sudden fears and clever in foreseeing
 the evil works of the enemy, and in estimating what is to come.

37. You must also be earnest and most careful regarding passwords that you
 make up <for use> against the enemy, allowing for differences in intelligence,
 nature, and concern for the officers under you.

38. <You ought to be> robust in body and able to use every sort of weapon
 effectively and without being impeded and, as a result, ready to take up any one

καὶ κατεσκευάσθαι τῇ παντευχίᾳ τῶν ὀπλῶν καλῶς καὶ εὐπρεπῶς καὶ ἀπόνως, ὥς γενναῖον τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐρωστον.

150 λθ'. Εἶναι δέ σε μάλιστα καὶ ἐγκρατῇ χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῶν ἀπασῶν, φιλό-
πονον δὲ πρὸς τὰς καρτερίας, ἀνδρεῖον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ μὴ ταρασ-
σόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, φιλότιμον περὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης,
μεγαλόψυχον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀξίωμα ἔχοντα ἀντὶ
155 πόλεως καὶ γένους καὶ πολιτείας εὐνομούμενης τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν, καὶ τῷ
παροῦσιν ἀεὶ πράγμασιν τοὺς ἄλλους νικῶντα, καὶ ὥς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων πραγμάτων
τοὺς κοινούς κινδύνους ἀναδεχόμενον.

μ'. Προσέτι δὲ δημηγορικόν σε εἶναι χρὴ | καὶ ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀληθεστά- 178
τοις τῶν λόγων χρώμενον περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. πλὴν ὅσον συμφέρειν οὐδὲ
160 ἐπιψεύδεσθαι, ὥστε εἰς ἄλλο ἦθος μεταστῆσαι καὶ κινῆσαι τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων
ψυχὰς χρήσιμον καὶ βελτίους ποιῆσαι πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρόν.

μα'. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνήσκοντας μεγαλοπρεπῆς γενοῦ καὶ
φιλότιμος καὶ τιμητικός, μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, δόξαν αὐτοῖς διὰ
τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐντίμου ταφῆς περιποιούμενος.

165 μβ'. Τῶν νοσούντων θεραπευτικός, περὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους εὐπορος ἐκ τῶν
ιδίων, ἀφιλόδοξος δὲ καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς κοινῇ συνερχομέ-
ναις ὁμιλίαις.

μγ'. Μὴ δύσερις ὑπάρχεις μὴδὲ πολυπράγμων μὴδὲ πολύλογος, τῇ δὲ ἐσθῇτι
μέτριος, καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ βαδίσματι. καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀνεπίφθο-
170 νον παραφύλαττε, ὥστε μὴ δάκνεσθαι τῷ φθόνῳ περὶ τοὺς συστρατῆγους τι
κατορθοῦντας, ἀλλὰ ζηλοῦν μᾶλλον καὶ μιμεῖσθαι καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς
στρατευομένοις πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ συμφέροντα.

μδ'. Τῷ δὲ ἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ χρέος ἐστὶν πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀρμοζομένῳ,
διαφόρους πρὸς ἕκαστον τὰς στρατηγίας ἐπινοεῖσθαι.

175 με'. Εἰ δὲ ποτε καὶ ναυαρχίας ἐπιστήσεται, ἀκύμαντον τὴν τοῦ στόλου τάξιν
διαφυλάξει, ἐμπείρως ἔχων τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος φορᾶς, καὶ τὰς οὐραγίας δὲ ἦτοι τοὺς

of them. Equip yourself with the full panoply of weapons nicely, properly, and with ease, as a person noble in age and soul and very strong in body.¹⁰

39. You <ought> to be particularly restrained when it comes to money and all pleasures, a lover of work in addition to endurance, brave in confronting dangers, not confused during combat, generous in your deeds, righteous, magnanimous in your dealings with the soldiers, possessing your personal virtue as a dignity in place of a city, nation, or well-ordered commonwealth, standing ahead of all in your experience of war, by your goodwill and generosity ever surpassing others in the matters at hand, and placing the common dangers above your own concerns.¹¹

40. You ought, moreover, to be a public speaker, as well as a good debater. You are to employ the truest words about the truth, not uttering falsehoods, apart from what may be beneficial, so as to turn <your troops> around to another disposition and to move the spirits of your audience and to make them better able to face the situations that present themselves.

41. Be generous, respectful, and honorable regarding those who have died in battle, especially the men <cited for> bravery, assuring them of glory by blessing and an honorable burial.

42. <See that> the sick receive proper care. For those who have no resources, provide resources from your own possessions. Be free from conceit and bountiful in your own affairs and in the public affairs that devolve upon you.

43. You should not be quarrelsome, meddlesome, or garrulous. Be moderate in your clothing, your appearance, and the way you walk. Preserve yourself from being jealous of others so that you are not bitten by envy regarding your fellow generals when they achieve some success. Rather, emulate, imitate, and struggle along with them on campaign for everything that is beneficial.

44. A good general has to make accommodation for every nation, devising a different strategy for each one.

45. If he will ever be given a naval command, he shall preserve the order of the fleet from being broken up by the waves, with his experience of the move-

150 ἀπασῶν M πασῶν A 152 φιλότιμον M σπουδὴν ἔχονται A 156 πράγμασιν M
πράγμασι A 165 εὐπορος... τῶν M ἐκ τῶν σῶν εὐπορωτέρους ποιῶν A 166 ἰδίων M om.
A | ἐλεύθερος A ἐλευθέριος M | ἰδίαις M κατ' ἰδίαν A 166-167 καὶ²... ὁμιλίαις M ὁμιλίαις
καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν συνερχομέναις A 168 δύσερις M φιλόνεικος A | μὴδὲ² M
μῆ... μὴ A | τῇ... ἐσθῇτι M τοῖς δὲ ἱματίοις A 169 μέτριος M εὐτελέστατος A
171 ζηλοῦν... μιμεῖσθαι M μιμεῖσθαι μᾶλλον A 175 ναυαρχίας M ναυαρχίας καιρὸς A |
ἀκύμαντον M ἀκίνδυνον A 176 διαφυλάξει M om. A | ἔχων M ἔχει A

10. Cf. Const. 2 §1.

11. Ibid.

ὀπισθοφύλακας εὐτάκτως συνάγειν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τόπου ἢ ὑπὸ ζάλης θαλαττίας ἢ ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἀναγκαζόμενοι φθείροντο.

180 μζ'. Δεῖ δέ σε γινώσκειν, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ἐξ ὅσων τρόπων αἱ μάχαι συνάπτονται, ἢ γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως κατὰ πρόσωπον ἢ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ κατὰ μέθοδον ἢ τόπων ἀποστερίσκοντας ὄχυρῶν ἢ χώρας ἐξ ἐφόδου φθείροντας ἢ δροτομίας ἢ σιτοφθορίας ἢ δώματα ἐμπυρίζοντας ἢ λεηλατοῦντας ἢ αἰχμαλωτίζοντας ἢ ὑδάτων ἀποστεροῦντας ἢ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπερχομένους.

185 μα στρατεύματι, καὶ ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντι τῷ πολεμῷ συνάπτειν, καὶ εἰς στενοὺς τόπους ἐξ εὐρυχωρίας μεταλασσομένῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ στενῶν τόπων εἰς εὐρυχωρίαν καθισταμένῳ, καὶ μήπω συντεταγμένῳ. καὶ ὅταν μεταλλαγῇ ἀθρόα τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν πολεμίων γένηται, καὶ ὅταν ἐν τόποις κατακλεισθῶσι δυσδιεξοδεύτοις, καὶ ὅταν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορήσωσιν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς νόσον τὸ στράτευμα 190 τῶν ἐναντίων ἐμπέσῃ, καὶ ὅταν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος παραλόγως ἐνοχληθῶσιν ἢ ἐναπολειφθῶσι χειμῶνι, καὶ ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμερινῶν πόνων τὰ σώματα κατάκοποι γενόμενοι ἄσιτοί εἰσι καὶ νηστεύοντες ἢ πορείας μακρὰς ἐμπεσοῦσης καὶ κόπος τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ | ἀνδρῶν γένηται ἢ ὅταν ἄγρυπνοι γένωνται διὰ τινος αἰτίας. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ναυτικοῖς μάχαι συνάπτονται ἢ ὅταν οἱ πολέμιοι ναυαγήσωσιν 195 ἢ ὅταν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ταλαιπωρηθῶσιν.

μη'. Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐναντία γινόμενα, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς καταμερισμοὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις καὶ τὰς παραγωγὰς τῶν τάξεων, ἵνα δι' ὀλίγων πείθωνται, εἰδέναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ εἶδη τῶν παραγγελμάτων.

200 μθ'. Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἀπηριθμημένας ἀπάσης τῆς μάχης ἐπιβολὰς νουνεχῶς ἐπιβάλλειν σε παρακελεύομεθα, ὦ στρατηγέ, καθόσον ἐπινοήσεις ἐνδέχεσθαι τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσεις. καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ἐμπίπτοντά σε φεύγειν τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις. ἃ γὰρ ἑτέροις δράσεις δι' αὐτῶν τὰ ὅμοια πάθοις πάλιν ὑφ' ἑτέρων δι' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ

ments of the air. The rear guard, that is, the guard behind, must accompany him in good order so that they will not be destroyed by the location or the storms at sea or the pressure of the enemy.

46. It is necessary for you, O general, to know the number of situations that may entice you to enter into battle: either from a battle line facing to the front or by deceiving <the enemy> in some way or dismantling their fortified places or destroying a region in a raid or chopping down trees or destroying crops or setting houses on fire or pillaging or taking prisoners or cutting off the water supply or attacking from ambush.

47. Battles are joined in the following situations as well. When an army comes upon another army unexpectedly or joins battle as the enemy is crossing a river, or as it is transferring itself from open country into narrow places, or when it exits narrow places and is setting itself up in open country and is not yet drawn up in formation. Also when the enemy army is suddenly transferred or finds itself in closed off spaces difficult to exit, or when it is deprived of necessities, or when the opposing army succumbs to disease, or when it is exceptionally disturbed by stormy weather or left behind by winter, or when the men become physically exhausted because of their daily labors and are without food and starving. Or when they endure a very long march that is hard on the horses and the men or when, for various reasons, they do not get enough sleep. Engage in naval battle when the enemy are suffering shipwreck or when they have been severely battered by storms.

48. The general must know all these things as well as their opposites. He must, moreover, know the divisions of the army and the battle formations and the marching in formation, in order that he might be obeyed quickly. He should also know the various kinds of commands.

49. We order you, O general, to confront intelligently the innumerable offensive acts of every battle to the extent that you think the assaults will allow. Guard yourself against the attacks of the enemy. Confront whatever happens to fall upon you and free yourself from their assaults. The things you will do to others by such assaults, you may in turn suffer from others who also make use

179 ὅσων M πόσων A 180 ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ M ἀπὸ ἀπάτης A 182 ἐμπυρίζοντας... ἢ¹ M κατακαίοντας ἢ πραιδεύοντας ἢ A 183 ἐξ ἐνέδρας M ἀπὸ ἐγκρύμματος A 184 καὶ A om. M 185 εἰς A ὡς M 186 ἐξ M ἀπὸ A | μεταλασσομένῳ M μεταβαίνοντι A 187 καθισταμένῳ M ἐξερχομένῳ A | ἀθρόα M αἰφνιδία A 188 στρατοῦ M κρατοῦντος A 188-189 δυσδιεξοδεύτοις M διεξοδεύτοις A 191 ἐναπολειφθῶσι χειμῶνι M κλεισθῶσιν A | πόνων M πόνων ταλαιπωρηθέντες A 191-192 κατάκοποι... ἄσιτοί M ἀγευστοί A 192 πορείας M ὁδοῦ A 198 δεῖ Du δὲ codd. 200 ἀπηριθμημένας M ἡριθμημένας A | ἐπιβολὰς M ἐγχειρήσεις A 204 δράσεις M ποιήσεις A

ὀπισθοφύλακας εὐτάκτως συνάγειν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τόπου ἢ ὑπὸ ζάλης θαλαττίας ἢ ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἀναγκαζόμενοι φθείροντο.

180 μς'. Δεῖ δέ σε γινώσκειν, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ἐξ ὧν τρόπων αἱ μάχαι συνάπτονται, ἢ γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως κατὰ πρόσωπον ἢ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ κατὰ μέθοδον ἢ τόπων ἀποστερίσκοντας ὀχυρῶν ἢ χώρας ἐξ ἐφόδου φθείροντας ἢ δροτομίας ἢ σιτοφθορίας ἢ δώματα ἐμπυρίζοντας ἢ λεηλατοῦντας ἢ αἰχμαλωτίζοντας ἢ ὑδάτων ἀποστεροῦντας ἢ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπερχομένους.

185 μζ'. Συνάπτονται δὲ αἱ μάχαι καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ὅταν αἰφνιδίως ἐπιστῇ στράτευμα στρατεύματι, καὶ ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντι τῷ πολεμίῳ συνάπτειν, καὶ εἰς στενὸν τόπον ἐξ εὐρυχωρίας μεταλασσομένῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ στενῶν τόπων εἰς εὐρυχωρίαν καθισταμένῳ, καὶ μήπῳ συντεταγμένῳ. καὶ ὅταν μεταλλαγή ἄθροα τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν πολεμίων γένηται, καὶ ὅταν ἐν τόποις κατακλεισθῶσι δυσδιεξοδεῦτοις, καὶ ὅταν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορήσωσιν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς νόσον τὸ στράτευμα 190 τῶν ἐναντίων ἐμπέσῃ, καὶ ὅταν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος παραλόγως ἐνοχληθῶσιν ἢ ἐναπολειφθῶσι χειμῶνι, καὶ ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμερινῶν πόνων τὰ σώματα ἀκόποι γενόμενοι ἄσιτοί εἰσι καὶ νηστεύοντες ἢ πορείας μακρὰς ἐμπεσοῦσης καὶ κόπος τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ | ἀνδρῶν γένηται ἢ ὅταν ἄγρυπνοι γένωνται διὰ τινος αἰτίας. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ναυτικοῖς μάχαι συνάπτονται ἢ ὅταν οἱ πολέμοι ναυαγήσωσιν 195 ἢ ὅταν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ταλαιπωρηθῶσιν.

μη'. Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐναντία γινόμενα, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς καταμερισμοὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις καὶ τὰς παραγωγὰς τῶν τάξεων, ἵνα δι' ὀλίγων πείθωνται, εἰδέναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ εἶδη τῶν παραγγελμάτων.

200 μθ'. Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἀπληριθμημένας ἀπάσης τῆς μάχης ἐπιβολὰς νουνεχῶς ἐπιβάλλειν σε παρακελεύομεθα, ὦ στρατηγέ, καθόσον ἐπινοήσεις ἐνδέχσθαι τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσεις. καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ἐμπίπτοντά σε φεύγειν τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις. ἃ γὰρ ἑτέροις δράσεις δι' αὐτῶν τὰ ὅμοια πάθοις πάλιν ὑφ' ἑτέρων δι' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ

ments of the air. The rear guard, that is, the guard behind, must accompany him in good order so that they will not be destroyed by the location or the storms at sea or the pressure of the enemy.

46. It is necessary for you, O general, to know the number of situations that may entice you to enter into battle: either from a battle line facing to the front or by deceiving <the enemy> in some way or dismantling their fortified places or destroying a region in a raid or chopping down trees or destroying crops or setting houses on fire or pillaging or taking prisoners or cutting off the water supply or attacking from ambush.

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205 λίαν ὀξέως καὶ νουνεχῶς ἐπιβάλῃς τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσι καὶ ἀντιτιθῇς ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τὰ δέοντα.

ν'. Ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δέον σε τὰς ἐκστρατείας ποιεῖσθαι ὅταν εἰσὶν οἱ καρποί.

να'. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στάσεσι τῶν παρατάξεων τὰ ἐναντία πνεύματα κατὰ νότου
210 ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἥλιον δὲ ὡσαύτως κατὰ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἀγῶνας ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἐναντίων ποιεῖν.

νβ'. Εἶναι δέ σε δεῖ μεγαλόφωνον ἐν τοῖς παραγγέλμασι καὶ εὐθαρσὲς καὶ ἐμμελὲς ἔχειν τὸ φθέγμα.

νγ'. Συνεργοῦσι δὲ τῇ φύσει τοῦ πολέμου αὐταὶ αἱ τέχναι, οἷον ὀπλιτική,
215 λογιστική, ἀρχιτεκτονική, ἀστρονομική, ἱερατική, ἱατρική.

νδ'. Ἔργα δὲ τῆς ὀπλικῆς, ὥστε περιφράττειν τὰ σώματα ὅπλοις συμμέτροις καὶ ἀρμόζουσι καὶ ἰσχυροῖς καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰργασμένοις καὶ εὐπρέπειαν παρέχουσι τῶν φερόντων αὐτὰ σωμάτων. ἐκλέξασθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα, ὅσα πρὸς πανοπλίαν ἀρμόζουσιν.

220 νε'. Δεῖ δὲ σε ὑποδεικνύναι τοῖς στρατιώταις οἷας καὶ ὅσας εἶναι χρὴ τῶν ὅπλων τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς μελέτας τούτων καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀγωνίας πρὸς πᾶσαν συσκευὴν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς μάχας.

νς'. Φροντίζειν δὲ καὶ τιμῶν καὶ οὐσιῶν καὶ εὐπορίας, ἐξ ὧν αἱ κτήσεις τῶν ὅπλων καὶ αἱ δαπάναι αἱ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἀρκοῦσαι ἔσονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ
225 ὀπλικά.

νζ'. Λογιστικῆς δὲ ἔργον ἐστίν, ὥστε μερίζειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ κοντουβέρνια καὶ τάξεις καὶ τούρμας καὶ δρούγγους καὶ βάνδα καὶ κενταρχίας τε καὶ δεκαρχίας καὶ πενταρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς καὶ ὅλας παρατάξεις καὶ πάντων τούτων ποιεῖσθαι διαίρεσιν. τίνες καὶ ὅσοι τὰ κάστρα φυλάξουσιν; καὶ
230 τίνες καὶ ὅσοι νέοι ἢ γέροντές εἰσιν ἢ ἀνάπηροι τὰ μέλη ἢ διὰ νόσου ἀδύνατοι | καὶ ὅσοι τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τὰ δημόσια πράγματα τεταγμένοι; ταῦτα λογιστικῆς εἰσι. διακρίναι δὲ καὶ ἐπιλέξασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ ἀκμάζοντα σώματα πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τούτων τὸν μερισμόν, ὅπόσοι εἰσὶ κατὰ τε μέγεθος καὶ σμικρότητα. καὶ ὅπως ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τούτοις μεγάλους τὰς ἡλικίας δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι
235 καὶ πῶς τὰ περὶ τὴν στάσιν ἐν τε τῷ μήκει καὶ τῷ βάθει γινόμενοι ταχθήσονται.

216–225 Cf. *Strat.*, 5. 226–237 Cf. *Strat.*, 4.

205 ἐπιβάλῃς...καὶ² M πρὸς τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα A 209 τὰ...νότου M τοὺς ἀνέμους ὀπίσω A 210 τὰς...ὄψει M πρόσωπον A 211 ποιεῖν M om. A 218 τῶν...σωμάτων M τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτοῖς σώμασιν A 226–227 κοντουβέρνια A κουτουβέρνια M 230 ἀνάπηροι M παραλελυμένοι A 231 τεταγμένοι M παρατεταγμένοι A

of them, unless you take action, in a very shrewd and intelligent manner, against what falls on you and match what is fitting to the needs.

50. You ought to embark upon your expeditions at that time of the year when the harvest is ready.

51. In positioning your battle line have the contrary winds at your back and, at the time of combat, have the sun in the face of your adversaries.

52. You ought to have a loud voice when giving commands. Your voice should also sound harmonious and should inspire courage.

53. War, by its very nature, needs the work of these skills: armament, logistic, architectonic, astronomic, priestly, medical.

54. The task of armament is to provide protection for the body by means of weapons that are well proportioned, fitting the body, and strong. They should be expertly crafted and make for a nice appearance on the bodies bearing them. One must select the bodies that are suitable for a complete suit of armor.¹²

55. You must instruct the soldiers in the number and kinds of ways in which the weapons are to be used, the ways of practicing with them, and all the hard work involved in every preparation and drilling for battle.¹³

56. You must take thought for the price, the material, and the resources leading to the purchase of the weapons and the expenses that will be sufficient to cover the bodies <of the men>. So much for weaponry.¹⁴

57. This is what the logistic art is to do. It divides the army into squads and units, tourmai, droungoi, and banda, also kentarchies, dekarchies, pentarchies, and the other units, as well as entire battle lines. It makes a proper division of all these. Which ones and how many will guard fortified towns? Which ones and how many young or old men there are? Which ones are maimed in their limbs or incapacitated by illness? How many have a position in the civil government or one dealing with public affairs? This is what logistics are. To determine and to select, moreover, the bodies in their prime for the whole army and to make divisions among these. Which are larger? Which are smaller? What age must the senior officers over them be? How are they to be assigned a position in the width and depth of the formation? What should be the numbers in each of the

12. Cf. *Strat.*, 5.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

καὶ ἐν ποίοις ἀριθμοῖς ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν καὶ ποῦ καταταγίσονται πρὸς τὰς ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις ἀναγκαίαις κινήσεις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς λογιστικῆς.

νη'. Τῆς δὲ τακτικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν, ὥστε τὰ σχήματα τῶν ταγμάτων δεῖξαι. ἐν οἷς ἢ ἐγχειρεῖσθαι συμβαίνει, καὶ ποῖα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸ ὑποδέχεσθαι πολέμιων
240 ἐπιφοράς, καὶ ποῖα πρὸς τὸ ἐπέρχεσθαι ἢ ἀμύνασθαι πέφυκεν, καὶ μετὰ ποίου τρόπου γίνονται ἕκαστα, καὶ ποίας ὀπλίσεις δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ πῶς μετακινεῖσθαι τὰς τάξεις δυνατόν, καὶ ἐν τίνι τόπῳ καὶ πότε χρηστέον. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τῆς τακτικῆς.

νθ'. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἐστὶν τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ φοσσάτων σχή-
245 ματα ἥτοι τῶν ἀπλίκτων, πῶς δεῖ ταῦτα περιλαβεῖν διὰ φοσσάτου ἢ χάρακος, καὶ τὸν ἔσωθεν τόπον διαμερίσαι συμμέτρως καὶ ποιῆσαι διεξόδους τὰς ἀρμοζούσας καὶ τὸ δεῖξαι διαστήματα μεγίστου στρατοπέδου διὰ τοῦ μήκους καὶ ἐλαχίστου πάλιν διὰ συστολῆς, ὅτε καιρὸς τῆς ἐκάστου χρεαίας ἐστίν· ἐκλέγεσθαι δὲ καὶ τόπους ὅσοι μὴ εὐεπιβούλευτοί εἰσι τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ὅσοι εὐαπάλ-
250 λακτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστροφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναζεύξεσιν.

ξ'. Προσέτι δὲ μηχανικῆς ἐστὶ τειχίσματα πόλεων ἢ ἄλλων φρουρίων πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολέμιων μηχανὰς ἀκαταγώνιστα κατασκευᾶσαι, καὶ ὑπὸ ὑδάτων ἐπαγωγῆς ἀνάλωτα. καὶ περὶ τὰ τεῖχη δὲ κατασκευὰς ποιῆσαι καὶ παρασκευᾶσαι ὀπλισιν, οἷον τὰ λεγόμενα μαγγανικά καὶ τοξοβολίστρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅπλα ὅσα
255 πρὸς τειχομαχίαν ἀντίκειται, καὶ ἕτερα πρὸς τειχομαχίαν ἐπιτήδεια. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς.

ξα'. Τῆς δὲ ἀστρονομίας εἰσὶν τοὺς καιροὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ προλέγειν, ἐν οἷς χειμῶνων ἢ καυμάτων μεταβολαὶ γίνονται, ἢ ὑδάτων ὀμβρίων καταφοραὶ ἢ πνευμάτων ἐξαισίων κινήσεις, ἐξ ὧν στρατεύματα πολλάκις εἰς μεγίστους
260 κινδύνους ἐνέπεσον. καὶ περὶ τὰ μέρη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκριβῶς διαιρεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς πρὸς τὰς ὥρας τῶν ἐπιθέσεων καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις, ἐν αἷς ἀστοχοῦντες πολλάκις ἄχρηστον τὴν δύναμιν τινες | ἀπεργάζονται. περὶ δὲ σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων τὰ μέλλοντα δηλοποιοῖν ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὸ

divisions? Where should they be lined up for the necessary movements in time of need? These are the functions of logistics.¹⁵

58. This is the task of tactics. It shows the formations of the units in which they are set to take offensive action as well as the formations that are useful in receiving the attacks of the enemy. What kinds of formations are set for attacking? What kind for defensive action? What manner is appropriate for each one? What sort of armament must be employed against the foe? How is it possible to transfer the units from one place to another and in what place and when is it useful? These are the functions of tactics.

59. The architectonic deals with the forms of army camps and fortified places, in a word, camps. How it is necessary to surround these by a ditch or a palisade, and to divide the interior space proportionately and to make convenient roadways. To show the distances of the largest campsite by its length and, in turn, the smallest by contraction, as the situation calls for each one. Also to select the sites that are not easily subject to enemy assaults, and that are easy to evacuate when it comes to wheeling about and breaking up camp.¹⁶

60. In addition, it is the task of mechanics to construct the walls of cities and other fortresses that can hold out against the machines of the enemy and withstand the onrush of water. And to make preparations about the walls and prepare armament, such as the so-called manganika and toxobolistras and all the other weapons available for fighting on the walls, and whatever else is useful for such fighting. These are the functions of architectonics.

61. The task of astronomy is to foretell the seasons of the year. When do the changes of wintry storms or burning heat take place, or the downpours of heavy rain or the movements of favorable winds? All these have often inflicted serious damage upon armies. About the divisions of the day and of the night, to determine accurately the times with a view to the hours of offensive action and of rest. By missing the mark often in these matters, one ends up with a force that proves useless. To make clear what will occur on the basis of earthquakes and

244–250 Cf. *Strat.*, 11. 257–265 *Arist. Meteor.*, 362b 17.

238–239 ἐν...συμβαίνει M om. A 242 χρηστέον M προσήκει χρῆσθαι A 245 φοσσάτου...χάρακος M ὀρυγμάτων ἢ σταβάρων A 247 μεγίστου M μέχρι τοῦ A | διὰ τοῦ M διὰ τε A 248 ἐλαχίστου M ἐλαχίστης A | διὰ M om. A 249–250 εὐαπάλλακτοι M ἀνεμποδίστοι καὶ ἀκώλυτοί εἰσιν A 250 καὶ...ἀναζεύξεσιν M om. A 251 φρουρίων M ὀχυρωμάτων A 252 κατασκευᾶσαι M παρασκευᾶσαι A 253–254 καὶ²...οἷον M ἥτοι A 254 τὰ² M om. A 258–259 ὑδάτων...πνευμάτων M ὀμβροὶ σφοδροὶ ἢ ἀνέμων A 261 διαιρεῖν M διαιρεῖ A 262 ἀστοχοῦντες M ἀστοχοῦντες τινες A | τινες M om. A

15. Cf. *Strat.* 4.

16. Cf. *Strat.* 11.

συμφέρον τὰς ἐπιφανείας ἐντέχνως μεταρρυθμίζειν. πάντα ταῦτα τῆς ἀστρονομί-
 265 ας εἰσίν.

ξβ'. Τῆς δὲ ἱερατικῆς ἐστὶν τὸ καλῶς τὰ θεῖα χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖν
 ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ θεαρέστως κατὰ τὸν παραδο-
 θέντα θεσμὸν ἄνωθεν τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι Χριστιανοῖς, διὰ τε ἱερολογιῶν καὶ
 270 ἱεουργιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐχῶν καὶ δεήσεων πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐκτενῶς γινομέ-
 νων καὶ πρὸς τὴν πανάχραντον αὐτοῦ μητέρα καὶ Θεοτόκον καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους
 αὐτοῦ θεράποντας. ἐξ ὧν ἰλεοῦται τὸ θεῖον καὶ διὰ τὴν πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας αἰ
 ψυχαὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐρωστώτεραι πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους παρασκευάζονται.

ξγ'. Τῆς δὲ ἱατρικῆς ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ ἔλκη τὰ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων γινόμενα καὶ
 περὶ τὰς πληγὰς ὅσαι ἀπὸ λίθων ἢ ἀπὸ βελῶν ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ὅπλου γίνονται,
 275 τούτων πάντων φάρμακα ἔχειν θεραπευτικὰ καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἱατρικὴν. ἀλλ' ὅσα
 νοσήματα κοινὰ συμβαίνειν εἴωθε διὰ ψύχης καὶ καύματα καὶ πόνους καὶ ὑδάτων
 μεταβολὰς καὶ τόπων θέσεις καὶ ἀέρων κράσεις καὶ σωμάτων ἀθεραπευσίαν καὶ
 τροφῶν ἀταξίαν, οἷον καρπῶν νέων, καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, τούτων πάντων ἡ ἱατρικὴ
 ἐστὶ θεραπευτικὴ.

280 ξδ'. Προσέτι δὲ τῆς λογιστικῆς εἰσι διοικήσεως καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ λαφύρων συναθροίζονται ἢ ἄλλοθεν συνάγματα
 χρημάτων καὶ πάλιν ποῦ ἀναλίσκεται, εἰς τὰς ὅπλων καὶ μηχανημάτων κατα-
 σκευὰς καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας χρεῖας, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκάστης ἐκστρατείας. τούτων πάντων
 διάκρισις καὶ διοίκησις τῆς λογιστικῆς εἰσι μεθόδου.

285 ξε'. Τέχνην μὲν οὖν τοσαῦται πρὸς τε κατασκευὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν στρατεύμα-
 τος, καὶ τεχνῖται δὲ τούτων οἱ ἐπιστημόνως αὐτὰς μεταχειριζόμενοι.

ξς'. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ὀπλιτικὴν οἱ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων ἐργασίαν πονοῦντες
 τεχνῖται, τὴν δὲ λογιστικὴν γραμμάτων καὶ ψήφων ἔμπειροι ἄνδρες, τὴν δὲ
 τακτικὴν σύ τε αὐτός, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ σε τεταγμένοι ἄρχοντες.

290 ξζ'. Τὴν δὲ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴν οἱ τέκτονες καὶ μηχανικοὶ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ πρὸς τὴν
 τοιαύτην γυμνασίαν ἔμπειροι. τὴν δὲ ἀστρονομίαν οἱ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σχολά-
 ζοντες.

290–298 Cf. *Suda*, Π 3033; A 3745; Γ 131.

264–265 ἀστρονομίας De ἀστρολογίας codd. 266 χρῆσθαι...ἐπιτελεῖν M ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ
 ταῦτα A 267 ἐν...στρατεύματι A τὰ στρατεύματα M 270–271 ἁγίους αὐτοῦ M trsp. A
 272 εὐρωστώτεροι M γενναιότερον A 275 θεραπευτικὰ Du θεραπευτικὴν codd. | ἀλλ' M
 ἀλλὰ καὶ A 277 ἀθεραπευσίαν M κακουχίας A 278–279 ἡ...θεραπευτικὴ M ἐστὶ ἡ
 ἱατρικὴ θεραπευτικὴ A 281–282 ἡ...χρημάτων M χρήματα ἢ ἄλλοθεν πόθεν A 282 τὰς
 A τε M 284 διάκρισις A μὴ εὐκρίνεια M | διοίκησις A οἱ λόγοι M 287 πονοῦντες Du
 πονοῦσι M ἵκονται A 289 τεταγμένοι M τάσσονται A 291 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Du τῷ
 οὐρανῷ A τὰ μετέωρα M 291–292 σχολάζοντες A στοχάζονται M

other signs or to skillfully change the manifestations to something beneficial. All
 these matters are part of astronomy.¹⁷

62. The priestly task is to deal with divine things properly and incessantly to
 perform these <rites> in the army piously and in a manner pleasing to God,
 according to the law handed down from the beginning to pious Christians. They
 do this by sacred words and sacred actions¹⁸ and by the other prayers and
 entreaties they fervently address to God and to his wholly immaculate mother
 and Theotokos, and to his holy servants. As a result the Divinity takes pity and
 by their faith in salvation the souls of the soldiers are made ready to face dan-
 gers more firmly.

63. The medical task is concerned with the wounds resulting from injuries
 and with those inflicted by stones or missiles or by some other weapon. It
 provides healing medicines for all these and for medical knowledge to treat all
 the common illnesses that usually come about because of cold or heat, by hard
 labor, changes of water, the conditions of places, the mixture of air, the lack of
 care for the bodies, and irregularity of nourishment (such as with unripe fruit
 and the like). All these belong to the medical or healing skill.

64. In addition, part of logistics is the management of the expenses of the
 soldiers and what they have collected as booty or money collected from some
 other source. In turn, how it is spent for weapons and construction of machines
 and for other likely needs for each expedition. The division and management of
 all of these are a function of the art of logistics.

65. These, then, are the skills for the preparation and security of an army and
 the technicians in each case are those who perform them in a scientific manner.

66. For the skill of armament there are the technicians who labor on the
 manufacture of weapons. For logistics men experienced in letters and numbers.
 For tactics yourself, O general, and the officers stationed under you.

67. For architectonics builders and engineers who have a great deal of exper-
 ience in this sort of activity. For astronomy those who can make estimates about

17. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 362b17. In the MSS the last line reads “astrology,” probably a
 mistake for “astronomy.” The Byzantines, though, did not always clearly distinguish between
 the two. See now P. Magdalino, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues: La science entre le dogme et la
 divination à Byzance* (Paris, 2006).

18. ἱερολογιῶν καὶ ἱεουργιῶν. The *Suda* (I 179) defines ἱερολογία as the Divine Liturgy.

ζοντες, σοφία τε καὶ ἐπιστήμη τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων ψηφοφορίας διαφέροντες, περὶ
 τε τὸν Πτολεμαίου Πρόχειρον Κανόνα καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην Τετράβι-
 βλον, καὶ περὶ ἕτερα τινὰ τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν παρασημειώσεων. προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν
 295 τοῦ Ἀράτου περὶ τῶν φαινομένων διαγόρευσιν, | Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λυδοῦ καθημερι-
 νὴν τε καὶ μηνιαίαν παρατήρησιν, τὰ δὲ τῆς γενεθλιαλογίας ὅσα ἐν τοῖς εἰρημέ-
 νοις παρέσπαρται, ὡς ἀπόβλητα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀποτρέπε-
 ται βασιλεία. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἀστρονομίας.

ζη'. Τὴν δὲ ἱερατικὴν ἱερεῖς καθαροί, σεμνοὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ
 300 καθηγιασμένοι τελεσιουργήσουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας τῷ
 Θεῷ ἀναστήσουσιν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ πρώην ἡμῖν εἰρημένα ἀνακεφαλαιω-
 σάμενοι, τὸ τέλος τῆς στρατηγικῆς ἡμῶν ταύτης ἀφηγήσεως τῷ πάντων ἀγα-
 θῶν δοτήρι Θεῷ ἀνατίθεμεν.

ξθ'. Νόμοι μὲν οὖν στρατηγικοὶ καὶ τύποι τοσοῦτοι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας
 305 βασιλείας σοὶ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ σε στρατεύματι τε καὶ πολιτεύματι διὰ πείρας
 ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι ἔστωσάν τε καὶ φυλαττέσθωσαν, ὡ στρατηγέ, καὶ χρὴ σε τοῖς
 ἐνταῦθα ἐγγεγραμμένοις μετὰ προσοχῆς τε καὶ νήψεως πλείστης ἐμμελεῖν.
 μεγάλα γὰρ κερδήσεις ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, καὶ λίαν ὠφέλιμα· ὅταν γὰρ ἐν
 αὐτῷ ἀκριβῶς στρατηγήματά τε καὶ διατάγματα ὑπὲρ σου κατανοήσεις, τότε
 310 ἄρα καὶ εἴποτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμοι χρήσονται, ῥαδίως τὰ ἐναντία τούτων
 κατὰ ἐκείνων ἐπινοήσεις.

ο'. Ταῦτα γὰρ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἐκ τε τῆς τῶν πολέμων πείρας, ὡς εἴρηται,
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων, εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν προτεθείκαμεν,
 οὔτε κάλλους λέξεως φροντίσαντες, ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ που ἡμῖν εἴρηται τοῦ συντάγμα-
 315 τος οὔτε τῆς ἄλλης ἐμπεριέργου συντάξεως, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον δὲ ἀπλᾶς καὶ κοιναῖς
 χρησάμενοι ταῖς λέξεσι καὶ ὁποῖαις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιωτικῇ συνήθεια χρῆσθαι
 εἴωθεν.

οα'. Ὅσα δὲ κεφάλαια ἕτερα τά, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπαντῶντα ἐν ἐκάστῳ πολέμου
 καιρῷ ἢ τινος ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλοῦντι

312–317 Cf. praef.63–72. 318–326 Cf. *Strat.*, 11 (*fin*).

292 διαφέροντες A διαφέρονται M 293 πρόχειρον A om. M 295 περὶ...φαινομένων A
 om. M 299 τὸν² A om. M 300 καθηγιασμένοι τελεσιουργήσουσιν M καθηγιασμένοι
 ἐπιτελέσουσιν A 301 ἀναστήσουσιν M ἀναθήσουσιν A 303 ἀνατίθεμεν A ἀνατιθέαμεν
 M 308–309 ἐν...ἀκριβῶς M trsp. A 310 ἄρα...εἴποτε M ἔαν ποτε A | ῥαδίως M
 εὐκόλως A 313 ἀρχαίων M ἀρχαίων κατανοήσαντες A 314 που M om. A 315 τῆς...
 ἐμπεριέργου M τινὸς ἄλλης περιέργου A | ἀλλ' ἢ M ἀλλὰ A 316 ταῖς M om. A | ὁποῖαις
 μᾶλλον M οἷας ἔχει A 316–317 χρῆσθαι εἴωθεν M om. A 318 ἐκάστῳ M ἐκάστου A
 319 παρασκευῆς M παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐτοιμασίας A

celestial phenomena. They should be distinguished for their wisdom and
 knowledge of calculation of the stars, about the Handy Table of Ptolemy¹⁹ and
 about his so-called Tetrabiblos, and about other matters in the observational
 notes²⁰ of the Chaldaeans and, in addition, the declaration of Aratos concerning
 Phenomena,²¹ and the daily and monthly observations of John Lydos.²² But as
 for the nativities²³ found scattered about in those writings, inasmuch as they are
 rejected by the church of God, Our Majesty also forbids them. This is the
 function of astronomy.

68. For the priestly skill pure priests, respected for their life and conduct.
 Having been sanctified themselves, they are to bring to perfection and offer up
 the consummation of their own activity to God. As indeed we too, having
 recapitulated what we have said previously, commend the consummation of this
 dissertation on strategy to God the giver of all good things.

69. Let these, then, be the laws and models for generals from Our Majesty to
 you and to the army and the commonwealth under you, which have been
 thoroughly tested by experience. Let them be observed, O general. It is incum-
 bent on you to meditate on what is written in them with attention and a great
 deal of sobriety. For you will derive great profit from this book and it will prove
 very helpful. When you have an accurate understanding of the stratagems and
 ordinances it contains for your benefit, then, if the enemy ever make use of
 them, you will easily devise the opposite of these against them.

70. To the best of our ability, then, we have placed before you for the
 common benefit the experience gained from war, as was said, and what was
 written by the ancient authors, without regard for fancy language, as we re-
 marked somewhere in the beginning of this composition, or for any other
 elaborate arrangement. But we have made use only of simple and common
 expressions and those of the kind that military men are accustomed to use.²⁴

19. The Byzantines regarded Ptolemy (ca. 130–175) as the greatest authority on astronomy
 and astrology: *Suda* (Π 3033); *ODB*.

20. Refers to the Chaldaean Oracles, supposed divine revelations, consulted by the Byzan-
 tines, ed. E. des Places (Paris, 1971). But see Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, 4.4.4.

21. On Aratos and his *Phenomena*, see *Suda* A 3745.

22. John Lydos, bureaucrat and scholar (490–ca.565), wrote on monthly calendars and
 feasts: *De mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig, 1898).

23. Prophecies about birth: *Suda*, Γ 131; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 7.

24. Cf. prologue 63–72.

320 Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνει, δι' ὅπερ, ὡς εἴρηται που ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸ παρὸν συντέτακται
βιβλίον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα συλλαβεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἔκ
τε τῆς προλαβούσης πείρας, καὶ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως στοχάζε-
σθαι σε δέον καί, ὡς δυνατόν, ἀρμόζεσθαι τοῖς ἀναφυομένοις. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι
325 δυνατόν, οὔτε ἡμᾶς οὔτε τινὰ ἕτερον, ἅπαντα γράφειν πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ μέλλον-
τα ἀναφύεσθαι, ὥστε παραφυλάττεσθαι ἅπαντα ἀπείρων οὐσῶν τῷ μέτρῳ τῶν
ἐμπιπτουσῶν ἐκάστοτε διαφορῶν περιστάσεων.

οβ'. Οὔτε γὰρ ὡσαύτως αἰεὶ οὔτε ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐκείνων
ἐγχειροῦνται στρατηγήματα. διὸ οὐδὲ δύναται τις τεκμήρασθαι τὰ | μέλλοντα
ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς χρήσιν ἐκάστοτε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μιᾷ γνώμῃ στρατηγοῦνται, ἀλλὰ
330 ποικίλης οὔσης τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐγχειρήσεως, καὶ διάφοροι οἱ τρόποι
τῶν ἀντεγχειρήσεων ὀφείλουσι γίνεσθαι. πανουργὸς γὰρ καὶ ἀκατάληπτος ἡ
ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ὑπάρχουσα, πολλὰ καὶ βουλευέσθαι καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν παρ'
ἐλπίδας δύναται.

ογ'. Ὅθεν καὶ ἀρμοδίως καὶ καταχρέως δέον αἰεὶ σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, τῇ πρὸς
335 Θεὸν δεήσει σχολάζειν καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς φυλάττειν, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ δύνασαι
καὶ κατ' ἐχθρῶν σοφίζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀβλαβὴς ἅμα τοῖς ὑπὸ σε περισφύζεσθαι,
καὶ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ τοῦ παντὸς αἰωνίῳ σωτηρίαν
καὶ νίκην ἄνωθεν ὑποδέχεσθαι, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

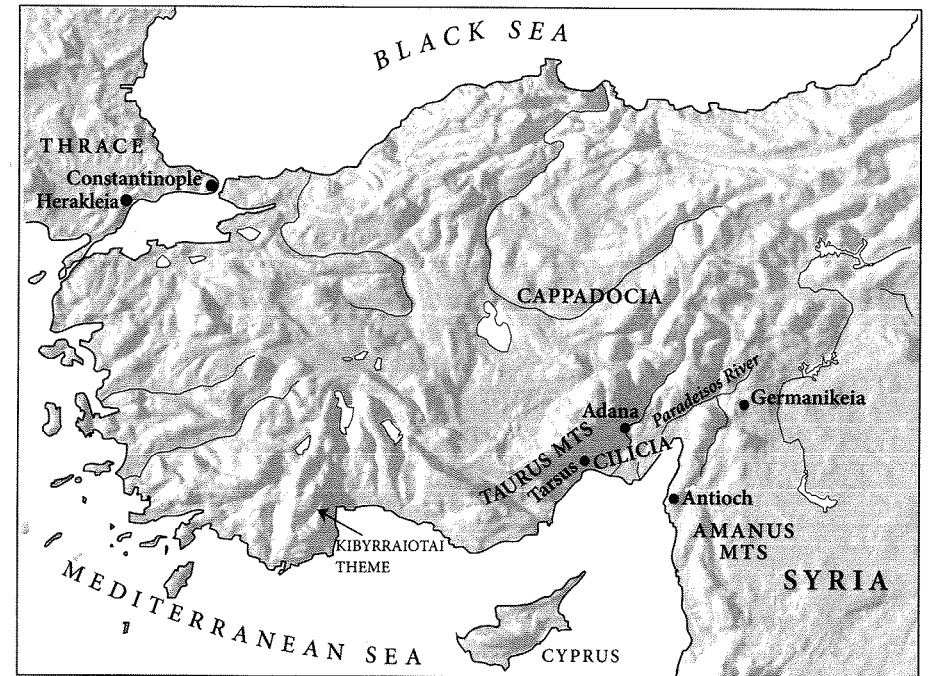
320 που M om. A 324 γράφειν Du γράφειν ἢ codd. 325 ἅπαντα Du ἀπάντων codd. |
οὐσῶν A ὄντων M 327 ὡσαύτως... ὁμοίως M ὁμοίως αἰεὶ τὰ A 330 καὶ διάφοροι M trsp.
A 331 τῶν M τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν A 332 ἀνθρωπεία M ἀνθρωπινῇ A 335 φυλάττειν M
φυλάσσειν A 338 καὶ²... κράτος M om. A

71.²⁵ As for all the other topics that naturally crop up in each period of war
or of preparation for it, and especially against the Saracen nation now causing us
trouble—on whose account, as we have said, the present book has been
compiled—even if we have not been able to take up everything, still, from what
has been written, as well as from experience acquired, and from the very nature
of things, you must form estimates to the extent possible and accommodate
yourself to the situations that arise. I do not think it possible, either for us or for
anyone else to write about everything that is likely to happen, so as to be on
one's guard against everything, seeing that the diverse circumstances in each
case are unlimited in number.

72. Stratagems are not always attempted by our adversaries in a like manner.
Thus, nobody can instruct us about what <tactics> to employ in the future each
time. The enemy does not go to war with only one plan, but takes the offensive
in a variety of ways and so there ought to be many ways of counteracting them.
Human nature is very tricky and beyond understanding; it will make many
plans and is able to undertake things beyond expectation.

73. And so it is always necessary for you, O general, in a fitting, dutiful way,
to devote yourself to prayer to God and to observe his commandments, so that
you will be able to outwit the enemy and preserve yourself and those under you
safe from harm. By so doing you will receive salvation and victory from above in
Christ the true God and eternal emperor of all, to whom be the glory and the
power for the ages. Amen.

25. Cf. *Strat.* 11 (*fin*).



Sites discussed in the *Taktika*.

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BYZANTINE MEASUREMENTS

Note: Schilbach = Schilbach, E. *Byzantinische Metrologie*. Munich, 1970.

bowshot (σαγιττόβολον): Flight range has been estimated at about 300 m: W. McLeod, "The Range of the Ancient Bow," *Phoenix: The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 19 (1965): 1-14. Schilbach, 42, puts it at 328.84 m. A. Bivar limits accurate target range to about 133 m: "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier," *DOP* 26 (1972): 283.

daktylos, pl. daktyloi (δάκτυλος): 1.95 cm (Schilbach, 16).

foot (πούς): 31.23 cm (Schilbach, 13-16).

liter (λίτρα): Approximately 320 g (Schilbach, 162).

mile (μίλιον): The Roman mile, still standard in the seventh century, came to 1,480 m (Schilbach, 32-36).

milestone (σημείον): one mile.

orguia (ὀργυιά): ca. 2 m; from 187 cm to 210 cm. (Schilbach, 22-23).

pechys, pl. pecheis (πῆχυς): 46.8 cm. Another pechys was an agricultural measure of 62.46 cm (Schilbach, 20-21).

spithame, pl. spithamai (σπιθαμή): 23.4 cm (Schilbach, 19).

stadion, pl. stadia (στάδιον): A term, antiquated in the time of Leo, indicating a mile (Schilbach, 32-33).

GLOSSARY

Abbreviations. Ger. = Germanic, Gk. = Greek, Lat. = Latin, pl. = plural

alakation, pl. alakatia: A stone-throwing machine that revolves in a circle with men pulling on ropes at one end while the other holds the object to be hurled. In the West called trebuchet.

antikensor, pl. antikensores: Quartering parties who go ahead of the main body looking for suitable roads and camp sites (cf. Lat. *anticenseo*). By Leo's time they were not distinguished from the **minsores**.

arithmos: A number of troops, usually meaning a bandon, i.e., about three hundred soldiers (cf. Lat. *numerus*).

assault troops: See **koursors**.

avengers: See **defenders**.

ballista: A general term for torsion-powered artillery.

bandon, pl. banda: A flag or standard, also a unit of about 320 soldiers. (cf. Ger. Band, Bänner).

caltrop: Metal object with three or four protruding spikes designed to trip up and impale horses.

chartoularios, pl. chartoularioi: Official in charge of registering the troops in a **theme**, (cf. Lat. *charta*).

chiliarchy: (Gk. χίλιοι = thousand) Division of about one thousand men, equivalent to a **moira** or **droungos**.

count: (cf. Lat. comes) Commander of a **bandon**.

crescent formation: A half-moon or C-like formation used by troops on land, and by ships at sea.

defenders: Troops in close or compact order who were assigned to support assault troops (Lat. *defensores*). Also called **avengers** (ἐκδικοί).

- dekarchy:** Unit of ten or fewer soldiers, commanded by a **dekarch** (δέκα = ten).
- deputies:** Depotatoi, medical corpsmen (cf. Lat. *deputatus*). Also called **skribones**.
- domestic:** Designates a broad range of officials: ecclesiastical, civil, and military. In the *Taktika* it seems to mean an adjutant to the general. Later in the tenth century it designated the supreme army commander. In this last function, more properly **Domestic of the Schools**.
- dromon, pl. dromons:** "Runner"; a large battleship with two banks of oars.
- droungarios, pl. droungarioi:** Commander of a **droungos** or **moira** and, sometimes, of special divisions or a naval command. Later, a position in the civil administration of a **theme**.
- droungos, pl. droungoi:** Troops massed together in irregular formation, made up of three **banda**. Cf. Lat. *globus*, thought to come from Ger. *drängen*, *thronga*; but it may have begun as a Gallic word: see Rance, 2004. See also **moira**.
- epistates, pl. epistatai:** Second man in **file** (= **sekoundos**, Lat. *secundus*).
- file:** See **lochos**.
- flank guards:** Troops guarding flanks (sides) of the battle line.
- foulkon:** A body of troops in very close order, sometimes forming a dense mass with shields overlapping and spear points projecting out (cf. Ger. *Volk*).
- galley:** Small ship employed mostly in scouting (cf. Lat. *galea*).
- group leader:** See **lochagos**.
- general:** See **strategos**.
- Greek fire:** Prepared fire, also known as liquid or Greek fire, was a petroleum-based substance, put under pressure, ignited, and discharged through bronze tubes, called siphons, engulfing the enemy in roaring flames and thick black smoke. See Constitution 19, n. 2.
- hardtack:** Twice-cooked biscuit; staple of the Byzantine soldier.
- hekatonarch:** Commander of a hundred troops (Gk. ἑκατόν = one hundred), (= **kentarch**, after Lat. *centum*. Cf. centurion).
- herald:** Conveys commands of officers to troops.
- hoplite:** Classical Greek term for heavily armed infantryman.
- hypostrategos, pl. hypostrategoi:** Second in command of a **meros**.
- kamelavkion, pl. kamelavkia:** Originally a headcovering, then used as a signal flag.
- kampidouktor:** Field guide who also drilled the soldiers (cf. Lat. *campus*, field; *ductor*, leader).

- kantator, pl. kantatores:** (Lat. *cantator*) Men who exhort and stir up the army before combat.
- karagos, pl. karagoi:** The baggage train when drawn up into a defensive barrier.
- kleisoura, pl. kleisourai:** Small, border province in the mountains (Gk. κλείω, to close).
- klibanon:** (Lat. *clibanum*) Clay container for baking bread. The name was also used for various sorts of thoracic body armor, which retained so much heat, the soldiers compared them to baking ovens.
- kontubernion:** (Lat. *contubernium*) A squad of ten soldiers or fewer.
- koumbarion, pl. koumbaria:** Large ship used by Arabs.
- koursor, pl. koursores:** Troops in open or extended order, assigned to move out ahead of the line and pursue the retreating enemy (cf. Lat. *cursus*).
- lieutenant general:** See **hypostrategos**.
- lochos:** From front to rear, a ten-man line of cavalry, or a sixteen-man line of infantry.
- lochagos, pl. lochagoi:** The first soldier in a file or **lochos** (= **protostates** and **primos**).
- menavlon, pl. menavla:** Heavy spear, pike.
- merarch:** See **meros**.
- meros:** A division of troops, also known as **tourma**, made up of three **moirai**, from three thousand to six thousand men, commanded by a **merarch**. A great deal of flexibility was allowed in making up these divisions. See Constitution 4.
- moira, pl. moirai:** Division of troops made up of three **banda**, from one thousand to three thousand men, commanded by a **moirarch**.
- moirarch:** see **moira**.
- nomisma, pl. nomismata:** (Lat. *solidus*) The standard gold coin that formed the basis of the Byzantine monetary system.
- ouragos, pl. ouragoi:** Last man in a **file** (Gk. οὐρα = tail). Also called **tetrarch**: "in charge of four men."
- outflankers:** Troops assigned to envelop enemy wings.
- pelta, pl. peltai:** Small round shield carried by light armed troops.
- pentarch:** In charge of five men (Gk. πέντε = five).
- phalanx:** A square or rectangular infantry formation of one thousand men.
- praetor:** Chief legal officer in a **theme**.

promachos, pl. promachoi: First line of troops in battle formation. See also **koursos**.

protonotary: Official in the civil administration of a **theme**.

rear guards: Take up position behind the entire battle line.

Saracens: A generic term for Arabs, implying Muslims (Arabic = Eastern).

Scythians: A general term for the nomadic peoples north of the Black Sea and throughout central Asia.

siphon: Bronze tube through which **Greek fire** was discharged.

skoutatos, pl. skoutatoi: Heavily armed foot soldier

Slavs: Peoples who lived along the lower Danube.

squad (kontubernion): A basic unit of ten soldiers or fewer.

strategos, pl. strategoi: commander of a **theme**.

strategy: Generalship; the conduct of a war in its totality, including objectives, alliances, stratagems, and other matters to be decided by the commander.

stratelates, pl. stratelatai: Term designating a higher officer, frequently a **tourmarch**.

tactics: Orderly arrangement of weaponry, drills, battle formations and movements of troops.

tagma, pl. tagmata: A general term for a formation of troops, usually equivalent to a **bandon**.

theme: An army, commanded by a general and composed of three divisions or **tourmai**; also the land or province in which that army resided (Gk. θέμα = something put in place; how it came to be applied to an army division is not clear).

thyreos, pl. thyreoi: Large oblong shield.

touldos (also touldon): (Lat. *tultum*) Baggage train.

tourma, pl. tourmai: Large body of troops, later **meros**. Commanded by a **tourmarch**.

trireme: (Lat. *tres*, three; *remi*, oars) Ancient large battleship.

Trisagion: A hymn: "Holy God, holy strong one, holy immortal one, have mercy on us" (Gk. Τρισάγιον = Thrice Holy).

Turks: In Leo's time this generally designated the Magyars (see map).

PERSONS MENTIONED

Aelian (second century A.D.): Greek author who lived in Rome and compiled treatises about military tactics and drills.

Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.): King of Macedon and conqueror of Greece, Persia, and Egypt. He was regarded as the model of an ideal emperor. Legends about his exploits, real and imaginary, were popular among the Byzantines.

Arrian (third century B.C.): Greek historian who wrote about the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

Asclepiodotus (ca. 130–71 B.C.): Although a rhetorician, and not a military man, he compiled a lengthy work on tactics.

Basil I (r. 867–886): Although of peasant origin, he earned the favor of influential persons. He became a favorite of Michael III, whom he murdered to ascend the throne and found the Macedonian dynasty. He was a strong emperor and successful in his wars. He disliked and even imprisoned his son and heir, Leo, but they were reconciled before his death.

Nikephoros Phokas (late ninth century): From a noble family, he rose rapidly to become Domestic of the Schools (supreme army commander) and conducted successful campaigns in Southern Italy, Bulgaria, and Asia Minor. He was greatly admired by Leo.

Onasander (first century A.D.): Author of a (lost) commentary on Plato's *Republic*, he wrote a military treatise that centered on the duties of the commander and greatly influenced subsequent authors, including Leo.

Polyaenus (second century A.D.): Macedonian rhetorician residing in Rome, who compiled, in Greek, a large collection of military stratagems (*Strategemata*) gleaned from historical sources.

Scipio (236–183 B.C.): Roman general, noted for victories in Spain and elsewhere, who defeated the Carthaginians under Hannibal, in 202 B.C.

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